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THE

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AND

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THE

BRITISH CRITIC,

AND

Quarterly Theological Review.

JULY, 1839.

ART. I.—1. *A View of the Evidence, afforded by the Life and Ministry of St. Peter to the Truth of the Christian Revelation.* By Philip Stanhope Dodd, M.A., Rector of Penshurst, Kent, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the King. Rivingtons. 1837.

2. *Deism compared with Christianity, in an Epistolatory Correspondence between a Deist and a Christian; intended as a Book of Reference, containing all the Principal Objections against Revealed Religion, with their Refutations.* By Edward Chichester, M.A., Rector of the Parish of Kilmore, in the Diocese of Armagh. Second Edition, enlarged. 3 vols. Rivingtons. 1834.

WHEN some one was recommending candid and good-humoured disputes on the most important religious questions, by the argument that "truth will always bear an examination," Dr. Johnson replied, "Yes, sir, but it is painful to be forced to defend it. Consider, sir, how should you like, though conscious of your innocence, to be tried before a jury for a capital crime once a week?" And we ask, who would indeed like to be perpetually exposed to the hard, relentless scrutiny, which it is now thought reverent and decent to apply to Apostles and Evangelists? Who would like the hacknied alternative of folly or imposture ever impending over him? All other trials have an end. The longest Chancery suit, though it may have outlived the brief reigns of half a dozen chancellors reversing one another's decrees, and even the lives of the parties first interested; though it may have consumed the property at stake, is at last settled: calumnies are in time forgotten: the insolvent himself may at last be whitewashed: the most questionable character, if he have successfully braved investigation, casts off at length the slough of ill report, and walks abroad with a fresh infancy of reputation, *positis novus exuviis, nitidusque juventâ*, and all the chivalry of society is pledged not

only to allow but to maintain his new honours. It is so with all other men and things, but not with the facts and the writers of Sacred History. *They* are never to be allowed the benefit of an honourable acquittal.

Surely in keeping up the never-ending questions of authenticity and genuineness, and in soliciting new accessions to the Evidences of our faith, we do not use the same feeling and discretion we should in the parallel cases which common life affords. If we or our friends should happen to be personally calumniated, we should not be continually fanning the calumny with fresh defences: we should suffer it to sleep in silence after one sufficient answer. The words of a false charge, once repelled, become *malè ominata*, from which kindly lips forbear. We are grieved even to remember false suspicions. We would fain envelope the objects of our love and reverence with all kinds of good associations, and protect them from ill and disparaging ones. The loyal mind will not ever so faintly imagine anything unworthy or questionable concerning them it cares for, though it be in the shape of a negative: much less will it subject them to a rude strife of words, suppositions, apparent inconsistencies, ingenious explanations, arguments, and triumphs. In how many cases do we utterly abstain from explanation, even when we feel our conduct must appear dubious to others, trusting to the inherent power of innocence and truth, which we know generally, when undefended is defended most.

As far as concerns the duty of self-defence against the actual attacks of unbelievers, or sceptical speculators, grievous though it be, still it comes with the consolation that it is necessary. The Church cannot choose the modes and points of attack which the world from time to time shall adopt against her; neither can she altogether choose for herself her modes of defence: they are among the "good works" which our Heavenly Father hath "prepared for us to walk in."

Each generation also has one part more than another to perform. Though the quiet soul would of course take more pleasure in peacefully edifying the Church, and bringing her out to her fair proportions; yet our lot may be rather with David to be men of war, than with Solomon "men of rest:" it may be ours to procure "rest from all our enemies round about," and so gain "peace and quietness" for the days of our successors: though even in that case we may gather the materials, and bequeath to others the glory of working them into a temple of the Lord. Or ours may be the more mixed and more common portion to work at the wall with one of our hands and with the other hold a weapon. Thus it is too in those vast foreign cathedrals, whose gra-

dual progress (*seris factura nepotibus umbram*), with its difficulties and interruptions, and whose long duration, seem almost to rival the slow but sure development of the Church their heavenly prototype: almost a generation was employed in driving the piles and laying the deep foundations; and scarce in their time did their labours see the light of day: perhaps only a fragment is yet completed, and of the rest we have only the plan. Divine wisdom is pleased to clog and embarrass all our heavenly task with more or less admixture of secular and seemingly extraneous employment; but we need do no more than submit to this as a wholesome necessity; we need not seek or go out of our way for it; we need not continue it *incassum* longer than the occasion requires: and if there is any duty of the Church militant which may be called foreign and adscititious, it is such work as proving to real or imaginary sceptics the competency, the honesty, or the bare existence, of the Scripture writers. The precept, there is a time for all things, happily contains this comfort, that all human labours must sometimes cease or intermit. But the popular divines of the present age, spite of that maxim of common sense, *neque semper arcum*, can never find heart to lay aside the work of demonstration: all they touch turns to proof: in season and out of season they still continue fighting the air with evidence, reasonableness, and consistency. They remind us of a well-known dramatic personification of unseasonableness, who obtrudes himself everywhere, expected or unexpected, *always* in summer costume, but on the other hand always provided against the rain. Addison observed of some one who retained the continual melancholy and the sorrowful countenance of a previous era, "after all Sombrius is a very religious man, and would have behaved himself very properly, had he lived when Christianity was under a general persecution." In like manner, we think, some of our modern apologists have mistaken their age, and would have been more suitably placed in revolutionary France or heathen Rome.

We scarcely see what right the study of the Evidences has to be called a branch of divinity at all, though it be all the pretence which some so-called divines have to the title. Indeed we wonder the very names to which this study introduces the writer, do not deter him from proceeding in his work. Misery, they say, makes a man acquainted with strange bed-fellows, and we are sure something of the kind may be said of the study of Evidences; so much does it bring together people who have no other community of sentiment; for the good Churchman must feel in an unkindly atmosphere, a sort of north-eastern temperature of theology, when he is consulting and quoting Locke, Whitby,

Lardner, Benson, Paley, &c., not to mention living writers. It is a mere matter of history, on which any sound antiquarian may decide. Theology is as much degraded as the Evidences are dignified by the estimation in which the latter are now held. Supposing all the objects of a course in the Evidences to be obtained, and the student worked up to the highest pitch of conviction, where is he? Only as far advanced as the multitude who *saw* the miracles performed, and on the greater part of whom the sight of those miracles produced very little effect. The Evidences can only be considered *a* preliminary step to theology, but by no means the only, or the best, and certainly not the most natural preliminary: they are one of the porches through which a particular caste of mind, not the happiest, should approach the solemn aisles of sacred lore. The best are not they who ask for evidence, but they who believe on the evidence presented to them without their asking. The great *primâ facie* evidence for the truth of Scripture is the visible Church: as the Apostles were to their generation the visible witness of revelation, so is the Church and her ordinances and her ministers the visible witness to our age: and the doctrine which the Church now teaches is the great *primâ facie* evidence of the fact she alleges that such doctrine was taught at the first. This evidence is of course very properly insisted on in one shape or other by apologists, but it is one of the many misfortunes of their employment that, as they are addressing unbelievers, they think it sufficient to take the lowest object for which that evidence can be cited. They do not let it speak out, but limit its answers to their own questions, which they confine to the points most easily defended. Some of course do this from choice, others perhaps from timidity, or for the convenience of argument. They do not call on the unbeliever to account for the fact of the Church, lest he should refer them to the schismatic for a reply, but they gratuitously lower their challenge to the fact of Christianity, *eo nomine*, in whatever form, true or false, it may now be found existing, or to the fact of the Scriptures: a concession by which they gain nothing and risk much, as the surrender of part of the truth has ever proved in the enemy's hand a lever for the conquest of the whole; in like manner as the argument by which we wrest from him part, will, if consistently followed up, lead to the recovery of the whole. Thus however does Mr. Faber, in his Difficulties of Infidelity, state the case:

"The fact of *the bare existence of Christianity in the world at this present moment* is obviously certain and indisputable: the sole question, therefore, between the believer and the unbeliever is, how it started into existence, and what are its pretensions to be received as a divine revelation.—p. 97.

It is needless to remark that precisely the same question may be asked of the Church as a sacred polity, and of every separate article of her faith and practice. Their bare existence therefore is, as we have said, the great *primâ facie* evidence of their truth and obligation: it is also a *sufficient* evidence unless some sufficient counter facts or counter reasons can be brought against them.

Therefore, however necessary the Evidences technically so called may be to establish the faith of certain minds; however needful they may be as a bulwark or a standing armoury of weapons required against one particular mode of attack; however useful on the shelves of a student may be such a complete "book of reference" as Mr. Chichester's; however indispensable they may be to those good householders who must be prepared for all emergencies, they scarcely seem to deserve the first place, even as a mere preliminary step in a course of divinity. Origen knew what theology was, for he wrote much and taught much by word of mouth, and always had a numerous class of readers and admirers: it is to be presumed that he wished them to study all his writings of a theological character; yet so far from recommending his famous Defence of Christianity to believers, he expressly warns them in his preface, that it was not meant for *them*. The design of this preface he thus explains:

"It was not till I had written answers to all the objections of Celsus, as far as his imaginary address of a Jew to Jesus, that I determined to add this preface to the beginning of my work. My design in so doing was, that it might first meet the reader's eye, and give him timely notice that my book is not meant for thorough believers, but either for those who have had no taste of the faith in Christ, or for those who are, as the Apostle calls them, 'weak in the faith.' For thus he speaks, 'Him that is weak in the faith receive ye.'"

As Origen informs us in this preface, he wrote the book very unwillingly, retaining his own full persuasion, that it was best to follow the example of our Lord, who made no answer to false accusations, and held his peace when false witness was borne against Him; that the existing facts of the case, and the visible lives of Christians, were the best answer to the cavils of their adversaries; that a faith which could be shaken by such objections as those of Celsus was scarcely worth having; that nobody was ever led from the truth by mere reasoning; and that he would not have undertaken the work, but for the fear that he should seem slow to oblige Ambrosius who had requested it. Now the work of which Origen thought so lightly himself, as to think much apology necessary, and which he recommends believers not to read, as not being likely to do *them* any good, is very much more

of a theological work than Paley's Evidences and Horæ Paulinæ; it has much more to do with ethical and spiritual subjects; and goes much farther than the farthest point to which those works even profess to lead the student. What would Origen have said had he seen one or two such works, with the simple addition of Tomline on the Articles, and one of the Gospels in the original, constitute the whole theological preparation which a candidate for the ministry receives from a Christian University?

It is not enough borne in mind that the real character of a book is that of the actual matter it contains, not that of one or two propositions which may be its formal subject. A theological aim and bearing can no more give a theological character to matter in itself mainly secular, than a pious pretence can sanctify an act which is substantially indifferent. Of course, as we have observed above, in our mixed condition, sacred learning as well as every religious act, requires a preparation and accompaniment not properly sacred and religious. The animal must have been fed and sold, and bought, before it could be sacrificed. Yet these preliminaries though necessary, were not sacred, and therefore, they that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the money-changers, were driven out of the Temple. In every age attempts have been made by means of these mere accompaniments of religion, whether necessary or unnecessary, whether commanded or chosen, to enlist the mass of mankind and ordinary motives into the service of religion: and with this view, congenial employments have been found for them, having little of sacredness about them excepting their professed aim. Thus, if the crusades had been acts more purely religious, few would have joined them: their popularity arose from their seeming to give a sacred and meritorious character to the mere secular act of war. But the religious pretence availed little or nothing: it was the actual employment which told in the result: war produced its usual effects, and though its banner was the cross, it did not convert into saints a licentious soldiery. We might instance various attempts made in our day, to give a sacred bearing to mere common employments; to employments which are the natural *pabulum* of very different appetites than a hunger and thirst after righteousness. In all such cases, we assert, the actual result will be according to the actual employment, not according to the professed object.

And so it is in literature: a work may have a very direct bearing on a particular science, without being itself scientific, or contributing any thing to the knowledge of that science. Thus a discourse recommending the study of music, a biographical account of the great masters in that art, a description of all kinds of musical instruments, a treatise on the effects of music on the hu-

man mind or body, and a theory of the production of musical sounds, might all be so written as to require little or no knowledge of the science of music properly so called, and therefore, when understood, would add but little to that amount of knowledge on the subject, which the reader brought to the perusal of them. In a library or catalogue, the above works would all be arranged together under the head of music, as having a certain bearing on the science; moreover, a musician would take more interest in them than other people, and would learn more from them; yet nobody would think of including them in a course of musical instruction, nor would any one read them with a view to acquiring the science. So again, all the books that ever were written have some sort of bearing on man, and yet do not on that account teach a knowledge of human nature, and are not on that account fit to be included in a course of ethics. Nay, on this subject so sensible are we of the tendency of all extraneous or accidental matter to impede a clear perception of metaphysical facts and systems, that in Oxford the science is taught in its purest conceivable form, in the Nicomachean Ethics; and these are thought a complete course on the subject, though the students are encouraged to read other works for the purpose of illustration. Now it is obviously the professed aim of many works of a less scientific character, to give a knowledge of human nature, and many of them do; yet these works, such as histories, biographies, travels, antiquities, manners and customs, &c. are never included in a course of ethics, nor should they be.

This appears to us to be true of any object whatever towards which a variety of literary studies may be directed; as, for example, history. Many books have been written with no other direct object than to illustrate Roman history, with perhaps equal labour and ingenuity; all of them with an actual bearing upon it, and of real service to the historical student. Yet, as that history was in fact made up of many divers ingredients, of great men and great affairs, of principles of human action, of laws and customs, and also of minute details and circumstances; as it displayed infinite combinations of mind, and infinite forms of matter, so the writers of the various works we refer to have handled it in various ways. Having, as it were, dislocated the history, they have remoulded, in new connection, the ingredients that suited their respective purposes; and thus, having all the same common aim, viz., to illustrate Roman history, they have in fact differed very much one from the other in the matter on which they have actually employed themselves. Some have taken the great men, some the peculiar character of the constitution, some the laws and customs, some the geography, some the construction of the triremes, some Han-

nibal's passage of the Alps, and some the amphitheatres, the baths, or the *cloacæ*. Now, all men of historical mind bent on mastering the history as a whole, and on deriving therefrom its chief peculiar profits, though they might not quite agree in their opinion what those chief profits are, would nevertheless agree in assigning to some of these researches a very low rank of subserviency to them.

What we have said, by way of illustration, of science and history in general, seems to us pre-eminently true of the sacred science of Theology, and of the Holy Scriptures. As by reason of their subject they reach from heaven to earth, so the mode of treating them, and studying them, may be very heavenly and may be merely earthly. Let us not be understood to imply any slight on studies which bear any wise on Divine things: whatever contribute the smallest ray of illustration to Scripture are valuable, and have a sort of sacredness; we only wish to see their relative sacredness and importance rightly assigned. Thus while we cannot but speak highly and thankfully of Mr. Hartwell Horne's laborious work, as a book of reference and occasional reading, we yet think there is hardly a page of it worthy of being called theological matter; and we should be sorry to see it interfere, even in the case of the general student, with a course of *doctrinal* divinity. Again, while we concede that the study of undesigned coincidences, has its use and may be profitably carried on to some extent, nay, that Sacred History does thereby receive some additional illustration;—still it seems a strange perversity to read the Scriptures in search of them only; to overlook the doctrinal teaching and practical precept which the writers *designed* to convey, or *knowingly* implied, in which we also need instruction, and to draw out in their stead a multitude of ingenious *conclusiunculæ*, whose only merit is that not being thought of by the writers, they all the more prove something, which neither they desired to teach, nor we to learn. It is said that an English gentleman who had purchased a tract of land in the wilds of Canada, wished to clear a portion of it round his house, just so much as to make it look one of the stately parks of his native country: he accordingly marked all the trees he wished to preserve, and returned to England for a time, leaving orders that all the rest should be cleared: his orders were faithfully observed with one trifling error, that the trees so marked, being in fact the lords of the forest, were all levelled to the ground, while the inferior trees, the bush and underwood (the *undesigned* timber, as Paley would say) still remained in all roughness of ages. Such seems to us the mistake of those who go through Scripture shutting their eyes to its own scope and intention, and industriously singling out what it does

not intend; and that in proof of certain propositions of which the sacred writers supposed their readers to have been already long convinced.

It seems almost a truism to say that the right principle, on which to estimate the importance of any study pretending to be theological, is its actual subserviency to the main objects of theology: and, without seeking accuracy of expression, these main objects appear to be the communication of certain Divine truths, and of certain habits and powers of mind suited to the comprehension of Divine truths. By this division of objects we mean no more than what there must be in every science: if, for example, we wished to train up a youth to be a botanist, we should both instruct him in the facts of the science, viz., the characteristics of plants, &c., and also endeavour to cultivate in him certain suitable habits and powers, viz. accurate observation, arrangement, memory, &c. These two objects, then, are the proper aim of any course of theology for the youthful student; and measure also the importance of any branch of sacred literature. Again, there is obviously a vast gradation under both of these heads. There are many details of Scripture History, which, though sacred and profitable, are *to us* of much less importance than those awful truths which directly concern our salvation: and, though it be a valuable gift, and to be sought for, to remember accurately the text of Scripture, or clearly to harmonize its various historical notices, still an habitual discernment of spiritual things, and a reverential reception of sacred doctrines, are even more necessary.

For the sake of clearness then we repeat, that the comparative value of any book, pretending to be theological, depends more on the actual contents, i. e. on the direct religious bearings of the historical or other matter, the truth and goodness of the principles, and the suitableness of the tone and the arguments to sacred subjects, than on the importance of its one or two main propositions. It is obvious that this consideration will as often tell to the defence, as to the disparagement, of works on Evidence; inasmuch as the contents may be more theological and more important than the method and object they are made to subserve. However independently men may see things and reflect, fashion generally dictates at least the mould and seeming pretence of the composition. It is so in all kinds of subjects. The modern novelist or play writer generally makes a love-affair the turning point of his story, though his actual object be something ever so different, perhaps to recommend certain religious or political views. He does not really mean to imply that the supreme ob-

ject of religion and politics is to provide young gentlemen and ladies with points of sympathy or disagreement, and to chequer the course of love with interesting alternations of hope and fear, smooth sailing and tempest, till they are all suitably and happily sorted. He bends to fashion in his plot, though it be only a framework whereon to hang his own natural stores of observation and sentiment. Thus of course Mr. Milman did not himself consider the loves of two fictitious personages, Javan and Miriam, more important than "the fall of Jerusalem;" he did but accommodate himself to the general class of readers, who may be expected to feel more interest in the story of the lovers, than in the calamity of the nation, which he made therefore subservient in the *plan*, though of course prominent in the *matter* of his poem. Again, Virgil may rather be said to have conformed to his Homeric models, than found it the shape his tastes and his materials would naturally assume: and to take a more flagrant instance, nothing but necessity could have made Pindar bend all things human and divine to his one ever-recurring topic, the praise of some victor at the games. In like manner the evidences of Christianity have been for the last century a fashionable pretence and framework of theology. Many who never doubted themselves, nor expected to settle those who did doubt, or to be read by them at all, nevertheless drilled all they had to say on sacred subjects into an array of argument against some imaginary objection. True there were Deists and objections which required answers; but any theological catalogue will show that the supply of Evidence has been out of all proportion to the demand. The writers of our Church have gone on continually administering fresh doses of demonstration, like doctors who know not when to leave off physicking their patients. We have seen many fashions wear out. Our dignitaries have at length suffered themselves to be shorn of their wigs, but a portion of the clergy still insatiably keeps up the work of proof, still as if nothing were done, *miserabile carmen Integrat et mœstis latè loca questibus implet.* It has at length come to pass, that, as Tacitus says of the accumulation of laws in his day, the Church now suffers from Evidences as much as she did once from infidelity. Like some old buildings we have seen, she seems likely to be pulled down by her cumbrous and officious buttresses.

We shall bye and bye refer more particularly to the circumstances which compelled many writers, and disposed more, to insist too much on this mode of authenticating and recommending revelation. We are now rather excusing it as a habit once began, a fashion once set and with difficulty laid aside; just as

nations (so says Thucydides, and so exemplifies the court-dress of our own times) wear the sword many generations after the occasion has passed away. Some also will ever be found a little more old-fashioned than others, who will scour the country with lance and shield, when the giants and captive maids that once perhaps called for their services are no longer to be found. It must be added that some writers appear to have adopted this class of topics, from a sort of modesty as commendable in its origin, as, we are convinced, it is prejudicial in the extent to which they have allowed it: they shrink from being the teachers of their brethren on any high and debateable point of doctrine or practice, and therefore limit and we think waste their labours, in proving to Christians the truth and reasonableness of what they already believe.

We know not which of these remarks will best explain Mr. Dodd's choice of subject: but we cannot help expressing our regret that when so much is wanted, men of learning, ability, and sound views should spend their time and strength in doing what is not wanted. To do justice to the writer's objects, as well as to explain our own meaning, we will quote his preface, observing that we are sure the concluding sentence very aptly represents the temper in which the whole book is written.

"The following arguments are presented, as illustrations of that Truth, which more direct arguments establish. My design is to point out the internal characters of authenticity, with which the Scriptural accounts of St. Peter abound; to bring together various facts, connected with that Apostle's history which attest his commission to preach the Gospel; to note different occurrences in his ministry, which manifest the hand of Providence in the propagation of our faith; and to show that his life, as well as his writings, confirmed the great doctrine of the Evangelical Records, that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God.

"*In Domo Domini quod possumus laboramus.* According to our several talents and opportunities, we employ ourselves in the service of our Divine Master. Mine is an humble endeavour to do honour to His Holy Name. If the endeavour prove useful, to Him be the praise!"

Now we venture to ask, what is less wanted than proof of three at least, out of the four propositions, to which the author has thus restricted his design? Yet what is more wanted, at least what would be more interesting and edifying, than a life of St. Peter without these restrictions? Why should Mr. Dodd have thus needlessly fettered himself? For the sake of the Church we lament to see men qualified to take a freer range sacrificing themselves to the scant measures, the straight-cut fashions, of an ephemeral theology. Meanwhile the more interesting and important work

of drawing out the lives and characters of the Scripture saints, and freely meditating thereon, is left to writers of less research, less truth, and less reverence. Thus the stranger that is within us becomes the head and we the tail. We leave to him the nobler work of building, and that after his own pattern; while we content ourselves with keeping off Sanballat and his crew. The sound divine thus merely authenticates and harmonizes materials for the lucubrations of other schools. It is true that in the book before us, Mr. Dodd brings out incidentally many valuable remarks. But why should they be incidental? Why should we every now and then, after a careful contemplation or comparison of passages, when the reader's eye is fixed, and the view expands and a promise of progressive knowledge dawns upon him,—why should he then be suddenly revoked to "the things that are behind," to the divine commission, the honesty, or the very existence of the Apostle? For a time he is permitted to go forwards as if he might really go forwards; he sees a clear course and feels a locomotive energy, as if his limbs were really his own; when all at once he is jerked back and finds he has gone the length of his tether. Why this perpetual resiliency of movement and monotony of purpose? It reminds us of a peculiar nervous infirmity we have heard of, the subject of which could never proceed many paces after closing a door, but he must needs return to make himself quite sure by again turning the handle, that the door was effectually shut; nor could the assurrance, nor even the bodily interposition of his friends, relieve him of his absurd anxiety.

If Scripture rather implies than obtrudes its own veracity, and does not *design* its proofs; if it never, so to speak, thinks of itself as a written record, but forgets itself, and is wholly intent on the things it is relating, surely we ought to let our comments, as a general rule, imitate its procedure. It addresses the humble and believing; why should we remodel it, to make it plead so exclusively with the proud unbeliever? Scripture is intended not to *seem* true, but to be believed; it does not stand in an attitude of credibility; there is nothing imposing or theatrical about it, no well-guarded consistency, no studied circumstance of genuineness and veracity. Should we not observe its own method? That merchant is not most trusted, who most keeps up appearances. That clergyman does not most effectually persuade his congregation that he is divinely commissioned, who most asserts and proves it. There is a magnanimity in honest purpose which loves not to see or anticipate disparaging thoughts and suspicions: nor does it lose its reward. The best mode of

persuading is tacit assumption. Middleton's Life of Cicero leaves on the mind quite as strong a belief of Cicero's existence, of his having been consul, of his having actually written the letters that go by his name, and of his veracity, as could any *Horæ Tullianæ* on Paley's plan, or such a work as that before us: and it has this advantage over them, that it exhibits in full relief the moral and political uses to be drawn from the history, instead of making them only incidental and subsidiary. Mr. Dodd has evidently felt his self-imposed embarrassment, as he has suppressed the *argument* of his work in the shorter title on the label of the volume, wherein he calls it simply "A View of the Life and Ministry of St. Peter." The work is indeed neither a life nor an argument, but something between. The author's principle of organization does but imperfectly pervade his materials. He does his best to enlist and train them all into the service of evidence, either by the formula of Paley's Evidences, or of the Horæ Paulinæ, and some, to do his labours justice, look as stiff and argumentative as could be desired: but a good part of them, though not without independent interest, are nevertheless, with reference to his main object, as the French say of an army out of discipline, sadly demoralized.

Mr. Dodd's plan assumes "that these histories were written by the authors to whom they are ascribed, and have been transmitted to our times free from alteration of any moment." It also assumes the truth of the main part of their contents, *i. e.* of all which is not miraculous: these are the *data* from which he concludes the miracles themselves, which he shows to be the only solution of the rest of the history; so that it is more incredible without them than with them. We have sufficiently expressed our objections to such undertakings, and we think Mr. Dodd's book furnishes an additional proof that in proportion as a man is qualified to write on sacred subjects, *i. e.* in proportion as he is reverent and believing, as he is disposed to welcome Divine agencies, and see them in every line, as he is disposed to dwell on the sacred page, and draw out all its meaning, so is he unfit to handle Scripture sceptically, to distinguish questions from *data*, and unknown from known quantities. The Christian and the inquirer are too often confounded. Prejudices will come out. Men who know and feel the *certainty* of those things wherein they have been instructed, can more easily persuade than prove them. As an example of what we mean, Mr. Dodd (p. 277), *assumes* all the miracles which St. Peter had seen performed by Christ, even the Transfiguration and voice from heaven, in order to prove that His prophecy of St. Peter's fall argued more than *human* discern-

ment. Again, he *assumes* the whole narrative of the deaths of Ananias and Sapphira, in order to prove that St. Peter acted under Divine guidance. We think the work also illustrates that great inherent defect of works on the Evidences, that the necessity of constructing a regular chain of argument leads the writer to put out of sight whatever does not seem absolutely necessary to the purpose, however important it may otherwise be: a self-denying ordinance, which puts the writer in this dilemma, that if he observes it, his book is very unprofitable to the reader, and if he breaks it, he loses his character for consistency and logic.

The whole study of Evidences seems too much to single out and insulate certain points; and the mode of reasoning entailed by the study seems to have the same effect. Thus in our opinion Mr. Dodd, in the early part of his work, puts forward too exclusively the gift of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, as the crisis and the cause of St. Peter's "total change of character;" and endeavours to establish too strong an antithesis between his conduct before and after that event. Surely the resurrection, the ascension, and our Lord's words and deeds in that marvellous interval between them, which seem to have been so specially directed to St. Peter, not to speak of the awfully instructive end of Judas's transgression, should be borne in mind, and that *at every step*, when we are considering the means of St. Peter's conversion, and enlightened faith. If his boldness on and after the day of Pentecost be considered a proof that he had then received a new heart and mind, it should not be forgotten that his Master had, by word of mouth, commanded him to strengthen his brethren when he was converted, had been "seen of Cephas, *then* of the twelve," and had bid him feed his sheep: if Christ said, "Ye shall receive *power* after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you," He added, "and you shall be *witnesses* unto me:" and if it is said that St. Peter testified before the rulers "filled with the Holy Spirit," we must bear in mind what it was that he testified, viz., the resurrection. Did not St. Peter perceive before the day of Pentecost, that "Christ ought to have suffered these things, that through suffering He might enter into His glory?" (p. 38.) The forty days should, by no means, be lost sight of in the history of the Church, being a mid-step between our Lord's humiliation and glory; and, as we may in some sense say, between His bodily and His spiritual presence. With the above view Mr. Dodd unduly depreciates the conduct of St. Peter on several occasions; he argues (p. 32), from St. John's words respecting himself, "he saw and believed," that therefore St. Peter who was with him probably did not believe; and he concludes from the question, "Lord,

wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" that the Apostles "had still their original Jewish prepossession in regard to the Messiah's temporal rule." (p. 37.) Now, besides that their original Jewish prepossession, and that of the other "just and devout" men "waiting for the consolation of Israel," may not from the first have been so utterly and in all senses secular, as we are apt to imagine;—besides this, there is nothing in the Apostles' words to prevent us supposing, what is otherwise very probable, that they had by this time very much improved upon their first hope and view, so that it was no longer, strictly speaking, their *original* prepossession. Mr. Dodd immediately proceeds,—

"How, then, in a few days after this question, was the mind of Peter enlightened to discern that the kingdom of Christ is 'not of this world,' and that its subjects have their 'conversation,' where their best and dearest rights and privileges are, not on earth, but 'in heaven?'"

"Read the Apostle's speech on the day of Pentecost, and mark his entire freedom from the prejudices which had before clouded his understanding." (p. 37).

For our part we are unwilling to believe the absolute secularity of the previous expectations of the Apostles, founded as they were on a literal understanding of inspired prophecies, being possibly at first something like the modern Millenarian views derived from the same source, and having certainly been somewhat enlightened by the converse of their Divine Master; though probably the Apostles were too much awed and bewildered to put together all they saw and heard into one distinct and consistent vision of the kingdom. We also see reasons for concluding that their subsequent expectations for at least many years were still in some degree what many would call secular. So far, at least, from Mr. Dodd's references bearing him out in the strong immediate contrast he upholds, we think the Apostle might consistently have repeated that very same question concerning the restoration of Israel's kingdom on the day after the feast of Pentecost;—nay, years after that wonderful event. Even the miraculous instruction of the Church was very gradual, and not completed till the end of the first century; but who may say when its spiritual instruction, the unseen work of the Comforter, who should lead the Church to all truth, was fully developed and perfected?

Again our respected author (p. 38), treats St. Peter's enlarged view of the new covenant, and perception "that God is no respecter of persons," as a proof of the teaching of the Spirit, without noticing in this place what we think should never for a moment be separated, the dispensation of external means with which that teaching was accompanied; such as our Lord's command to teach all

nations, St. Peter's own vision, the other miraculous circumstances of Cornelius's conversion, and the constant mutual instruction of the visible Church. It is true that in a subsequent chapter (x.), he proves the credibility of the narrative in Acts, x., by a separate and detailed consideration; and when the question is thus brought before him, he admits the *gradual* opening of the Gospel dispensation, and a "change of sentiment in the minds of the Apostles," (p. 162), in conformity with miraculous evidence: but, meanwhile, he has been injuriously parting asunder what God hath joined, the inward and the outward work of grace, by attempting to make all St. Peter's life an evidence simply that he was aided by the Spirit of God. He treats the boldness with which St. Peter publicly preached the resurrection in Jerusalem, as a proof that he was filled with the Holy Spirit, and reserves the effect which that event, whereof he was witness, could not but have on his mind, for a future consideration (ch. iv., the best we think in the book): when he very justly remarks, that St. Peter's constant appeals to the evidence of his senses, and to the reason and judgment of his hearers, instead of his own inward persuasion, vindicates him from the charge of enthusiasm. But so scrupulously does he adhere to the artificial project to which he devotes the two first chapters, that he carefully omits to notice in them the *miraculous* way in which the Spirit was first given, the *extraordinary* gifts with which it was accompanied, and the effect they must have had alike on the minds of the Apostles, and of those to whom they preached. He does, indeed, afterwards (p. 46) advert to the resurrection and subsequent miracles, and conclude that St. Peter, the fallen Apostle, would not have been converted, and would not have said and done what is recorded of him, if he had not had these outward means of assurance: but the apparent effect of introducing this topic separately, and in this order, is to weaken the argument of the previous chapters; as the more convincingly it is shown that the lives and declarations of the Apostles prove the reality of what they professed to have seen and heard, the more do we seem at liberty to dispense with the supposed need of their unseen spiritual assistance.

We are dwelling thus long on Mr. Dodd's argument to prove a spiritual change in the Apostle, not because we think it deficient in cogency, or ill done on his part, but because it appears to us a partial way of handling Scriptures, which should be studied as it were with a hundred sleepless eyes, so that all parts may be seen at once, and that in due proportion. Surely He, who ever uses both outward and inward means; who teaches all men by the visible course of nature and providence, and also by

the notions of goodness He has implanted in their minds; who sent His Son into the world, and vouchsafed to man to "behold His glory," and ordained chosen witnesses of all His deeds and words; who also sent afterwards His Holy Spirit working both by outward and by inward gifts; and whose providence has moreover always ruled the course of human affairs in unison with His work of grace; surely He, would have us jealous lest we magnify *any* of His works to the neglect of others, and explain, by reference to *one* mode of operation, what was in fact the result of *many*.

Yet writers on the Evidences seem very apt thus to treat Scriptures, and for this reason, as appears to us, because they find that the fewer elements they admit into the account, the more easily do they expedite their demonstrative method. Thus Mr. Dodd, in his opening chapters, has exhibited the Scripture notices of St. Peter solely as demonstrative of a miraculous change of character. Paley on the other hand, *suo more*, has constructed them, in common with the lives of the other Apostles, into an evidence of the resurrection, and left Mr. Dodd's conclusion out of the question. They agree in entirely explaining the life of the Apostle on one supposition, but the suppositions they respectively choose for the purpose are not the same. Their lines of argument are parallel, but very different in the premises and the results. It is possible that Mr. Dodd designed his argument as an antidote to the other, which is of course much the more dangerous of the two. The tendency of Mr. Dodd's is, what we are persuaded he would himself least desire, to encourage enthusiasm; a looking for sudden conversions, and for spiritual influences apart from the agency and use of external means. The tendency of Paley's is to make Christianity a matter of sight, testimony, and of moral and ordinary, as opposed to spiritual and extraordinary, agencies. As that is by far the most common direction of works on the Evidences, we will proceed to investigate it, and take leave of Mr. Dodd's pious and careful labours.

Nor do we think it too much to say that the ingenious author of the "Evidences of Christianity" habitually puts out of count, whether his argument requires it or not, the inward work of grace, as utterly, though may be not so ostentatiously, as he elsewhere does the moral sense. He always views things as materially, as externally, as the subject will allow. The peculiar tone of thought therefore which he betrays in the statement, undeniable as it is, "that Christianity is an historical religion, founded on facts which are related to have passed, upon discourses which were holden, and letters which were written, &c.," (Pol. and Mor. Phil. b. vi. ch. x.), leads him to treat the Scriptures simply as documentary evi-

dence, and the Apostles simply as witnesses of the words and deeds of Christ, which were the *external* part of the foundation of the Church.

In Hoadly, we believe, of whom Paley in early life spoke with the reverence and affection of a disciple, will be found the germ of that view which pervades the "Evidences," perhaps even more boldly though less elaborately expressed. Thus, in a passage where he is labouring, with all the enthusiasm of an honourable cause, to deprive the Apostles of any peculiar benefit in the words, "Lo, I am with you;" "Hear the Church;" "As the Father hath sent Me, so I send you," &c., Hoadly pronounces axiomatically, "Whereas the office of the Apostles and those who succeeded them, in the *ministry of the Gospel*, was that of being *faithful witnesses* of what they had seen and heard of our Blessed Lord; of his life, and death, and doctrine, &c." (2d. Serm. on Impartial Enquiry in Religion.) The following is we think all the notice, such as it is, of the unseen agency of the Spirit to be found in Paley's Evidences; all the notice perhaps that the argument required, but on that account telling as much against the propriety, as it does for the consistency, of the plan.

"When we reflect that some of those from whom the books proceeded are related to have themselves wrought miracles, to have been the subject of miracles, or of supernatural assistance in propagating the religion, we may perhaps be led to think, that more credit, or a different kind of credit, is due to these accounts, than what can be claimed by merely human testimony. But this is an argument which cannot be addressed to sceptics and unbelievers. A man must be a Christian before he can receive it. The inspiration of the historical Scriptures, the nature, degree, and extent of that inspiration, are questions undoubtedly of serious discussion; but they are questions amongst Christians themselves, and not between them and others. The doctrine itself is by no means necessary to the belief of Christianity, which must, in the first instance at least, depend upon the ordinary maxims of historical credibility." (Last chapter.)

Though it be only the tone of this extract that we object to, yet what a tone is that! It is however, we think, the tone of the whole book; and while we admit that the plan Paley had chosen legitimately excludes any express recognition of the various unseen spiritual aids employed in the foundation of the Church, we must add our conviction that the plan thus consistently followed up does as naturally impair our dependence, our confidence, nay our very belief in them. But that which was only a tone while speaking of the *foundation* of the Church, a matter wherein this generation as yet happily allows no more than a tone, becomes an explicit statement in a matter wherein the age unhappily

allows greater boldness, viz. the *preservation* of the Church: concerning which Paley thus speaks in the same chapter:

"Upon the greatest, therefore, of all possible occasions, and for a purpose of inestimable value, it pleased the Deity to vouchsafe a miraculous attestation. Having done this for the institution, when this alone could fix its authority, or give it a beginning, he committed its future progress to the natural means of human communication, and to the influence of those causes by which human conduct and human affairs are governed. The seed, being sown, was left to vegetate; the leaven, being inserted, was left to ferment; and both according to the laws of nature: laws, nevertheless, disposed and controlled by that Providence which conducts the affairs of the universe, though by an influence inscrutable and generally undistinguishable by us all. And in this, Christianity is analogous to most other provisions for happiness. The provision is made; and, being made, is left to act according to laws, which, forming a part of a more general system, regulate this particular subject in common with many others."

After this it is not wonderful that the whole and sole foundation and pretence for an order of ministers in the Church, which Paley allows in his Moral and Political Philosophy, is as follows:

"We contend, therefore, that an order of clergy is necessary to perpetuate the evidences of revelation, and to interpret the obscurity of those ancient writings, in which the religion is contained. But besides this, which forms, no doubt, one design of their institution, the more ordinary offices of public teaching, and of conducting public worship, call for qualifications not usually to be met with amidst the employments of civil life." (*Ch. of Religious Establishments and Toleration.*)

England has happily for the present rejected an attempt to construct a history of the elder Church on the principles contained in these extracts: but it should be remembered that faith, like charity, begins at home; we are apt to view other dispensations by the supposed light of our own; and the strong instinct of consistency will urge on those, who hold that *we* are left to "the laws of nature," to believe the same of the children of Israel. It is at least no insignificant symptom that an unsuspected, nay a popular writer, should have made such an attempt at all. We wish the work alluded to could be generally regarded as a *reductio ad absurdum* of the practice of taking only part of what God gives us, and dispensing with the rest. Surely a long and deliberate argument to prove the "facts" of Christianity excluding for the time all the "doctrines," thus supposing facts and doctrines to be really distinguishable, and all the other ways of treating the Bible apart from the Church, are as unsafe as a Jewish history excluding theological matter. Al-

mighty wisdom has not thought fit to give us, as was possible, and as many have presumptuously demanded, a simple revelation, but one very complex. The spirit that asks for a Gospel written on the skies endeavours to extract one as plain and bare out of that which He has actually given. Wearied with wisdom's "crooked ways," it cries out for an easy rule; so it either exalts the Church into an infallible guide, or its own reason, or feeling; or it endeavours to make one out of Scripture by the maxim that nothing need be believed or done, unless it can be infallibly proved therefrom.

For anything we know all these various sources of complexity are conditions of the perfect truth: nay it is most probable that they are so, and that the omission of any produces a corresponding defect in the conclusion at which we arrive. It may sometimes be the order of Providence, that one of these sources remaining pure shall be the corrector and purifier of all the rest. It is also to be anticipated, that if we have unwarrantably insisted on any one of truth's many conditions, to the disparagement of the others, the faith we arrive at will lean towards that quarter, and be coloured thereby; that a "Demonstration of the Deity" will stint our creed to the conclusions of the reason, the historical method will bind us to the *facts* of the case, criticism will make us the slaves of words, or give us only a barren accuracy; the experimental evidence, as Jacob Abbot calls it, will make our religion one of excited feelings, and striking results, authority make us bigoted, and so forth.

Since Paley's time the evidential method, or the theology of "facts," has made great progress; it has spread from the pulpit and the lecture-room to the nursery; and no longer content with convincing the reason, it now furnishes matter to fill the most capacious memory and amuse the most excursive imagination. *Circumstance*, useful and necessary in its place and within due bounds, having been used overmuch and industriously to recommend authority, is now in turn substituted for it. Circumstance appears in every thing from the learned treatise down to the story-book. Popery may be considered what one of Scott's characters calls "a lie with circumstance;" its penny-books for children are filled with ridiculous legends, and the students at Maynooth, as Mr. Inglis, the Irish tourist, informs us, hear the lives of saints, sufficiently apocryphal not to be openly confessed, read during dinner-time. *We* also are filling up the spare time of children, and the spare corners of their minds, with the circumstances of Scripture history, purposely disentangled from doctrine, for the use of the nursery. Nay, a Socinian lady has written a novel to illustrate the manners and customs of the Jews at the

Christian era, and has not scrupled to make our Lord one of the persons of the story. But without going to extreme cases, may we not say that most of the sacred literature of our day pretends to little or nothing more than to remove, as it were, the distance of time and place, and the differences of language, usages, and political situation? It explains what we may venture to call the *accidental* peculiarities of the history of man's redemption. It labours to put us into the place of the very generation of Jews amongst whom those wonderful things were done. It would fain deprive us of the blessing promised to those, who have not seen, yet believe. It cannot indeed entirely establish our faith on the foundation of *sense*, but it would make the foundation as sensible and tangible as may now be, by illustrating Revelation with what is now known and seen in the countries whereunto it was first vouchsafed, and so making it seem an event of modern times; by citing writers who have referred to it in a continuous chain down to modern times, and as it were setting them up in the witness-box for cross-examination. Thus it endeavours to draw aside the veil of years, to disperse the mists of time, to bring near to our eyes by a kind of telescopic method the blue mountains of that distant shore which we now see not untruly indeed, but indistinctly; to make them no longer a fair and mysterious background in our landscape, to mix them up distinct in shape and colour with the obtrusive foreground of near and modern things, and make them homely and familiar as our streets, our dinner tables, and our fire-sides.

With this view many works have been written of late, which, though possessing a certain use and interest to the religious mind, have the questionable recommendation of being equally or even more interesting to the more general reader, the mere collector of information, or admirer of ingenuity. The facts of Scripture have been demonstrated by every conceivable mode of proof, reconciled with every parallel history, and adjusted both with one another, and with every set of facts they could be applied to. The exact topography of Scripture, its plants and animals, have been made the subjects of interesting works, designed for all who might feel an interest in those things whether they did in religion or not, and made a chief part of the religious education of even children.

Now let us not be supposed to undervalue such researches, in their proper place and degree. It has pleased Divine wisdom so to entwine the scheme of our Redemption with human affairs, that every gift of the mind may find its proper employment in illustrating that mighty work, and recommending it to our interest and acceptance. But there are many degrees between the im-

portance of pure Christian doctrine, and of the customs of the modern inhabitants of Palestine; between a right understanding of St. Paul's Epistles, and an elaborate and subtle argument to prove that he ever wrote or lived at all. Now, the very difficulty we find in making ordinary minds feel interest in things unseen, and enter into moral reasons, should warn us not to give up the struggle in early youth before the mind has lost its pliancy, not to sacrifice the age of strong and lasting impressions to employments that shall train them only for annalists, or linguists, or naturalists, or weighers of evidence, and nothing more.

As it is an invidious task to prescribe bounds to studies of a decidedly religious aim, and of great acknowledged use, we will let the experience of past ages speak for us. We are apt to pronounce harsh judgments on them, but the judgments we pronounce sometimes rebound on our own heads. There is a certain era of the Church of which our enlightened generation seldom deigns to speak with respect; holding it to have been dark, not only in arts and sciences, not only in its manners and laws, but also, and that above all, in its religion. Any one who has passed a few hours in a college library, will remember vast rows of gigantic volumes, which heavy and sombre as they frown on the modern student, look like the sepulchral monuments of an obsolete literature; *ἀνδρὸς μὲν τόδε σῆμα πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος.* These are the works of the Schoolmen, great men in their day, heard and read and admired and imitated by thousands. Their theories entered into the counsels of nations, as did, so Paley truly says, the writings of Rousseau and Locke into the political movements of *his* day. Taken as a whole, it was a vast school of learning, vast in its duration and extent; in the powers and labours of its chief masters, and in the multitude of those they led. Yet the judgment of the moderns (we are not inquiring whether true or false), their deliberate judgment, is, that all this learning was but a cloud of darkness, obscuring both Gospel Truth and the natural light of human reason;—that it was all labour lost, a mere shadow of knowledge. The account that a modern writer would give of this failure is, we suppose, some such as follows: "That the writers of the middle ages confounded secular and sacred learning; that they introduced their philosophy to explain the mysteries of revelation; that they speculated when they should have believed; not being content with simple faith, but rationalizing it with theories of human invention; that they vainly attempted to construct a theory of secular politics on an ecclesiastical basis, and so corrupted the Church of Christ into a worldly system; that their affecting to give a religious direction to every department of human knowledge was only a sort of hypocrisy,

whereby they seemed to be serving Christ and his Church, when, in fact, they were only following the world and their own devices; that their ambition was to grasp the whole world, to bring all men, all things, all dominion, all the works of the human mind and body into the Church; that not being able to convert these things, and make them other than secular, they were nevertheless unable to resign the object of their ambition; as they could not conform the world to the Church, they did in the result conform the Church to the world; and having begun with aspiring at a religious aim in all things, they ended with retaining it in nothing." Now we must say that, *mutatis mutandis*, this seems to apply to the sacred literature of our day. In the laudable, if well regulated, desire of rendering it interesting to all kinds of people, it has been so amplified and secularized, that the most irreligious temperaments may now flatter themselves, at a very small cost, that they are employed in the service of religion.

We said above, that the nation rejected the "History of the Jews," but while writing we are reminded that there is, we believe, still on the list of the Christian Knowledge Society, a work entitled Outlines of Sacred History, very similar both in style and design. The author says in the preface of the second edition, that he "has confined himself simply to the narration of the *facts*" of Sacred History, "and has left to others the task of stating the doctrines of which these facts form the foundation:" as if the doctrines had been subsequently added, or might be inferred from the facts, or were really in any sense posterior to the facts. He proceeds, that his purpose is to direct attention chiefly to "the *moral* government of the world," which prepared the way for the Messiah; and expresses a hope that when the youthful mind "has learned that not only the law, but also the *history* of those who lived under the law, directly lead him to Christ, * * * * he will look to the Bible not as a task, but a pleasure; because he will be stimulated to search for the traces of God's plan, and he has a clue to guide him to the discovery." As an illustration of the respective degrees of relief assigned to different objects in this book, it may be enough to observe that the author occupies more space in describing a recently discovered hieroglyphic representation of Rehoboam, as "the unexceptionable testimony of an enemy to the faithfulness of Scripture History," than in noticing, or rather in vaguely alluding to, the Law of Moses.

We shall perhaps seem to deal rather hardly with the Study of Evidences, if we include under that name all the literature, great and small, that aims to give circumstance, minute connection, and familiarity to Scripture. Yet is not such literature now in high repute *as an evidence* of religion, a description to the eye? not a

poetical, a sacred, a reverent description like that in old painted windows; but an imitative, a matter-of-fact description. It would be saying too much for Paley's originality to speak of him as a founder of the modern school of Scripture illustration, yet we cannot help recognizing in it a strong family likeness to that writer's selecting for consideration, in a system of Theology which he himself pronounced complete, only the "facts" of Scripture, harmonizing St. Paul's Epistles simply as evidence of those facts, viewing the order of ministry in the Church and the Apostles themselves only as witnesses of these same facts, and making saving faith nothing more than an acknowledgment of them accompanied with a moderate respectability of conduct. Both are an attempt to escape from Christianity as a spiritual, a mysterious, a present, an authoritative system: to make its material literature a substitute for the visible Church.—But leaving for the present both Paley's system of *facts*, and the modern school which we have viewed in connection with him, we will now confine ourselves to the Evidences properly so called.

The first and most obvious objection to their prominence in public interest and in theological instruction is the little way they avowedly lead; they do not pretend to lead us further than a mere belief in the persons of the New Testament, and the deeds and words therein ascribed to them. Therefore, they do not pretend to lead us so far as we are supposed to be already: for to believe without this particular sort of evidence, without this new proof, is surely a higher step than to believe an account of it. We are, we repeat, supposed to be thus far advanced, as we imply even more than this amount of belief every time we say the Creed; we did when we first said our Catechism; when we first came to Church; deliberately when we were confirmed, and when we were matriculated at the University. The Church holds then that we are fully persuaded of the truth of these things, and of course supposes that we have a sufficiency of the right kind of evidence. Therefore, if there be any thing serious and real in this new evidence offered to us, if it be not a mere dumb show to the general class of students, if it be offered to us really as evidence, *Non animum modo uti pascat prospectus inanem*, it is intended as a *substitute*, not as a *supplement* or *addition*. In fact it *is* a substitution: it offers a conscious act of the reason, in place of a scarcely conscious, but not the less rational act of the whole man, —heart, mind, soul, and strength. Whatever power the awful truths of Scripture may have over our obedience, be it little or great, surely it is not a common thing for youth to doubt them, as truths. Youth does not see them through a medium of incredulity, though it may regard them with indifference, frivolity, or worse.

Though young men may not be always able formally to state the ground of their faith, yet they do receive it, whether they could say so or not, on the authority of the Church;—the Church which they know must have been once founded as the world must have been once created;—the Church whose foundation they read in the New Testament, as they read the creation in the Old, and whose existence is a demonstration of the Divine origin she claims; the Church which teaches them through their parents and the whole form of Christian society, and is the moral atmosphere in which they live and breathe;—the Church, one body, an absolute unity, not a mere continuous chain of testimonies.

Let it, however, be granted that youth soon ceases to be youth, that it breaks through the shell of early prepossessions, that it becomes conscious of independent powers of reason, and aspires to use those powers to form its own estimate of things around it. In what shape does doubt first come, and how is it best combated? It does not first come addressed to the reason, as a conclusion of argument; it does not even come as a new proposition, *i. e.* either a distinct allegation as to matters of fact, or a distinct denial of existing opinions. Who was ever *argued* out of his faith, if he had not first been somehow disposed to be argued out of it? It is only the feeble faith and the distempered mind that doubts assail and prey upon; just as certain destructive insects attack only such trees as are already weak and decaying. The question when it does arise is not one of conflicting evidence, but is a struggle between the world in its most comprehensive sense, and the spirit. The first appearance of the world is a contradiction to all man's first religious impression; and the Gospel, in whatever shape or manner men have received it, cannot easily be reconciled and adjusted with the visible order of things. This is a puzzle which the youthful mind solves for itself in manifold ways; manifold according to its peculiar ethical bias, and according to the peculiar aspect of religion, or of the world, which circumstances have brought before it. The best minds, after many perplexities, and perhaps after a series of painful alternations, come out of the fiery trial with a purified temper indeed, but with the same temper as that with which they started, and with religious views in accordance with that original temper. They do not really change sides, though they may sometimes seem to do so. Who ever heard of a really religious, or a really reverential mind, becoming atheistical or profane, spite of fair opportunities? Yet perhaps the best Christians have suffered the very same stumbling-blocks from the inconsistencies of religious professors, the prevalence of erroneous doctrines, and such causes, as the rest, and have equal pretences to justify irreligion. But what Christian has not

fed and thriven on poisons? All minds, as it seems to us, preserve throughout an identity of character, which becomes the master-principle of every successive system they adopt; for their outward systems may change, though the seeds of character are indestructible. With this mystic guide the mind enters the labyrinth of the world, *cæca regens filo vestigia;* it goes on losing sight of one landmark and nearing another; strengthening or weakening, or correcting its first impressions of religion, and feeding them with the most congenial elements the outward frame of things presents to its choice. In this way every mind creates for itself its own system; establishes as it were a heavenly kingdom of its own. Thus much to show that we do not live by argument; we are not drifted about by conclusions of reason, we are not quite at the mercy of syllogisms. Reason seems but a light which shows us the various tracks over the world's wide waste, without guiding us; and we choose our road *as we like.*

Many are the ways in which unbelief introduces itself into the opening mind, and many the shapes it assumes, beyond the power of man to describe; yet surely the experience of all mankind will witness that it comes always as a certain *tone* of mind: a state of the feeling, a gradual effect of habit, a mode of viewing things, a spirit;—not as a conviction or a question of the reason. Infidelity spreads by first appealing not to the intellect, but to the feelings; it poisons the weak and unoccupied mind with irreverence, with fear or love of ridicule, with hope of licence, with pride, or some such spiritual delusion. Surely the influence of such writers as Voltaire and Volney was not through the reason. We remember that when in early youth we first met with the latter author, we were stunned and bewildered by his *way of talking*, though our reason immediately rejected with contempt the notion that, as Mr. Faber states Volney's theory,

"The divine personage, whom Christians, during the space of well nigh eighteen centuries, have ignorantly revered as their crucified Redeemer, is neither more nor less than the sun in the firmament; that the Virgin Mary is one of the zodiacal signs, the constellation *Virgo* to wit; and that Christ's crucifixion by Pontius Pilate, and his resurrection from the dead on the third day, are nothing more than the sun's declension to the winter solstice, and his subsequent return to the winter solstice through the vivifying season of spring." (p. 102.)

So far from inquiry being, in the order of nature, the first step to belief or unbelief, perhaps we cannot enter heartily and earnestly into inquiry, *i. e.* really inquire at all, unless our religion has somewhat deteriorated, and our first love waxed cold. In other words, unbelief of the reason is subsequent to unbelief of the heart. This false spirit steals into the heart as imperceptibly

as the true Spirit; we know not whence it cometh, or whither it goeth; the kingdom of the world as well as the kingdom of Heaven cometh not by observation; it does not come visibly, and tangibly, and rationally; it is a quality, not merely an ingredient, of the mind; to speak in the language of science, it enters into chemical, not merely mechanical combination. We cannot point to it as to a wound, a fracture, or a leprous spot. It is no superficial injury, no mere local disorder, but a distempered system. The actual creed of infidelity, though it be as a spreading and putrefying sore, is only symptomatic of the evil spirit within.

It is quite a matter of accident whether this unbelieving spirit proceeds to an express and formal denial of Christianity. Under most circumstances it is unnecessary to go so far; the objects of this spirit being better satisfied with a less complete development. This is the case, whether rightly or wrongly we need not now inquire, in the age and country we are writing in. Religious truth is not urged with that obtrusive positiveness, that distinctness of doctrine, and that rigour of practice, which drive men to the alternative of absolute obedience, or absolute rebellion. At least it is not generally, and such is the system of the age; though accidental circumstances may sometimes make it otherwise. Thus positive infidelity, to the extent usually understood by that term, does not probably prevail so much in the soil of religious liberty, as under a more rigorous discipline, an exacter ritual, or a more dogmatic theology. There is probably more in either Spain or Scotland, than in England; though it is by no means to the credit of the last that it should be so. Unbelief is a system of contradiction; it does not contradict more than is asserted; where nothing is believed it does not exist at all; it will almost tolerate opinion and conjectural speculation; it will bestow no further notice than a smile on the private fancies of men; nay, it will allow theology to take rank among antiquities, chronology, geography, and such passive, lifeless sciences: it is only against religion as a living, commanding system of doctrine and precept, that it ever utterly rebels. It will hear and listen with patience, it will acquiesce with indifference, and even study with interest; but it will not obey or be taught; it will not be a disciple. When it is not allowed to receive as much as it pleases, and in what mode it pleases, and to render its own measure of obedience, then it rejects the whole. It tolerates every part of Christianity except its intolerance.

But infidelity is not a mere denial, it is not merely a negative disposition. Like every other spirit it is obliged to seek rest by embodying itself on some actual system or other; a system of abstract principles, if possible; but, if hard pressed, will even take

refuge in a Creed, though there it never stays long. It thus becomes an anti-church, a synagogue of Satan. Sceptical writers are so well aware of this, that they cherish the notion of an unbelieving antiquity and universal consent, *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus (infidelibus).* Like Milner with his *catena hæreticorum,* they delight in tracing the stream of unbelief; and in showing that "all sensible men," or, as Professor Norton says, "the great body of enlightened individuals in all countries, the generality of those who, on other subjects but theology, are the guides of public opinion," were always Arians, or something of that sort. When infidelity meets with a congenial system, there it generally takes up its abode, without being at the pains to originate more than is necessary for its comfortable development. Now we conceive that England, as well as the rest of Christendom, supplies, in the present day, many systems, of professed Christianity, which amply satisfy the cravings of infidelity. When men may explain away the doctrine of the Trinity and of the Atonement, deny the Divine institution of the Church, and the efficacy of the Sacraments, or consider that there is nothing authoritative, nothing real in doctrine at all, and yet be accounted not merely Christians, but even emphatically to hold the Gospel, it is a superfluous waste of negation to profess Deism, or any such undisguised system. Unbelief is not necessarily Quixotic, and if it be allowed to rationalize, will often be content to keep the public peace.

Since these remarks were on paper, we have met with the following illustration of them in a very striking and prophetic sermon on "The Age of Unbelief," preached in 1795, by that faithful but unheeded witness in dark times, Jones of Nayland, who deserves a hearing at least in these pages, being one of the originators of the *British Critic.* The passage furnishes a suitable comment, in the way of antidote, to the quotations we have made from his more popular contemporary:

"But there is a middle generation of people, who would preserve some decency and solemnity of character, between believers and infidels: these are you, *rational Christians,* (as they call themselves), who allow in Christianity all that is agreeable to the religion of reason, but nothing more: and when they have divested Christianity of all that is Christian, they wonder why there should be any infidels; for that Christianity is the most *reasonable* thing in the world. To make it so, all the doctrines of faith are taken out of it: for nature knows not one of them. How can it reveal them to itself? It has no redemption from sin, no gift of divine grace, no danger from the tempter, no priesthood, no sacraments; in a word, it has not one of those things to which salvation is promised. It was never admitted into this country till toward the latter end of the last century; since which the strides of infidelity have been giguntic. And what can be done? We have admitted a worm to the root of the

tree of life; and the withering of its top should have convinced us long ago of our mistake. *Happy would it be, if, in these dangerous times, when many evils are come so near to maturity, men of learning and ability, whose designs are good, would be roused, before it be too late, to an impartial consideration of this case, as I have laid it before you.*"

Unbelief may then be considered to consist as much in the mode of believing, as in the creed adopted. Let us not, however, be understood to favour the current theory of subjective as opposed to objective truth. Neither Scripture, nor experience, warrant us in imagining that men may be good Christians, and not sound believers. There is an intrinsic power of health and strength in true doctrine; and a noxious influence in error. We only mean to say that the professed creed of the unbeliever is a very unequal test of his spirit; and the same man will, in one age, or combination of circumstances, be an avowed infidel; in another only a scoffer; in another, a picker and chooser out of the Christian Faith; in another, an indifferentist, not caring or thinking about the matter.

Before we proceed to consider the question of meeting, or rather of anticipating unbelief, it will be of service to consider distinctly the elements of religion implanted by the All-wise Creator in the nature of man, and fostered by His preserving goodness. This, perhaps, will help us to see the true character of that infidelity, whereof we are now inquiring into the preventions and remedies.

There is in every human mind a certain sacred ground, a τέμενος, divided by the Maker's hand from the common field; and fit materials provided for a temple wherein He should be enthroned and worshipped. The "Desire of all nations," whom "the whole creation travaileth and groaneth after," has implanted therein certain faint conceptions of His glory; aspirations after the great, the good, the holy, and the infinite; hope and fear, and humbleness, and reverence and awe. All these tend to Him being *now* incomplete and unsatisfied. They exist at first only as feelings and powers of conception: they seem without mutual relation and order, because their centre is now unseen; as we sometimes see the rays of the sun divided from their fountain and from one another, broken and scattered over the face of the cloudy sky; *ubi sub lucem densa inter nubila sese Diversi rumpunt radii.* Yet they naturally tend to one centre; though they may be compelled for a time to rest on persons and things of this earth, it is only as a step to heaven. Whatever objects they may attach to here below, they still long for another. He that planted them, has provided that they should not wander at large without means of unity and order, and wise control, though they

are ever longing for their true sovereign. As Homer says of one of the Grecian bards, οὔτε μὲν οὔτ' εἰ ἄναρχος ἔησαν, πρίν γε μὲν ἀρχόν. Thus the soul of man, whether in its natural or its regenerate state, is set in unison with that dispensation of outward things, which ever confesses its own incompleteness; with the absence of the bridegroom whom the world as well as the Church is ever sorrowing after.

We say, then, there is a material of religion in various degrees in every human soul, however it may be directed, however purified, however debased. We say it in the same sense that we say reason, or certain affections, are common to all men. Much of this material is of necessity bestowed on earthly persons and things; so much so that all the better part of our nature may be considered of a religious character. Love for relations and friends, reverence for elders and antiquity, honour for authorities, respect for existing institutions, humility, and loyalty, sense of shame, desire of ascending in the scale of being, disposition to take things on trust and believe what we do not see, gratitude, forgivingness, &c., may all find room to grow in this visible creation, though nothing but the knowledge of the Creator can give them their full developments.

This holy ground is most distinct in childhood, to which indeed all instinctively turn back, at the very thought of natural religion. The whole state of childhood is one germ, one *hybernaculum* of religion. It is almost compelled to be humble and loving, and reverential, and believing. Like Israel in the wilderness, it is sustained without care or forethought only by obedience; it is fed with angels' food from day to day; its raiment does not wax old; it is led every step of its way as it were by a pillar of fire; it is under teachers and governors whose authority it cannot deny, whose truth it can hardly suspect; when it sins, it is against knowledge; it is cherished with perpetual kindnesses, but promptly chastised; it is kept from sin by being removed as much as may be out of temptation, and by compulsory denial; it is encouraged by bright promises, and awed by grave threatenings; all that it sees is miraculous, for as yet it can account for nothing; it sees things as they are, in all the truth of freshness.

Such seems the dispensation of childhood and youth, which though it be tried much in other matters, yet by a special providence seems preserved from any direct or searching trial of its religious belief; or rather, as we have intimated, it has a peculiar religion, wherein it is mercifully trained for the real fight of faith: *pugnæque cient simulacra sub armis.* It sees but the shadows and hears but the echoes of the surrounding warfare. It is only rehearsing, though it is assuredly rehearsing its future part. It is

true indeed of our whole state here below, that we see Divine things as through a veil, or hidden in the ark of creeds and mysteries; but it is especially true of youth, which sees and apprehends Divine things by a measure of its own. In a school and by a law of its own it is learning religious principles, not so much in Divine relations, which are the *proper* subject-matter of religion, as in certain human relations. Scripture encourages us to think that there is in some respects the same difference between "childish things" and the things of men, as there is between the latter and Divine realties; and the same difference also between the understanding and knowledge of children and that of men, as between the latter and perfect knowledge. Youth is conscious that it is, as it were, a subordinate creation, that its own condition of existence is only a part of what it sees, and that only an incipient and preparatory part. All that it has and does is by delegated possession and authority, for it has nothing it can call its own. In the transient interests of its peculiar sphere it is and feels responsible, it acts with freedom of choice, acquires deliberate aims and settled habits and powers of self-command adapted for the bolder range of manhood and the world's wide stage; *Curibus parvis, et paupere terrâ, Missus in imperium magnum.* But out of its peculiar sphere it takes all things on trust; it is not responsible and should not wish to be so. Its proper line is strict and literal, nay Scripture says servile, obedience; simple unqualifying faith. The religion of youth will naturally, that is, if nature be only directed, not perverted, shun all assumption of responsibility: it shrinks from teaching or otherwise interfering with others; it would rather not be supposed to understand what it believes and feels; it avoids a forward profession; of the two it prefers formality to over seriousness; but as far as it can consistently with obedience to positive precept, it would gladly hide itself altogether; it leans towards a dark and distant reverence for holy things; and in the treatment of them above all loathes self-confidence and familiarity. We herein see a gracious Providence protecting religious truth from the rude blasts of childish petulance, and youthful insolence and temerity: as Nature preserves the bud by its compact construction, its tough cuticle, and its glutinous moisture, from the nipping frost; and lets not the tree put forth its leaves till the worst of the frost and wind and snow have passed away. Youth has but the right and expectancy of sacred doctrine; it comes not into full possession and unfettered use, till it has gained some experience at less risk on a cheaper material; it is not allowed to make its first experiments with the whole of its fortune; nature denies it the cruel liberty of marring, encumbering, or throwing away its sacred inheritance of creeds and holy practices, before it enters the real work of life.

It cannot on the one hand run through its religious career, and exhaust its feelings; or on the other hand become prematurely hardened against the peculiar motives of religion, before they are presented to the full light of the opened mind. Even they who make the worst use of the days of their youth, can hardly help retaining their religious patrimony comparatively intact, till they are of age to know its value.

We assert, then, these two laws of nature, or economies; viz., that the religious *feelings* and *principles* of youth are chiefly to be looked for in a guise not strictly religious, and do certainly and widely exist in that guise, while on the other hand its religious *faith* and *observances* are naturally, and ought to be, of a veiled and legal character. We think also, that none bear a stronger testimony to those two laws, than the very people who do not acknowledge them; who assert that nothing is religion but what is such consciously and professedly, and who endeavour to make *that* rest as much as possible on the basis of reason and a sense of personal responsibility. Their testimony consists in the flagrancy of their contradiction to nature, and the universal ill success of their modes of correcting it: *e. g.* they are forced to give up the religious case of a school-boy as a bad job altogether; they confess it a fact not soluble on their theory, an emergency beyond the reach of their art. They are driven to the conclusion that youth instead of being, as we think, peculiarly a period of religious probation, is generally not a probation at all; that the boy is in fact generally only a living embryo. Again, while they are endeavouring to drag youth, or to tempt it into the inner court of the Christian Temple, they find themselves obliged to degrade religion itself, and make it a "childish thing." They dwindle and profane it down to the measure of a toy, a game, or a mere object of boyish vanity and emulation.

This is not the occasion to notice the various empirical schemes for making the Christian faith the proper subject and turning point of youth's religious trial:—for making boys and girls theologians, confessors, proselyters, judges of their brethren, "scripture readers," collectors for missions, visitors of the poor, patrons and lady bountifuls, and so forth. We believe such schemes to be so much against the nature of youth, that is, so contrary to the law of the Divine Will with respect to that period of life, that they cannot and do not prevail against it to any considerable extent. They cannot confound in one the two things that are naturally distinct in youth; viz. *religion proper* as contained in a certain creed and worship, and *religious principles and habits* as formed in the discharge of certain temporal obligations. It is mainly in the latter that the religious ἦθος of youth is tried and exhibited, while its religion on the other hand consists mainly in outward ἕξη.

People may do what they will to develope and ripen prematurely the feelings and understanding of youth on sacred subjects, *naturam expellas furcâ*, still, we repeat, the child will not put away childish things, till it is a man; and if it be made a religionist, that will only be accomplished by previously making a childish thing of religion. On the other hand all are constrained to admit that though the things, whereon youth chiefly exercise reason and choice, have in themselves nothing to do with religion, yet that the spirit and temper which youth displays upon them is in a manner religious or irreligious as the case may be, *i. e.* may be measured by the standard of religion; for all feel and acknowledge that the irreligious habits of manhood are a departure from what is called youthful simplicity, or from some such *religious* habit, which they thereby acknowledge to be natural, and peculiarly natural, to youth.

Let us then contemplate that peculiar state of mind with regard to religion, with which youth approaches the study of Divinity. Let us suppose it passing from home or school to college, almost as great a change in outward circumstances as we can conceive for the Christian soul in this world, and then ask, in what state does its first probation leave it? That religious excellence which the dispensations of childhood and youth tend to, is, we answer, in a word, faith; as they know best of all who are assiduous to counteract this natural tendency, and to make youth independent, inquiring, and rational. Theirs is a sad mistake, as time will teach, who force boys to reason and act as men; who feed them with doubt; who labour to make them wisely sceptical, and able to discover truth by investigating error; who give them disquisition stead of knowledge, confutations stead of histories; and who perpetually inculcate the legendary character of ancient annals: theirs also is a like infatuation, who hail and encourage in children bold inquiries such as themselves cannot answer,—a dangerous omen, we think, though a legitimate consequence of the books which it is now the fashion to put into infant hands. Youth is disposed to take all on trust: it has found *that* the best course hitherto, as every successive advance in knowledge has verified all previous advances and cleared all previous difficulties; it has always been in the presence of superior knowledge, surrounded by what seemed omniscience compared with its own limited stock; doubt and demur it has always found treacherous guides, submission the only *filum labyrinthi;* it has chiefly had to do with informants not chosen by itself, but externally and divinely authorised; it feels a momentum of increasing knowledge, and an expanding vision; it does not stay to make good its ground and provide

for a retreat, to systematize and consolidate its past attainments, and to fence itself against objections; it is accustomed to imperfection, and reconciled to unexplained inconsistencies, as an inseparable condition of all human knowledge; it does not even arrange its materials for practical purposes, but presses onwards into the region of the unknown and the marvellous; it possesses certain powers then at their highest, which from that day forth continually decline,—the power to apprehend and retain new facts, though they may not exactly fit in with the impressions of past experience, or confirm a received theory; the power to take in systems, though they be not mere deductions from admitted principles: as youth takes its knowledge and its informants on trust, so also is it ready to take its hopes and objects; the things it follows, though they be ever so selfish and worldly in themselves, yet become relatively in some sense religious aspirations, because they are followed on trust at the command of some other person whom it is religion to obey, or as voluntary service to some other person whom it is religion to please, not for their own sake, nor even with any clear apprehension of what they are in themselves: in all things it is willing, nay, it feels itself obliged to be led by others. If there is one subject more than another in which it feels as we have attempted to describe, it is religion. We say, at the risk of being misunderstood, that it is natural (and in our use of this word we imply also propriety) that youth should not be familiar with the Gospel as a peculiar system of motives, and should be backward to refer its conduct to them; that it should chiefly view the Gospel externally, and as an awful deposit; and should fear to interpret its biddings and act directly upon them. Youth is so enveloped in a system of human mediation, that it receives Gospel truths and motives second-hand; refracted as it were by certain economic laws through the medium of its own atmosphere; the sun itself whence they originate being as yet below its horizon. We are almost prepared to accept with regard to youth the exaggeration of a writer, who while endeavouring to prove that the proper way of "contending earnestly for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints," is to "build it entirely upon what appears right in one's own judgment," says of every body who adopts a humbler course:

"He really, in this method, believes nothing by any faith of his own; but only thinks he believes, because he is pleased to take certain points upon trust, and to be sure that something is right, of which he himself knows nothing, because another, whom he deputes to think for him, tells him that it is so, or rather that it ought to be so professed."*

* Hoadly's Sermon "Of Contending for the Faith."

Such seems to us the religious habits natural to youth, against which are to be set off certain natural deficiencies. Its very aptness to receive information makes it indiscriminate; it may even be called credulous. It has neither the will nor the power, neither patience nor judgment to weigh evidence, to sum up testimonies, and strike the balance of authorities. It is interested in facts, not as they may chance to bear on a single historical question, momentous as it may be, but according to their intrinsic import and significance.

If it were youth, mere youth, and youth alone that we had to deal with; and if the above were admitted to be a fair account of its dispositions with regard to religion, none of course could deny the utter unsuitableness of the study of the Evidences to that stage of life. But the youth of our lecture-rooms is old enough to be fast losing the feeling of its helplessness, and its absolute dependence on the guides of infancy; it is no longer φαιδρωπὸς ποτὶ χεῖρα, σαίνων τε γαστρὸς ἀνάγκαις, and is apt to give those guides no small trouble by seeking unbidden and irregular means of satisfying its spiritual cravings. At that age there is a race, as it were, between all the powers of mind and body, which quickly breaks or loosens that willing subjection in which the previous years, the βιότου προτέλεια, have been passed. The mind then wakes to the sense of its responsibility; it ceases to take things as a matter of course; it finds those things variable and dependant which it had thought fixed and self-existent; it discovers its sun and centre to be itself also a revolving and subordinate sphere; it exchanges the superficial ruffling, and the petty currents of youth's narrow creek, for the full swell and tide of ocean; it becomes more or less detached from the particular system in which its own lot may heretofore have fallen, and able to contemplate and embrace others. Besides that it is then called upon to undergo the first and greatest labour of Hercules, and to make his choice, it is also beset on all sides by other solicitations and arguments, wherein pleasure and virtue plead in more intellectual guise.

But it is with those alternatives which are specially and professedly of a religious and spiritual character that we are concerned. Youth then begins to apprehend with a larger and a bolder ken the manifold systems and aspects which the one truth is forced to wear before men; the peculiar tradition of its own home, and its domestic opinions and usage; the system of the national Church for the time being; the Bible, and the elements of Christianity and the faint outlines of the primitive Church vouchsafed us in the sacred page; the still indistincter vision of the Church Catholic exhibited in history and the writings of men;

and the various modes of religion or irreligion that happen to be in vogue; all these it surveys no longer guided by the safe and overwhelming prejudices of youth, but with some degree of what the world calls candour, i. e. placing itself in some degree out of all, and thus able to do a measure of what is called impartial justice to the intrinsic merits of each; all these it compares with one another, noting their mutual discrepancies and condemnations. It sees all these variously recommended and pressed on its acceptance, as well by its own natural eagerness, as by the quick and critical emergencies incident to its time of life. It is forced to make a choice, to do one thing or another; to follow one leader or another; to close with one system, one school, one set of companions, or another. It can find no relief from the trouble and responsibility of choice, but in mere nothingness and sensuality. *Then* it makes its first, and, we think in most cases, its last deliberate choice of religion; and the inward rules, the mental precedents, and secret bias, which guide, we may almost say, irreversibly the choice it then makes, are not then and there learnt and acquired for the purpose, but are the religious habits and principles which already exist in the mind, viz. those which nonage bequeaths to man.

It will be at once observed that we have altogether omitted what are called simply moral, as well as what are called simply intellectual, difficulties; and indeed we may almost say that we know of none that are such. They at least are not the questions on which turn our choice of religion, or our acceptance of what is proposed to our belief. The intellectual magnanimity required to save us from stumbling at a seeming inconsistency of dates, or any such trifle, is too small to be noticed. That supreme court of appeal in the human breast, which decides in questions of a religious bearing, judges neither by demonstration, nor by feeling and passion, but ordinarily by its own common law of right and wrong, good and evil, in framing which both temper and intellect have had their share. Apologists and writers on the Evidences foster the idea that Christian faith is distinct from Christian obedience, and is an intellectual question, or may at least for a time be considered as such: it makes for the credit of their craft to consider it such, though doubtless it does too frequently appear only such to them. We neither say this nor think this of any living writer, but we cannot help noticing that Dr. Arnold prefaces with the following most appropriate observations, one of the boldest schemes of apology ventured in modern times;—if indeed it be an apology to say that the Almighty commanded an act that was *absolutely* wrong. But the present occasion requires that we should notice not so much the scheme itself, as the intro-

duction which the writer thinks necessary, in which occur these remarks;

"For the time being, in many cases such as I have supposed, the struggle is mainly an intellectual one: the difficulty lies in the understanding, not in the heart. No doubt every day that this struggle continues, the foundation, at least of moral difficulty, is being laid: the heart cannot long hold aloof from being with Christ, without being seduced to turn against him. But, for the time, the heart might be firmly won, if the intellect were satisfied; or, more properly, if, without being fully satisfied, it were at least put into the right way of being so. Above all, it must be satisfied on those points where its difficulties have assumed a moral character; for here it feels itself warranted in requiring satisfaction: and even if it acknowledge the duty of submission on other points, it will insist that it never can be right to call evil, good,—or to ascribe the encouragement of evil to God. It seems to me, then, to be a work of great usefulness to endeavour to meet the wants of a mind so circumstanced,—to present such a view of the Scripture revelation as may enable a young man to read his Bible not only without constant perplexity, but with immense and increasing comfort and benefit." *

Now it is but vindicating the Divine wisdom as displayed in the dispensation of youth, to say that the peculiar temper which seems (we do not say the best, for that is not our question, but) the most *natural* and *suitable* to that period, is the true preparation for the religious conflicts of the next stage of life, and the secret key to its difficulties: and on the other hand that such habits as at first strike men as being unlike youth, and prematurely manly, are the very worst guides to possess in making the first decisions of manhood. This is only saying that they, who are impatient of the laws and limitations of youth, are morally certain not to resign themselves to the conditions of that state whereof youth is the preparation; and that they, who mistake and lose the bearings of one stage of life, are sure to take the wrong turn on entering the next. In our judgment then, that ideal of the youthful character which we have attempted to describe above, though it may never have been fully exemplified to our knowledge, is so far the proper material of Christian faith, that all, in proportion as they approach to it, are sure to be sound believers, while every deviation from it, or shortcoming, is sure to tell in leading to some form or other of perverted or deficient faith. Does not our daily, our universal, experience assure us of an identity between the spirit of the boy, and the creed and religious temper of the man? Though we may, spite of our shrewdness, have been deceived a hundred times in our anticipations, and may, spite of our experience, be deceived a hundred times again, still looking to facts do we not see an identity?

* Essay on the Right Interpretation of the Scriptures.

The youthful sensualist will in due time, according to circumstances, either do without religion altogether, or adopt such few words and forms as may save him present annoyance; or if his scheme be ever so complete, he will still exclude what is mysterious and unseen. The selfish will make self the centre of his system, the first article of his creed, the sole judge of controversies, the primary object and the perpetual foreground of his religious contemplations. Licence in youth, in whatever matter it may betray itself, though its first outbreaks be suppressed, will survive them, taking, if need be, a spiritual form, "speaking evil of dignities," making free with creeds, devising its own image of God, founding its own church, instituting its own modes of communion and worship, to the neglect of the revealed pattern. The self-willed will be as fertile in shifts to escape implicit faith, as he now is to elude the obedience demanded of his youth: though he stand self-convicted of a thousand errors, he will never learn self-distrust in such matters as are as yet beyond the reach of present conviction. They who cannot acquiesce in the teaching of their "tutors and governors," and ask reasons for it addressed to their present capacity, will be as unsatisfied with that larger, but yet, we may say, as limited, economy, in which manhood moves: for we are placed in this world with certain conditions of ignorance, against which it is alike sin and folly to rebel: we can neither see beyond the grave, nor yet what a day may bring forth; at least we have only indistinct glimpses and scarcely consistent information of the future state: we are encompassed by hidden things above and below, the knowledge of which would interfere at once with our moral probation, and only make us more helpless and miserable; we say therefore, that if youth is not content with *measured* knowledge, imperfect systems, and statements on trust, it is incapacitating itself for the work of life: so it *must* do, what the last-quoted writer says it *cannot* do, in language so happily expressive of what we wish to deny, that we shall best express our meaning by transcribing it.

"This state, however, is one which an educated man cannot remain in. With greater powers and opportunities of discovering truth, he gains, unavoidably, a greater sensitiveness to apparent error or inconsistency,—a greater impatience of obscurity and confusion. It is vain for such a man to envy the peace of ignorance; God calls him to the painful pursuit of knowledge, and he must not disobey the call. Nor may he, as some do, strive to do violence to his understanding, and to the very nature of things, by trying to combine knowledge with an undisturbed tranquillity of belief, to enjoy the pleasures of a clear and active mind, without being subject to its pains. He may not say, 'Here I will have the comfort of a reasonable belief, and here of a blind one.'

It must be all reasonable or all blind; otherwise it will soon vanish altogether, and be succeeded by unbelief."*

But we will proceed with our enumeration of the youthful signs of an unbelieving temper compared with their mature development. That conceit which is quick to judge elders, and to measure the actions of men by the rules of boys, will never on this side the grave be at a loss for materials. The habit of disrespect, that blindness of the soul, which disables youth from seeing the persons and things of this world in that relative honour and authority wherewith Providence has invested them, cannot but grow into a blunt, indiscriminate perception of the relative holiness of sacred things, and their respective claims on our regard: on the other hand many a soul which was otherwise adrift on the sea of religious speculation, has been stayed and anchored till the storm was over, and so saved from shipwreck, by its habits of personal affection and respect. The youthful jester is silencing not only his timid companion, the object of his railleries, but also many a still more delicate and shrinking instinct within his own breast, which perhaps will therefore not speak in the day when it is most wanted. Will it not be found that every *forward* exhibition of the unbelieving temper has shown some early tokens in a want of that youthful shamefacedness which makes the soul hide itself, and reserve the mental diseases which it condemns or suspects though it has not strength to extinguish: and which in outward act is still so obedient, that in course of time its outward habits become corrective of those inward errors, more corrigible because not exposed? Irreverence early taints and minishes that precious stock of sacred things which Providence commits to youth as the nucleus of its future religion; puts them entirely out of sight or prematurely rends the veil and looks in; makes youth as it were read backwards holy words, and strips holy names of their awful garb; till it finds itself at last without its mental advisers, and *compelled* to lean on its own understanding. The indolent youth becomes hesitative in faith as well as practice; assumes leisure to canvass, and shortly sees a lion in the way; he is idle and doubts, stead of learning and believing: whereas active obedience takes for granted precept and instruction, and soon realizes them without stopping to inquire into their reason or warranty. The petty tyrant of the playground will in after-life still love to have the pre-eminence, or will addict himself to that popular cry or religious fashion which recommends itself to his sympathies by seeming for the time being the most brow-beating and overbearing towards all that do not fall in with it. The secularity which

* Essay on the Right Interpretation of the Scriptures.

fills the mental horizon with this world's seeming substances; and the pseudo-romance which peoples its atmosphere with the not more unsubstantial visions of its own creating, are diseases of youth equally common, equally early, and equally certain more or less to circumscribe the compass of its spiritual ken, and close up the gracious openings left in the walls of this terrestrial frame of things, *flammantia mœnia mundi*, through which a practised eye may discern the eternal realities beyond.

Will not our readers remember this most prophetic difference between the companions of their youth, that though all might feel themselves equally uninitiated into the Gospel, and might equally shrink from its profession, yet that some were, so to speak, more "superstitious," as our translators render St. Paul's words, than others? That is, some manifestly felt more than others *that there was* a spiritual Being, and a spiritual creation, compared with whose realities the things we see are but a shadow; though as yet they shrunk from looking into it, or openly recognizing it. And we question whether any of those have by this time so degenerated, or could ever so degenerate from their early feelings, as to think theology a mere play of words and cobwebs spun out of the human brain; or as to wonder, as we have heard people wonder, what residents in a University could be employed about, or how so many thousand volumes as are seen in a theological library could be filled; or as to prefer the study of German philosophy to divinity, because forsooth, as we have heard said, nothing could be propounded new in the latter study, or really useful to mankind, and there was in it no room for the higher powers of the mind, and the nobler feelings of the soul.

Again, a busy temper which is ever attempting to twist the order of Providence, and which observes the principles of human nature only as available means to secular results, exhibits itself in restless interference and unauthorized combinations, long before it is of age to reform or found new communions; *incestos amores De tenero meditatur ungui*. Who, again, ever followed the multitude to do evil, who ever feared to confess the truth before men, and so had it taken away from him, that had not given way to the same moral cowardice at school? The habit of concealment, which shrouds itself from the surveillance of parents and teachers, will also cloak and dissemble before God, and will revolt from doctrines which bring too *near* His ever-present hand, His sleepless, all-seeing eye. Simulation and disingenuousness leave their own revenge in the mind by confusing its perception of truth and error, and placing it for ever in a false position, a *falsetto* tone, midway between faith and scepticism, earnestness and indifference, sincerity and empty show.

We have said above that it is natural and proper that youth should have a comparatively external knowledge of religion, and that do what we will, we cannot make its knowledge other than external; that its opinions are not so much *in* religion as *about* religion; and that it is acquiring certain prejudices as to what religion is: but it is of the greatest consequence what those prejudices are, and we are now attempting to show that it enters manhood with such habitual prejudices, as cannot but affect its choice of religion,—as cannot but constrain it to adopt the whole, or only a part, or none of the Gospel; a genuine or a spurious, a faithful or a sceptical version of it. When therefore youth in due season makes a *right* religious choice, we assert that it is not owing to clearness of intellect, to independence of judgment, to *freedom from* prejudice, to any abstract love of truth, or to any working of chance; but to the possession of certain habitual ways of thinking and feeling, which we are not ashamed to call wholesome prejudices, constituting our notion of the believing temper. On the other hand, we think it obvious that the wrong direction taken by most minds in religious matters, is, humanly speaking, the inevitable consequence of certain unwholesome prejudices contracted in youth: such prejudices, for example, as that any one may any day when he chooses construct, by a mere process of intellect, the whole *substance* of Christianity, out of a few natural principles of goodness and common sense; and that no religious system in vogue is better and more real, nay few or none so good and true as what a clever person may thus devise for himself whenever he shall take the trouble to do so; and that in the words of Paley (last chap. of Evidences)—"Let us once fix our minds upon the belief of a God, and after that all is easy:"—the prejudice that evil may be eradicated and perfect results may be obtained; and that the Gospel therefore stands self-convicted as an unsuccessful experiment, which it is useless to try longer:—the habitual want of sympathy which despises a faith because it is common, and is rather pleased to disagree than to agree:—the prejudice in favour of novelty over antiquity, of independence over submission, of teaching over being taught, of great achievements over small things, of laying others under obligation instead of being oneself obliged, of enlightening mankind over being enlightened, whether by one's fellow-creatures or not as God wills, of being wise and great over being good, of procuring glory to oneself over giving glory to God.

And when, as often happens, with these habitual prejudices there exists in the youthful mind a highly-cultivated reason, a strong sense of harmony and simplicity, and a yearning after something nobler and purer than what we see, "the things that should have been for their wealth," are "unto them an occasion

of falling;" youth's pillar of fire is become its cloud of darkness. The light it has serves it only as a keen sense of justice does the contentious man, making him still more contentious. In such a case the gift only makes youth more keen-sighted to see and stumble at defects and inconsistencies in religion as taught and as exhibited by those around it; and premature to form or choose the system which, once adopted, is probably to be one's life's companion. There is not a difficulty in Revelation for which common life is not a school of preparation, in which are conditions seemingly incompatible, things impossible unto man. Who ever was able to construct a consistent scheme of life excluding or meeting all difficulties, perfectly harmonious, a true function of its own principles, quite self-satisfactory? Many have tried and spent their lives in the project, but only to be crushed or maimed under the fall of their moral castle-building: but unhappily men do not so soon find out the vanity of *religious* systems constructed with the like intention to exclude all difficulties.

The very impetus also of such aspirations as we speak of, when they are not duly chastened, carries youth rough-shod through the gracious scheme of providences devised to guide its faith: and makes it far outrun, beyond the reach of sight and hearing, scruples, misgivings, forebodings, wise counsels, and all the tender instincts of fear and love and reverence; just as old Phœnix describes Destruction far outstripping Prayers, the daughters of Jove; the former strong and fleet; the latter with trembling knees and faces wan and eyes askance, yet in the end heard by their father, to the cost of him who for the present disregards them. In such instances that state of mind is permanently formed, into which our great dramatist describes Coriolanus, vainly trying to force himself, when he sees his wife, mother, and son, coming to plead for Rome. The passage is so full of happy parallels to the persuasions of instinct in behalf of *our* heavenly City, that we cannot find heart to curtail it.

> "My wife comes foremost; then the honour'd mould
> Wherein this trunk was fram'd, and in her hand
> The grandchild to her blood. But, out, affection!
> All bond and privilege of nature, break!
> Let it be virtuous, to be obstinate.—
> What is that curt'sy worth? or those doves' eyes,
> Which can make gods foresworn?—I melt, and am not
> Of stronger earth than others.—My mother bows;
> As if Olympus to a molehill should
> In supplication nod: and my young boy
> Hath an aspect of intercession, which
> Great nature cries, *Deny not.*—Let the Volces

Plough Rome and harrow Italy; I'll never
Be such a gosling to obey instinct; but stand,
As if a man were author of himself,
And knew no other kin."

Nor is that remarkable quality of the youthful mind to be omitted, that sense of newness and freshness, that dear delusion that makes the things it delights in seem as young, as new-sprung into existence, as elastic and pliant, as itself; which makes it also sympathize with things like itself, with beginnings rather than ends, with the youth of institutions, with primitive times, and first principles: a quality designed no doubt by Gracious Wisdom as a continual sweetener and renovator of the world, and specially of His Church, just as rivers are perpetually supplying freshness to the ocean. Who has not known this dream, this *amabilis insania*, in some shape or other? If it were not for such a spring within, for such a brightness without, youth would only subside where it found itself; it would stagnate, it would sink under the dreary sense of its long, its endless responsibilities; and the Church, as well as all other things on earth, would soon be old and dull. Therefore age by age a new supply of youthful hope and vigour is thrown upon her golden shore; *Juvenum manus emicat ardens Littus in Hesperium.* Age by age that wondrous colony is founded anew by eager bands, to whom weariness and disappointment are as yet unknown. Utopian views are the sugared bribes of youth; and the bugbear it most dreads is a stale and fixed and customary state of things. Yet how nicely poised this feeling, how quick it turns and falls to corruption, and then how mean and grovelling a thing it may become! If those youthful gleams of hope and freshness light where they should, and where a right moral sentiment will guide them, on what is good and holy,—well. But oftener they light where weakness, passion, and self-will direct them, on some course of indulgence, some vision of the world, some fashion of the hour, some human theory, some chimera of the brain. Then all things else seem stale, flat and unprofitable; wisdom seems dulness, devotion seems weakness, faith seems bigotry, order seems formality, the things of yesterday seem out of date: the young religionist thinks that what was piety five years ago needs conversion, the young worldling despises habits and opinions of that standing as obsolete.

Thus have we attempted to describe, first, what appears to us the *natural* and legitimate character of youth; then the mental habits, which, we are well aware, do more or less impair its free and perfect development in every individual. That natural character seems to us *faith*; and on the other hand, those manifold forms of independence and scepticism seem peculiarly unnatural to youth, be they ever so common; unnatural we mean in that

we condemn them, not only by our abstract sense of propriety, but by a reference to our notion of the youthful character and to the obvious conditions of that particular state of existence. We object then to the plan of putting first and foremost in theology the proofs and evidences of the Christian faith, because we think it is not suited to the *natural* character of youth, but only intended to meet certain habits of mind which grow up in spite of it. It seems to select for its purpose not the best but the worst part of the material which is given to it. It seems to suppose, as a certain well-known lady says, that it is better to begin with a little aversion. It is a condescension and an accommodation to a certain irreligious and unyouth-like spirit; likely also, we think, to countenance it and bring it out: meanwhile, at the expense of the *proper* spirit of youth, and of those persons who having well acquitted themselves in the first stage of their probation, have retained and comparatively perfected its genuine temper and habit. It is a neglect and virtually a denial both of the inward grace of faith, and of that outward scheme of grace vouchsafed to us in unison with it, viz. the visible Church; dealing with youth as if it had neither the temper, nor the instruction, nor the very senses of a Christian, nay as if it were not even in Christian land. We have lingered thus long in our attempt to describe the *temper* of faith, and its formation in the youthful mind, knowing that many people overlook the natural and ordinary quality of faith, as a temper which may be exercised not only on religion, but on kindred subjects. Enthusiasts of every kind are apt to recognize only two views of faith; first, as a conclusion of the reason, secondly, a special impression of the truth of the Gospel: and thus as appears to us they lose sight, between the two, of the *temper* of faith, and fall into a corresponding error of practice. They think they do as much as *man can do* in the way of instruction, when they present clearly the evidences and proofs of the Gospel, and wait for the work of grace to do the rest. Mr. Blanco White, in that distressing narrative of his personal experience contained in his "Evidence against Catholicism," unconsciously falls into this view; and while he is piously endeavouring to exalt the extraordinary gift of God, does injustice, as we think, by omission, to His ordinary grace displayed in the *preparation* of the regenerate soul. He truly expresses at the same time, the inadequacy of the Evidences as a means of conversion, though, as he relates, they were the first step in his own:

"That assurance respecting things not seen, which the Scriptures call *Faith*, is a *supernatural* gift which reasoning can never produce. This difference between the conviction, resulting from the examination of the Christian Evidences, and *Faith*, in the Scriptural sense of the word appears to me of vital importance, and much to be attended to by such

as, having renounced the Gospel, are yet disposed to give a candid hearing to its advocates. The power of the Christian Evidences is that of leading any considerate mind, unobstructed by prejudice, to the records of Revelation, and making it ready to derive instruction from that source of supernatural truth; but it is the *Spirit of Truth* alone that can impart the internal conviction of *Faith*."—p. 27.

Mr. B. White well observes in a previous passage, that the Evidences can only give a sense of probabilities, not of likelihood. We are disposed to go further than he does, and say that these two senses are absolutely incompatible; i. e., that the terms describe two different states of mind, which cannot exist together; that the inveterate disciple of probabilities is ruined for the sense of likelihood, which in its turn consists of such prejudices and partialities, such "sensations, feelings, vital assurances, sense of reality —rather than thoughts or any distinct conception," as Coleridge says in a passage quoted by Mr. B. White, as cannot but impair the sense of probabilities. Now we think the style and plan of Paley's writings are nothing but an attempt to substitute probability, which is good for nothing, for likelihood which is all the battle. But Mr. B. White is a writer who speaks too much from experience to be done justice to by any mere abstract of his views:

"I learned," he says, "that the author of the Natural Theology had also written a work on the Evidences of Christianity, and curiosity led me to read it. His arguments appeared to me very strong; but I found an intrinsic incredibility in the facts of revealed history, which no general evidence seemed able to remove. I was indeed labouring under what I believe to be a very common error in this matter—an error which I have not been able completely to correct, without a very long study of the subject and myself. I expected that *general* evidence would remove the natural *inverisimilitude* of miraculous events: that, being convinced by unanswerable arguments that Christ and his disciples could be neither impostors nor enthusiasts, and that the narrative of their religion is genuine and true, the imagination would not shrink from forms of things so dissimilar to its own representations of real objects, and so conformable in appearance with the tricks of jugglers and impostors. Now the fact is, that *probable* and *likely*, though used as synonymous in common language, are perfectly distinct in philosophy. The *probable* is that for the reality of which we can allege some reason: the *likely*, that which bears in its face a semblance or analogy to what is classed in our minds under the predicament of existence. This association is made early in life, among Christians, in favour of the miraculous events recorded in Holy Scriptures; and, if not broken by infidelity in after-life, the study of the Gospel evidence gives those events a character of reality which leaves the mind satisfied and at rest; because it finds the history of revealed religion not only *probable* but *likely*. It is much otherwise with a man who rejects the Gospel for a considerable period, and accustoms his mind to rank the supernatural works, recorded by Revelation, with falsehood and impos-

ture. *Likelihood*, in this case, becomes the strongest ground of unbelief; and *probability*, though it may convince the understanding, has but little influence over the imagination."—pp. 15, 16, 17.

Nothing but a due regard to faith, as a *temper*, a habit of the soul, be it more or less matured, can secure that we present sacred truths rightly as *things to be believed*. We have seen in the last generation a union of seeming opposites against this view of faith; the demonstrative method and the enthusiastic spirit, the Evidences and the modern version of the Gospel, hard reasoning and fanaticism, have combined to exclude Christianity as an object of *faith*, i. e. of the ethical habit so called. They have slighted and almost rejected the Church and the creeds because these are not matters either of mere demonstration or of mere feeling; or in other words can neither be proved by reason alone, nor felt without it. Thus do apparent extremes meet, and shut out faith, the golden mean.

Disguised as it may be, we say that faith is the prevailing temper of youth, the moral conclusion to which all its inward workings and outward circumstances conspire: and this is the element, the natural qualification, brought by the Christian pupil to his "master in Israel:" faith assisted by suitable powers of the intellect, by fresh and eager curiosity, by quickness to apprehend new things, and to follow up theories of reason, series of incidents and systems of truths; with the certainty that what is then learnt, and thought, and felt, will last through life, and be the standing knowledge, faith, and feelings, of the longest, the busiest, and the most energetic maturity. On this faith so assisted, the Church may safely rely, and should largely draw:—to do so is no more than justice to it, and to the Gracious Providence which prepares it for the Church's hands. If the Church does not draw on that faith, and furnish it with a sufficient, an expanding, and a living system, *others* will in their own way in her stead. When Universities give their *alumni* Evidences, and the like style of theology, and fear or fail to supply their religious sympathies with other more congenial food, we cannot be surprised to find the ground they desert, soon occupied by the less scrupulous empiric, who bases his system on religious feelings, and feelings alone. When authority does not act, and vindicate her rightful ground, nature will not be idle, but will send forth a plentiful crop of unauthorized systems. The pseudo-spiritualist will gladly resign to the Church the office of exhibiting the Evidences, and guarding what are called the outworks of religion; while he would usurp the weightier office and the higher praise of leading the Christian on to perfection. This praise the Kirk, the Wesleyans, and all the more serious Dissenters, are willing to concede to the Church; though it is far from their wont to allow her what they

really consider creditable. For our part, we are disposed to pass on the hollow compliment, and bow to the superior claims of the Anti-Trinitarian school, which we believe has originated and most thoroughly cultivated this new make-believe theology, this shadow of divine knowledge, this "apology" for Christianity. It feels that, professing to be Christian, it cannot help for decency-sake producing some show of sacred learning, and therefore exhibits with no small pomp a vast apparatus of vindications, credibilities, authenticities, testimonies, &c. &c., all of which end, as we have said above, in proving only what the Jews saw and knew without being Christians;—which all fall short even of those principles of the doctrine of Christ, on which St. Paul thought it a shame to be lingering at that time of the day. Why should we dispute with the deniers of our Lord's divinity, the doubtful honour of proving His existence and His miracles? Let *them* settle the matter with their neighbours Paine and Voltaire; let *them* be the hewers of wood and drawers of water to the congregation; let *them*, like the Samaritans of old, furnish an additional proof of the genuineness of the Scriptures by being zealous for *them* (another version if they please) while at enmity with the *Church*.

We are not indeed now justified in taking that awful sentence on a niggard faith, "whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath," and making it a rule of our proceedings, though it is undoubtedly a law of providence; for we have not authority, even if we thought it expedient, to leave the youthful sceptic on his downward course, and say, "what thou doest, do quickly;" and we are besides commanded to receive them that are weak; yet are we bound to fulfil, to the best of our power, the promise joined with that sentence, "Whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance." And if the question do arise, if there are two alternatives, if two actual courses of study are submitted to us; and the one seems to sacrifice the believing for the sake of the doubtful, to stint and degrade, and restrain the much faith of the one, in order that we may secure at all events to the other "that which he seemeth to have;" while the other course seems to imply a disregard of the doubting and the lagging soul; we think the curse and the promise referred to, the Ebal and Gerizim of faith, justify us in choosing the latter alternative, and not suffering the lean kine to swallow up the fat ones.

All experience bids us beware of those remedies, worse than the disease, which sacrifice the rights of the good to the demands of the bad, hope to fear, future prosperity to present ease. Force of arms, persuasions of wealth, convictions of reason, and the weak concession of a lower creed and easier discipline, all

merely still the world at the expense of the Church, and that only for a time. We see in Romanism the sad result of a *menage* from hand to mouth, a spirit of unbelief ever recurring to human expedients, and finding them fail in the end. Thus the prosecution of heretics and unbelievers might for the time stifle a pressing evil, or at least conceal its open outbreaks;—desirable objects enough: but it obtained them at the serious cost of depriving *all* Christians, good or bad, of their *freedom* of profession. In like manner for the sake of a few sceptics, Christianity has been removed by the school, of which we are writing, from the old basis of faith, and founded anew on argument. Rome has tainted religion with force, Protestants with rationalism. On the one side the law of liberty has indurated into bondage; on the other belief has melted into a doubtful disputation.

And in many ways, as it seems to us, do the modern defences of Christianity lower the tone of faith. Lavater observes, that persons who live together, such as man and wife, borrow somewhat of one another's physiognomy; and we must all admit the contagion of mental peculiarities. Now though manners are affected more by amicable communications, we think the result sometimes follows even those of a hostile nature. Familiar and frequent opponents learn one another's tactics. Controversialists often know clearly neither their own hypothesis nor their antagonist's; so they know not what they admit, or what they contradict. While they are spending their fury against what seems the point of the adverse argument, they are often imbibing unconsciously latent premises of far greater importance. Sometimes purposely, sometimes unawares, they answer the enemy on his own grounds, and in either case they are probably catching his spirit. Though they feel the position not to be their own, yet they are becoming habituated to it. Conventual language, and the use of the same words, is sure to generate some community of sentiment. We think this danger is no where greater than in the argument with infidelity; against whose visible sting we think many a man has been proof, while he has gradually sunk under its poisonous breath; whence it has often happened, that though the apologist seems to keep possession of the field, and sets up his trophy accordingly, yet it is at so great a sacrifice of Christian principle, that we have reason to exclaim, "Another such victory, and we are ruined." For example, the writer on Evidences is compelled for the time to treat Christianity as a speculation, or rather an historical question, antecedent to belief; to regard belief as a conclusion of the reason, and capable of being augmented by evidence, without losing in quality. His very undertaking implies that full proof is necessary, or at least may be fairly expected. His very task of reconciling things with one

another, and with our existing notions, encourages that overweening prejudice in favour of consistency and intelligibleness, than which nothing can be more odious and vulgar, nothing more contrary to the onward walk of faith, and hope's upward gaze, that is ever looking out of this visible system for chance indications of other spheres; and instead of stumbling at the contradictions and the ἄπαξ λεγόμενα of Scripture, eagerly embraces them as the clues of new mysteries. He supposes moreover a thing which does not exist, and which it is dangerous to imagine, a mere *rasa tabula*, a candid mind, a mind neither good nor evil, neither corrupted nor renewed, neither made after the image of God, nor after the likeness of fallen man, nor yet as again partaking of the Divine nature through Christ. Dr. Pusey, in his work on German Rationalism, gives several striking historical illustrations of this hurtful interchange of views and feelings between the two parties in the controversy. "Translations," he says, "of our earlier English apologists opposed to these (Deistical) works did but aggravate the evil, and increase the rationalist tendency; partly because they had themselves been in some degree tacitly acted upon by the systems which they opposed, partly as being too exclusively intellectual, &c." (Part I. p. 127.) He instances as specimens of those systems the attempt of Lord Herbert to remedy the unpracticalness of the existing system, by converting Christianity into a mere system of ethics; and Tindal's view of it as a mere republication of the religion of nature, to which it appears he had been led, on his side, by the constant appeal of Christian writers to the rationality of their faith. For our own part we cannot help looking on Paley's works as a sort of concordat between Christianity and Deism, establishing the *facts* of the former on the principles of the latter. We are of course scarcely at liberty to adduce Hoadly's writings as an instance of the ill-tendency of apology on rational principles, as he is obviously confronting the orthodox believer rather than the sceptic. Still, however, though he starts from a different end, he goes over the same ground as the school we are discussing, and illustrates the same process of argument, as much as if he had written with the sincere purpose of converting the unbeliever, instead of using that as a mere pretence for assailing the Church. Four of his sermons (though like the seventy-five different shapes in which the French cook served up a horse's head in a siege, all his sermons are on one subject) are entitled pre-eminently, "The Duty of Impartial Inquiry, and the two extremes of Implicit Subjection and Infidelity." So here we may expect to find Hoadly's *via media*. After sufficient warnings against unreasonable bias, &c., he proposes as the first topic of

inquiry the Evidences: the next topic is singularly in keeping, and confirmatory of our remarks, as we at least think. It is in his words, the question,

"What it is, that he Himself delivers to his *immediate* followers, as *His religion*, and the will of God: because if we do not confine ourselves to what is His *true* and *pure religion*, we may wander continually in mazes of human contrivance; and never extricate ourselves out of those difficulties, which may be brought upon us in our inquiries."

Wherein it is to be observed, first, that we should confine our inquiries to the *ipsissima verba* of our Lord; secondly, that we are at liberty to enter on a subsequent inquiry, on any principles we please, as to what portion of those words were delivered as *His religion* and the will of God. And now comes one great advantage of this rule, the one great advantage which we contend has seduced better men than Hoadly, and better men than Burnet, (see his conversation with Rochester), to surrender the Creeds and the Church:

"This rule will be of vast use to us, with respect both to such as will be objecting things against the religion of Jesus Christ; and to such as will be imposing things, as of necessity to eternal salvation. For, as the inquiry then is natural, whether those things objected against in *Christ's religion*, be really in it, as He delivered it to the world: so, if we find them not there, we cut off, at once, the whole ground of the objection. On the other hand, Are those things, which others would impose upon Christians, as laws of God and Christ, anywhere to be found in the *Gospel*, as delivered to the world by *Himself*? If not, the answer is easy to those who would add to His laws unreasonable burthens; and bring them upon men under the severest penalties. Thus, when we see in the *Gospel* itself the great and only design of bringing men to happiness, by believing in Jesus Christ as sent of God, in order to a constant and regular practice of all virtue, of whatever is reasonable and becoming: this will give us such a view of Christianity, as will make us able to reply to all objections against it, taken from any such representations of it as are different from, or contrary to this."

We have heard of "a new way to pay old debts," but we think that the rule of surrendering all the things objected to, is a still newer way to answer old objections. It has often appeared to us that more justice has been done to Christianity by its enemies, than by the apologist. *They* seem to have a truer, a fresher, and less modernized notion of its principles than the apologist, whose main object is to square, soften, and concede as much as he can. In fact they have more legitimate reasons for their position than the apologist for his, who is such, not because his principles are different from theirs, but because he knows less what it is he is defending, than they do what they attack. In such cases we can

only pray to be saved from our own protectors, or, as poor Canning said, "Save, save, oh save me from a candid friend." We will, however, return to the more latent dangers of the argument with infidelity. The very natural attempt of the writer on Evidences to enter fully into the objections of his opponents, and do justice to their difficulties, leads him to adopt for the time much of their nakedness and irreverence of expression, and boldness of hypothesis:—but who can touch pitch and not be defiled? The result is often the same as when satirists think to check vice by unveiling it: reason is convinced at the expense of a corrupted imagination. The answerer would fain anticipate the objector; and is proud to show that he is not behindhand in the knowledge of scepticism. We have heard an instance of an avowed sceptic getting an university prize on some branch of the Evidences; nor do we wonder at it. Who make the best Bow Street officers, though perhaps the worst reformers of morals? An ingenious treatment of objections requires a certain taste for the science of scepticism.

The frequent attempts to convert probable into demonstrative argument, and circumstantial into direct evidence, can hardly fail to induce a hard way of reasoning, not suited to religious questions. *E. g.*, it is clear that miracles were not vouchsafed to *all*, and that such as were worked were not *so* worked as to convince the greatest number possible; and again it is probable they were not so worked as most forcibly to strike and convince all those who were permitted to be witnesses. There was evidently a certain providential method observed in their ministration, and they were not obtruded on all men, as copies of the Scriptures and religious tracts are now-a-days. Yet writers on Evidences generally assume their absolute and universal publicity.

"Now, if these matters had never occurred," says Mr. Faber, "what could have been more easy than their confutation? Numerous witnesses might have been brought from the neighbourhood of the lake of Tiberias, who would readily have declared that the alleged facts of twice miraculously feeding large multitudes were wholly unknown to them; and the whole town of Bethany would have attested, that the marvellous tale of the resurrection of Lazarus was, from beginning to end, a barefaced fabrication. Yet we hear not that these facts were ever controverted, though the Jewish rulers were, from the first, decidedly hostile to the cause of Christianity, and though the falsification of the miracles would, above all other things, have promoted their object. Hence the obvious presumption is, that such facts were too notorious to be safely contradicted."—(*The Difficulties of Infidelity*, p. 200.)

Again, Hoadly, (for mentioning whose name in the same sentence with Mr. Faber's, we feel some apology due to the latter gentleman), says in his sermon on the Extreme of Infidelity:

"Before the Gospel miracles can be justly condemned, the point would be, to show that our Lord refused to do his great works before his adversaries, or those who had an heart to examine them; as impostors have done: that he avoided the light, &c."

Now, we ask, do these passages seem consistent with the economy of miracles, as we may gather it by considering the actual place, time, and manner of doing them, the selection of persons on whom they were wrought, and our Lord's own account of His methods? Hard reasoning is an attempt to deduce *undeniable* consequences; and there commonly go with it strong assumptions; just as the dialectical character of natural science in the middle ages, involved, as a matter of course, a prejudiced and indiscriminate way of observing nature. It is an instrument which, in the hands of writers arguing for the Scriptures, sometimes makes them as presumptuous in filling up its voids for the purpose of demonstration, as the early ages of the Church are said to have been in filling up the scanty notices of the Apostolic lives. We think it is hard reasoning, and strong assumption, in the unbeliever who says the Jewish rulers *can* never have heard of the miracles, or *must* have known them never to have been really wrought, *otherwise they would have become Christians.* As another example of what we mean by the term, we will quote some of Professor Norton's "Reasons for not believing the Doctrines of Trinitarianism."*

"The doctrine (of the proper divinity of Christ) is proved to be false, because *it is evident from the Scriptures that none of those effects were produced which would necessarily have resulted from its first annunciation by Christ, and its subsequent communication by his Apostles.* The disciples of our Saviour must, at some period, have considered him merely as a man. Before he commenced his ministry, his relations, and fellow-townsmen, certainly regarded him as nothing more than a man. Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, the brother of James and Joseph, and of Judas and Simon? And are not his sisters here with us? At some particular period the communication must have been made by our Saviour to his disciples that he was not a mere man, but that he was, properly speaking, and in the highest sense, God himself. * * * * Let us reflect for a moment on what would be the state of our feelings, if some one with whom we had associated as a man, were to declare to us that he was really God himself. * * * * And when convinced of its truth, with what unspeakable astonishment should we be overwhelmed! * * * * But we perceive nothing of this state of mind in the disciples of our Saviour, but much that gives evidence of a very different state of mind."—(pp. 103, 104).

* As quoted in the Appendix of Mr. Blanco White's Observations on Heresy and Orthodoxy.

"If it (the proper divinity of Christ), had ever been taught, it must have been the main point of attack and defence between those who assailed and those who supported Christianity. There is nothing ever said in its explanation. But it must have required far more than any other doctrine to be explained, illustrated, and enforced; for it appears not only irreconcilable with the unity of God, but equally so with the humanity of our Saviour; and yet both these doctrines, it seems, were to be maintained in connexion with it. It must have been necessary, therefore, to state it as clearly as possible, to exhibit it in its relations, and carefully to guard against the misapprehensions to which it is so liable on every side. Especially must care have been taken to prevent the gross mistakes into which the Gentile converts from polytheism were likely to fall. Yet, so far from any such clearness of statement and fulness of explanation, the whole language of the New Testament, in relation to this subject, is a series of enigmas, upon the supposition of its truth." (p. 106.)

On the other hand, we think it the same style of argument to infer from there not being now extant any contemporaneous contradiction of the miracles, that they were *notoriously* true. It is possible that the Jewish rulers, neither fully knew, nor yet were quite ignorant of all the earlier miracles; that certain informants whom they might reasonably suspect, brought to their ears certain confused rumours of a sort which were, in those times, often spread, and as often falsified; that their indifference kept them from making farther inquiry; and that their state of mind was somewhat between absolute belief, and absolute unbelief, and cannot be described in terms commensurate with either of those conclusions of the judgment. What if it should then appear that the miracles were generally such, and so done, as to be believed only by a certain, *i. e.*, a believing class of minds; that the proofs and declarations of certain doctrines, such as the Messiahship and the Divinity of the Son of Man, were even more thriftily husbanded, and even more exclusively directed to those same minds; and that, further, certain questions more *immediately* practical, *i. e.*, more *directly* concerning the *mode* in which Christ communicates to each of His members His saving gifts, have been studiously and providentially left still more difficult, and still more dependant on a right temper of mind for their right solution;—it will then appear also that the peculiar way of treating the Evidences, which we have described above, and called hard reasoning, will not furnish the fittest key for opening sacred mysteries, (as far as they are to be opened), and the right *calculus* for attaining the perfection of Christian faith and knowledge.

"The Evidences," as the very word seems to imply, confine the attention to what is evidently and expressly testified. Now people may, of course, differ on the question whether there are any parts of the faith and practice of the early Church which do not

appear expressly in Scripture, or in the earliest Christian writers, or in heathen testimonies; yet thus much is clear, that if the affirmative of this question be true, then they, who will only admit what *does* expressly appear in those writings, will lose both the portions of faith and practice thus "not proven" by evidence, and also the precious lesson intended to be conveyed by the caution and indirectness observed in expressing them. Now the Church and the Creeds do certainly, as all the chief writers on the Evidences hesitate not to avow, teach and maintain some things utterly incapable of proof by the evidential method. Therefore while he who submits to hear the Church will both gain those truths and that lesson, the disciple of the Evidences will lose both. Let us suppose, for example, a serious student, with leisure to make a conscientious preparation for orders, led by accident to begin with a diligent study of the Evidences; with his reason trained on this model, let him come bye and bye to some point of doctrine, on which, to use the phraseology of the day, "all good men are not agreed," such as the Personality of the Holy Spirit, and the propriety of the address to Him in the Litany; with the impression, of course, that he ought not to profess acquiescence, till he has *direct* testimony to satisfy him. We anticipate for him a long, harassing, and perhaps unsuccessful enquiry.

Again, let it be considered how many subsidiaries are requisite to the understanding of any statement or single word that has a reference to abstract or moral subjects. We may know a language grammatically, know every derivation and, in a manner, every idiom; we may know much of the history and manners of the people that speak it; and yet want that familiar acquaintance which alone will disclose to us all the meaning and spirit of what we read. We understand in proportion to our knowledge. We solve every new difficulty by our previous information. The direction from which we arrive at any given point determines the line of our future progress. Now without our attempting to describe in this place the right preparation for the study of the Scriptures, it is obvious that approaching them as certain works of the Evidences supposes us to do, *without* prejudice or any peculiar preparation at all, treating them as antecedent to the truth delivered to us, without any guide but common sense, as if the reader were "the son of an oak," or one of the stones which Deucalion threw into the empty world, must lead to our assigning the lowest and most naked signification to Scripture;—etymological, perhaps, grammatical, critical, historical, and so forth, but any meaning rather than doctrine, and any doctrine rather than that of the Church.

But it is not too much to say that these books generally divest the reader of his Christianity even more than the plan of their argument strictly requires. Though it were allowable to insulate him, as it were, from the Church, to make him forget his faith, and every believing association and rule of judgment, they commonly do more than this. Nay the very *force* necessary to do this carries them still further on. They suppose him, and they make him, *positively* unbelieving and irreverent. They appeal to him as worse than a heathen, independent of the Church, not in circumstances, but in will; one of a system formed not only out of the Church, but against it. They appeal to the world, or (like Dr. Shuttleworth, on Tradition, p. 14) to "mankind," and set it up as a judge over the Church. Thus they carry the interpretation of Scripture, and other sacred questions, "before the unjust, and not before the saints." No wonder then that the Church has so often reason to complain of the decision.

These are sacrifices that deserve well to be weighed before we intrude on the youthful mind as the substruction of a well-built theology, an amœbæan strain of objection and reply; Deist and Christian, *Arcades ambo, Et cantare pares, et respondere parati.* What if the youth be taught a facility in answering objections, and making revelation look all straight and square: we know not whether this be not almost as dangerous a faculty as readiness at *making* objections. There is nothing τετράγωνον in theology. The notion that there is nothing in it, but what may be adjusted to visible facts and acknowledged principles, is but another form of the Epicurean dogma, *Ex nihilo fit nihil.* But perhaps the more common result is an equal facility at objecting and answering, which indeed the possessor, as life advances, may have little opportunity or encouragement to practise, but which must abate from the seriousness of his religious convictions, and impair their holding on his practical energies. The power of assuming divers and contradictory positions sometimes costs the habit of tenacity to the true one. Difficult as it is for the intellect to grant falsities and to waive truths for the sake of argument, it is still less easy for the heart to do even a temporary violence to its first religious impressions, and having done it, to resume them unimpaired. Men who needlessly brave suspicion by often stepping on the slippery confines of propriety, are apt to acquire what is called a leaky character; so are they liable to a leaky faith who play with truth and falsehood. Moreover the mass are not able to distinguish between admissions for the sake of argument, and one's actual faith. We remember that Taylor, the infidel preacher, once pleaded at the Old Bailey that the witnesses brought against him, being no logicians, could not see the difference between

hypothetical and categorical blasphemy. Now we fear that long elaborate processes of argument proving the fact of the Church's foundation, but hypothetically omitting certain chief agencies in that work, are likely to produce a similar unintentional injury on the minds alike of the propounder and his hearers. A false supposition in argument easily becomes a false principle of conduct, and what the mouth consents to suppress for the time, may easily become a permanent omission of the heart. The voluntary *deliquium* of faith may end in an eternal trance, or in a contingent and an hypothetical hope like that with which the Frenchman died; "I, if I am, leave my soul, if I have a soul, to God, if there is a God." Again reasoning to confute others is obviously a very different process from seeking the truth, and is likely to stand in its way. Many things *may be said* to the unbeliever, but *one* thing only is true; and he who knows the many is likely to confound with them the one. There is, for example, little in Paley's works to counteract the suspicion, that the reply in the following passage, which he considers sufficient for the unbeliever, is also sufficient for the writer himself.

"The difficulty which attends the subject of the present chapter, is contained in this question; If we once admit the fallibility of the apostolic judgment, where are we to stop, or in what can we rely upon it? To which question, as arguing with unbelievers, and as arguing for the substantial truth of the Christian history, and for that alone, it is competent to the advocate of Christianity to reply—Give me the Apostles' testimony, and I do not stand in need of their judgment; give me the facts, and I have a complete security for every conclusion I want."—*Evidences*, Part III. ch. ii.

The new foundation of the Evidences has of course been deemed necessary to make up for what many had thought fit to reject, the testimony of the Church Catholic: and certainly if quantity could make up for quality, "if a gross of green spectacles" would stand instead of food and clothing, we should have no reason to complain of the substitution. It was thought desirable to construct an historical or literary chain of evidence, instead of the social transmission. The question was carried from the Church to the library. Of course the unbeliever has gained boldness if not strength by the change of the ground, feeling himself more at home among books than rites and ceremonies, and treated perhaps as a gentleman and a scholar, instead of "a heathen man and a publican." The infidel writer of "The New Trial of the Witnesses" thus expresses his thanks, which we are well pleased it falls not to us to acknowledge, for the ease and enlargement which he is sensible of deriving from the Church's new mode of defence:—

"However that may be, the lovers of truth are under infinite obligations to these men (Sherlock, Littleton, &c.) for having at last conducted them into the right path, after having for ages wandered in the thorny wilderness of superstition and false philosophy."—p. 4.

To Paley, however, he gives the palm as his chief liberator, saying that "his book supersedes every other on the subject." But in the following passage he still more explicitly recognizes our change of footing, and shows what *we* lose by it:—

"These writers (Origen, Athanasius, Jerome, &c.) were not contemporaries with the Evangelists, and have in fact little more ground to proceed upon than we ourselves have, except what is now become so fashionable to despise; namely, the tradition of the Church, for with respect to a correct and critical knowledge of Scripture, it is allowed by all, that these fathers are far excelled by theologians of the present day."—p. 44.

If there is one principle more obvious than another in the Divine dispensations, it is the perpetual union and identity of the witness and the teacher. The lawgiver, the prophet, the king himself, the very founder of the institution, the very declarer of God's will, the very person who demanded the obedience of God's people, was the witness, the only witness, of his commission. His testimony was inseparable from his office: it could not be contemplated without himself being seen and heard: it could not be fully understood and entered into, except while listening to him, and obeying him: it could not be taken in the hand, opened, held up to the light, turned inside out, dissected, and analyzed, for the satisfaction of the curious and indifferent. It went with the speaker as much as the grace of his person, the authority with which he spake, and the brightness of his face. Thus from the creation of the world, the Church alone exhibited her own miraculous credentials, she alone interpreted each awful sign; and each sign spake only in affirmation of her preaching; like that fabled token of true birthright—

"Horn of the inheritance.
"Horn it was which none could sound,
"No one upon living ground,
"Save he who came as rightful heir
"To Egremont's domains and castle fair."

It deserves however to be inquired, whether the undue importance now attached to the study of the Evidences have not arisen mainly from the peculiar direction given to theology in the sixteenth century, by which the eye of faith was turned from the *things believed* to *their image* in the human breast. Doubtless the divines who led that movement, could themselves well

distinguish between the faith they taught, and a mere assent to "the facts of Christianity;" nay, they vehemently protested and carefully guarded against so fatal a confusion. Yet the pains that writers take to provide against a consequence of their teaching, are not commonly thought to prove that consequence unlikely or unnatural. At any rate the distinctions by which the writers in question tried to guard their teaching from abuse, were not so tangible, were not so strong a bulwark against men of gross perceptions and overbearing tempers, as the differences between Catholic truth and heretical error, on which the ancient Church had more insisted. The question once asked was, "Whom do men say that I the Son of man am?" and the answers made by individual men could easily be tested by the Creeds: but after the changes referred to the question became, Do you merely believe the history of Christ, or do you believe *in* Christ? that is, "Is your faith a right kind of faith?" The controversy passed from doctrine to spirituality, that is, to Christian ethics, a much vaguer and less determinate subject than the other. This self-chosen position of *spiritual* truth, however, the visible Church could not retain long: as the multitude, that might have been overawed by the fixed and commanding rule of Catholic doctrine, could without shame and without much danger of conviction, challenge a superiority to her truest sons, by that easy and accommodating rule of *spiritual*, or in other words, and as it was bye and bye explained, of *moral* goodness; a rule which changed with the spirit and temper of the age, and therefore was no rule at all. The world was as pleased to accept the new basis of orthodoxy, as a candidate for academic honours who finds his examiner departing from the letter and the facts of his subject, and allowing him an opening for the use of shallow tact, and uninformed cleverness. Like a politic foe, that world had only to lie in wait, and to aggravate the injuries which the Church was receiving from the rashness and presumption of her own members. Much it had rejoiced when the speculations and disputes of the Schoolmen brought discredit on the supremacy of Catholic *doctrine;* and still more when the exaggerated pretensions of the Papacy, *ἐνταθεῖσα πρὸς βίαν ποδί*, seemed to founder for ever the cause of Catholic *unity* and *obedience*: but the triumph of Latitudinarianism was complete when the absurdities of the Puritans brought contempt on that new question, on which Luther vainly thought to fight the world, the difference of a lively and a dead faith, and their several operations. When "the notes of the Church" were overlooked, "the signs of a converted man" could not be expected to engage more attention. Unity was broken, orthodoxy despised; so "godliness" did not long survive. The

enemy soon learnt the new watchword of the Church; "faith only" was asked, and faith only they bestowed, with as little inquiry into its quality and fruits, as into the particulars of what was believed. It is not too much to say, that when the new article of a standing or a falling Church had been tried a century and a half, it had become the pretence of a religion, not indeed Antinomian, but not less contrary to the law of Christ: a religion which cared not for a high standard of practice any more than for unity, creeds, and ordinances; and which dispensed as summarily with the requirements, as it did with the conditions of Christian faith. On this pretence then multitudes claimed to be believers, nay *were claimed* as such by the Church, who believed little more than did those Jews who said, "Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know?" though, like the same Jews, they were disposed to ask, "How is it then that he saith, I came down from heaven?"

Now we say it was to meet this *last* system of an historical, as contrasted with a Catholic, an orthodox, and a "lively" faith, that the modern study of Evidences was introduced. Surely men must have vastly overrated the spiritual value of a bare assent to the truth of Scripture history, before they could make it the τέλος, the centre, of so much labour. Do not books of this sort leave on the mind the impression that it is a great thing to be quite convinced that there was such an one as Jesus of Nazareth, who did the miracles ascribed to him?—that it is a great step, instead of being in *our* case no step at all, if not a backward step, to come to a decision on that question, to recognize the fact, to allow it to be incontrovertible, to dwell on it with conscious certainty? What exact impression Paley's Evidences leave on the mind, each reader only can know for himself, but the author himself in the conclusion of his argument does not carry us much further onwards, backwards, upwards or downwards, whichever it be, than the step we mention. After particularizing the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, and of a future judgment, as the chief disclosures of revelation, he proceeds:

"Other articles of the Christian faith, although of infinite importance when placed beside any other topic of human inquiry, are only the adjuncts and circumstances of this. They are however such as appear worthy of the original to which we ascribe them. The morality of the religion, whether taken from the precepts or the example of its Founder, or from the lessons of its primitive teachers, derived, as it should seem, from what had been inculcated by their Master, is, in all its parts, wise and pure; * * * a morality, in a word, which is, and hath been, most beneficial to mankind."

And then he stops. Thus briefly does he dismiss all "other

articles of the Christian faith," i. e. all beside the Resurrection and the Judgment, describing them as "only the adjuncts and circumstances" of these two doctrines;—nay, leaving it doubtful whether he does not consider them all included in the "morality of the religion." This omission, compared with what he does say, appears to us as sadly significant. As however it may be excused on the plea of consistency to the plan, we will adduce the terms in which he speaks of his three works together in the dedication of his Natural Theology:

"The following discussion alone was wanted to make up my work into a *system:* in which works, such as they are, the public have now before them, the evidences of Natural Religion, the evidences of Revealed Religion, and an account of the duties that result from both. It is of small importance that they have been written in an order the very reverse of that in which they ought to be read. I commend, therefore, the present volume to your Lordship's protection, not only as, in all probability, my last labour, but as the *completion of a regular and comprehensive design.*"

Now we think the student may search all through this *complete system*, without finding what are specially called the mysterious doctrines of Christianity; so that we cannot but conclude *they* are what he refers to, immediately after the last quotation, when he speaks of "subordinate differences of opinion," and disparagingly contrasts them with "substantial Christianity;" and that, like Burnet smoothing down the Creed to Rochester's acceptance, he thought them merely the refinements of schoolmen. Is there one word in all this "complete system," which the tutor of the Unitarian College at York, or wherever else this system is adopted, need omit, qualify, or explain to his pupils? These were Paley's *novissima verba*, and they afford us no ground for supposing that he really held more than he conceived there was occasion to express in his works on Christian Evidence and Morals. His method, admirable as it may seem in its own sphere, failed him in matters of doctrine. The end of his argument was the "facts" of Christianity, and there he rested,—effete,—*emeritus*. The Apostles were witness of Christ, and Christ was witness of His own resurrection and morality; that is all we need believe; they who do believe thus much have sufficient ὁρμή, sufficient momentum, so to speak, and may add what they please; but what they add to that will be only private opinion: or in the words of a Socinian periodical,* reviewing the work of a recent convert to its views, "Christianity is a moral influence derived from certain facts; and whoever receives the facts, may, if he will, enjoy the doctrine. We should prefer, therefore, to define Christianity to

* Christian Teacher, Oct. 1835, p. 625.

be the reception of the life and character of Jesus, as moral facts. All Christians agree in this, and it is enough." There is no reason therefore to doubt that Paley held deliberately and to the last what he said in the heat of party strife thirty years before the date of the last quotation, in his pamphlet against requiring Subscription.

"The question concerning *the object of worship* is attended, I confess, with difficulty: it seems almost directly to divide the worshippers. But let the Church pare down her *excrescences* till she comes to this question; let her *discharge from her liturgy controversies unconnected with devotion;* let her try what may be done for all sides, by worshipping God in that *generality* of expression in which he himself has left some points, &c."

In support of which project he cites a most appropriate passage from "the excellent Hoadly," as he elsewhere calls him. In the same pamphlet there occurs the following note:

"How a creed is to be made, as the Considerations recommend, in which all parties shall agree, our author cannot understand. I will tell him how; by adhering to Scripture terms: and this will suit the best idea of a creed (a summary or compendium of a larger volume), and the only fair purpose of one, *instruction*."

After this it is needless to observe that in the chapter on Religious Establishments and Toleration (a mode of stating the subject which reminds us of the figure of speech *pateris et auro*) he advances, that even supposing the Apostles instituted a certain polity, it cannot be *proved* that it is obliging on us; that he utterly rejects creeds and confessions, as checking inquiry, and violating liberty, and in fact always contradicting the real opinions of those who profess them; and that he holds that the establishment ought from time to time to be altered or qualified according to the majority of the nation. Thus far and no further did the arithmetic of the Evidences carry the Joseph Hume of theology.

The ancient Church forgot those things that were behind, reaching forth unto those that were before; and, after the apostolic precept, leaving the *principles* of the doctrine of Christ, desired to go on unto perfection, not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith towards God, &c. But the Church of later times seems willingly to fall even further back than those first principles:—"Let us first make ourselves sure there was such an one as Christ at all," say her tardy sons; which scarcely seems part of the very foundation. Surely some blight, some curse must be resting on the land, for this can hardly be but a dwindled and expiring theology, "ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth;" an ever-nupturient, never-wedded love. After three centuries of much seeming toil

through tangled wood and deep morass, it finds itself spell-bound no nearer its journey's end than when night set in. Our ill-starred divines, "tossed to and fro," stead of being brought by this time "unto the haven where they would be," and exclaiming with mixed joy and fear, *Jam tandem Italiæ fugientis prendimus ora*, sink under the sad experience of past perils, cry out, *Italiam sequimur fugientem*, cast away hope, burn their ships, and settle where they are.

Ἄνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παγαί. Stead of believing much on little proof, wherein early piety once delighted, this age of reason seems to pride itself in the inverse measures of the briefest and the lowest creed, and the greatest demonstration: whereby it incurs a double miscarriage, viz. both in the quality and the quantity of its faith. It cannot be said to believe what it merely holds to be historically proved; and is disposed to hold nothing but what may be proved with a sort of historical certainty, in which predicament lies perhaps the greater part of Christian doctrine, e. g. "one baptism for the remission of sins," which the Socinian periodical above quoted contends not to be necessary, on the ground "that nothing can be essential which is not clearly stated." But every thing is warped and stunted to this new rule of much proof and little faith. The Scriptures are studied to prove them genuine: the lives and peculiar styles of the Apostles are brought out to prove that there were such men: stead of new and unheeded truths being brought out to augment our store, we have undesigned coincidences to prove the old and familiar truths that no Christians should for a moment doubt: many know nothing of the Fathers to their credit, except that they were writers who sometimes quoted the Scriptures, and therefore implied their existence; while they are scarcely aware that the same Fathers bear the like testimony to the existence of certain *doctrines:* and as we have the *evidence* of the Fathers in place of the Church's internal history, so for her external fortunes we have the *testimony* of heathen writers. The awful miracles, works as stupendous as the world's first creation, have come to be regarded in a general way in their lowest character as credentials of a Divine mission, not as the presence of the Creator and Preserver, the God of Israel, entering into his own, and subduing all things unto the Son of Man; nay, with scarcely a reference to the *peculiar* instruction which each was designed to convey. All things are viewed evidentially. Christ's death was only an evidence of His love: or, as Hoadly expresses it, "was to engage us to himself, i. e. to the stricter observation of his laws, which are the laws of morality;" and of course the like outward instruction is all the same author allows to the Sacraments. "The Evidences" are made to run like an underplot

through the whole body of Divinity; which the modern student investigates comparatively heedless of its harmony and beauty of doctrine, and tears to pieces for his petty purpose, as a barbarian demolishes a splendid building for the sake of the metal clamps, and burns the marble columns for lime; or as Jedediah Buxton attentively listened to a concert that he might carry away the exact number of the notes.

The connection we have endeavoured to trace between the changes immediately consequent on the Reformation, and the direction of theology we have been describing, has of course been noticed by writers, whose views lead them to contemplate with equal satisfaction both the cause and the effect. Dr. Benson, who was a non-conformist, and like not a few of his fellow writers on the Evidences, an Arian, prefaces his "History of the first planting of the Christian Religion" with the following prophetic remarks:—

"There is nothing more universally entertaining than history. And the sacred history, if rightly understood, would be the most pleasing and useful. This method of conveying down, from age to age, the revelation of the divine will, has some advantages; beyond that of *systems, institutes, or apostolical canons.* For what is founded upon *facts* ought to be *historically* related: and no evidence strikes the bulk of mankind, like public and undoubted *facts.*

"'Tis not much above two hundred years from the commencement of the *glorious Reformation:* since which, the *Protestants* have not been able, entirely, to shake off the *spirit of infallibility* and persecution. We live, indeed, in a day, when liberty is in the ascendant; and we ourselves are the happy nation: but 'tis scarce half an age since, since this greatest of temporal blessings was precarious. It is therefore no wonder that the *study of the Scriptures* (as well as of other *arts* and *sciences*) is capable of improvement; and that by *free inquiry,* some things are found to have been misrepresented in the ages of *darkness and tyranny.*"

The century which has elapsed since these words were written has thrown much light on their import. It has shown that all who take that path go only in one direction; *vestigia nulla retrorsum:* and we cannot agree with the wish expressed by Mr. Hartwell Horne (who by the bye does not notice Benson's heretical views) that the work in question may be republished. The experience of the last century has not however deterred some modern writers from pointing with gratulation, more qualified perhaps than Benson's, to the connection of cause and effect which we have been illustrating. Thus Dr. Chandler, in his Bampton Lectures, triumphantly produces the Evidences as a compensation for various admitted ill consequences of the Reformation:—

"And what has been the result of these changes? That the liberty of discussion has sometimes degenerated into licentiousness; that the mind of men, emancipated from its shackles, has sometimes abused its

freedom, and run wild into excess, we know and acknowledge with the most sincere regret. We are also aware that there has arisen an almost endless series of controversy, wherein the spirit of Christian charity has too often been forgotten, in the eagerness of dispute and the keen desire of victory. But with a full perception and free confession of these abuses, we still may ask, has not the cause of Christianity prospered? It is since the period, when the mind of man has been awakened from its torpor, and when religion, like other matters, has been a subject of investigation, that the true interests of the Gospel have been promoted. We now possess a number of treatises, in which the Evidences of revealed religion are set forth with so much weight and precision, that we receive our faith, no longer merely as that of the country in which we chanced to be born, but as that to which, after fair inquiry, we are disposed to give our voluntary and reasonable assent."—p. 221.

The Roman Catholic communion, whatever else it was or did, must be allowed this praise, that it was ever distinguished as a pillar of the truth. Its awful unity seems to have preserved it from the infidel temper of recent ages, as much as from the vast apostacies of the Eastern Church. Bacon, in his Advancement of Learning, reviewing with no small exactness all present and past theology, never once notices the Evidences of Christianity as a branch of learning either existent or desired. The Romanist therefore can hardly fail to think it a decisive condemnation of our system, that, after having enjoyed our liberty for three centuries, we are now employed in proving the existence of Him after whose name we call ourselves; and have dropped so far to the rear of theology, as to make this a prominent feature in the instruction, not merely of the controversialist, not of the Church's professional advocate, but of the general student. He must think it an admission, that, severed from the Roman Communion, we have no authoritative voice in our own, and cannot put forth the Bible in the name of the English Church; and *therefore* are driven to make the Bible stand by itself, by a cumbrous apparatus of Evidences. He must then conclude that we "have gained this harm and loss" by not hearkening to the voice of Rome, and by loosing from her communion. We shall seem to him as a youth that left his father's house, and went into strange countries, on a vain conceit that he could do better with his own wits, than by an obedient use of his father's ways and means; but who after a long while was found so reduced, as to be providing for the first necessities of nature, by piling up sods for protection from the weather, and gathering wild berries for food; but who yet fondly clave to his poverty, because it was self chosen. Or he will adopt, with his own interpretation, the words of a writer whom we have several times quoted for other purposes:—

"When the faith of Christians is new settled, by weak and fallible men,

many hundred years after Christ left it settled by himself; and the charity of Christians so confined by these new settlements, and by the decrees of those who make them, that Christians of later ages have been as effectually known by their hating and abusing one another, as their great Master desired they should be by their loving one another; when this is the case, I say, then we find infidelity gaining strength, not from any arguments of its own, but from those which it draws from the conduct of professed believers.—*Hoadly's Fourth Sermon on Impartial Inquiry.*

We need not linger to answer the Romanist, who is as responsible for our separation and its consequences as we are, except to observe that his own attempt to make the Church all sufficient without the Bible is producing the same unhappy retrogression, the same scepticism, and the same necessity for laying again the first foundation of faith, as the Protestant attempt to dispense with the Church, and to base the genuineness and authenticity of the Scriptures on history and criticism. We admit however thus far, that, when it is considered a study of the Scriptures does naturally and unconsciously inspire a conviction of their genuineness and veracity; and a study of the Fathers and of Church history imparts *their* evidence to Scripture in the same sure though imperceptible manner; it does seem as strange and unnecessary to make that conscious which was before unconscious, to make that professed which was certainly implied, to make that the object of exclusive and laborious attention which was before the easy and unfelt appendage of nobler objects, as if we were all at once to desist from conversation with our friends for the ordinary purposes of use or recreation, and, moving the previous question of their existence, were to set about an ingenious but superfluous scrutiny into the coherence of their words, and other outward manifestations.

Surely life is too short for superfluous labour, for accumulating arguments to prove what we know already. Common sense suggests that we should learn at as little expense of inquiry and proof, as is consistent with our safe progress—that we should proportion the trouble of investigation to the need of it; and should not spend our "labour for that which satisfieth not." The proverb indeed says "overmuch caution does no harm," but that means overmuch provision against possible evils, not overmuch scrutiny of possible good, which is at the same time superfluous care, and the greatest rashness. It is a Sisyphian toil to be ever retracing one's steps; not to be content to have been carried by others to the place where we now find ourselves, but to dismount and go over the ground again on our own legs; to persist in acquiring all we have, doing all we do, learning all we know, and believing all we believe, *proprio Marte*, as though we would be beholden to none, not even to God Himself.

Do we not see a certain character of providential blight and doomed futility on such labours, when we measure them with their scant results? Is it not a carrying out much seed into the field, and gathering but little in? We conjure up doubts ourselves, and tremble before the creations of our own fancy, like them of whom it is written, "the sound of a shaken leaf shall chase them; and they shall flee as fleeing from a sword; and they shall fall when none pursueth?" Whereas faith is ever overthrowing her enemies with their own weapons, and their own numbers; so that they "fall one upon another as it were before a sword:" she mounts still higher by the very stumbling-blocks they put in her way: when they say, She is entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut her in, then she makes the same sea her way and their destruction: the deadliest thing hurts her not; when they look that she should fall down suddenly, they are forced to change their minds and acknowledge present divinity: one argument of her's chases a thousand cavils, and "two put ten thousand to flight."

ART. II.—*Curæ Criticæ in Historiam Textus Evangeliorum.* à J. M. A. Scholz. Heidelbergæ, 1820.

2. *Biblisch-Critisch Reise: nebst einer Geschichte des Textus des N. T.* Leipzig und Soran, 1828.

3. *Novum Testamentum, Græce, &c. Curavit* J. M. A. Scholz. 1830—36.

WE hope our readers will not decide "peremptorily and at once," that this article can have no interest for them. We do not mean to annoy them unnecessarily with the technicalities of criticism, or to puzzle them with descriptions of uncial letters and itacisms, or to dwell minutely on the relative values of membranaceous and bombycinous codices. Yet we do think it of importance that general readers should have some general notions of the difficulties which lie in the way of deciding about the text of the New Testament, in order that they may habituate their minds to believing, in spite of such objections as men may make out against the certainty of Revelation. And one may be allowed to state, with regard to editions of books in general, that so difficult is the task of editing well, that few of those editors who take in hand a great multiplicity of authors, ever succeed: so much tedious investigation, so much patient viewing of the subject-matter in all its bearings, so thorough an acquaintance with the language, so perfect an instinct of what is the right of the

case, resulting out of all these, is indispensable to one who is to edit a book solidly and creditably. Now these difficulties, which present themselves to all editors of ancient books, are greater, in a very considerable degree, to the editor of the New Testament. We will draw each of them out a little, before we proceed to consider the works before us.

First, as to the *sort of investigation* required: A reading in an important passage (we will say) is disputed: well, we go to manuscripts to decide the matter: A. says, "I have here an ancient manuscript which confirms the reading; it is written in large square letters, there are pictures, or ornaments, or other things, which help one to ascertain its date: there are no accents, or they are plainly the work of a later hand: it is written with great accuracy on the whole: every thing inclines one to believe that it is a very ancient manuscript; it supports my view of the text under examination. What have you to say in favour of the opposite reading?" To this B. may say, "What you say is very true; I admit, to the full extent, all your criteria of an ancient MS. and allow your application of them to the present case: but I have got three or four MSS., which, though not so old, go the other way: and on the strength of these, I maintain the other reading: I allow this seems unreasonable at first sight; but one of my MSS. is written in a Greek hand, another has a Latin cast in its letters; and another shows that the writer was in the habit of writing Anglo-Saxon. Further, the musical signs, and accents, and other things, ascertain these MSS. to have belonged to the particular Churches which the letters indicate. What I would argue from these converging testimonies is, that they must be the representatives of some old MS. which gave my reading; and am disposed to think there must have been a time, when there was more than one such MS. which made against you." This will give our readers a notion of the *sort* of difficulty. —But suppose further, that A. could produce, not one MS. only, but several which were of the same date, or nearly; and that B. had not three or four only, but some two or three hundred:— suppose too, that A. found, that though his MSS. coincided with each other on the whole, yet that in some cases only one or two kept up a reading; and B. found also, that his were not unanimous in their differences from those of A., but that sometimes only a few of them kept up a reading, which all the others, of both his and A.'s, were without. If he adheres to his principle, these few may be the indices, or representatives, or types of a very large number now lost. A. may say, "See what uncertainty is introduced by your system? who is to know when one is to take in

a passage as genuine or not?—mine is a plain intelligible rule—to follow the oldest." B. may rejoin, that there are cases in which the antecedent probability in favour of a reading is so strong, that weak external evidence ought to be enough. This latter, we apprehend, will be found to be the characteristic mark of the mode in which English divines have treated the text: the former, of the mode in which German critics, and those who have followed them, have acted.

Next, in all cases of conflicting external evidence, this internal evidence must be allowed its weight: the scope for it will in a good measure vary with the degree of contrariety between the external evidence, although there plainly may be conceived to be cases where very weak external evidence should be attended to, where, for instance, from the vast importance of the subject-matter, or its coherency with the context, we ought, reasoning from analogy, even to expect only weak evidence. Now it follows from this that the critic ought to be a theologian, in order both to enable him to decide what is important subject-matter, and what bearings a thing apparently unimportant has or may have. We are quite aware of the existence of that half-awake sort of religion which pretends to be thankful about the various readings, and will not rouse itself sufficiently to realize the immense importance of one tittle or one jot of God's Word. This is quite of a piece with the religion of the day, in which fear is certainly no ingredient whatever. Of course the tendency of this temper is to give up things as unimportant, as though we were able to decide what is or is not important. We can conceive an irreverent modern-minded Christian deciding that it was of no importance to have it stated explicitly, that the Son was, in some mysterious way, ignorant of the day of judgment (Mark, xiii. 32), if it happened that those words were absent in St. Mark as well as St. Matthew. Yet, in case the Apollinarian heresy reared its head again, this would be a very valuable weapon of defence, to say nothing of its higher uses. So too, if the second Cainan were expunged from St. Luke, it would be thought of no importance, till we had to discuss the question of the *quasi-inspiration* of the Septuagint, which the Evangelist follows here, as well as throughout his writings. Men find it difficult to look upon themselves, as put in charge with a treasure for the whole Body of Christ, past, present, and to come, or to reflect on the interests unknown which may be involved in what they think dry genealogies, of no use to us. The denunciation in the Revelations, in the eye of any right-minded person, would of course extend to every book of Scripture, as showing God's law in one case, and so affording presumption enough to act upon, of what it is in all.

Again: a temper of this sort would lead men to be attentive to apparent minutiæ, as believing one tittle to be of importance. Hence, a thorough acquaintance with the *language* of the New Testament would be a requisite for the critic. And this is not easy to attain. For the New Testament being written in a dialect, approximating, to say the least, to that of the Septuagint, it is not to be judged of by the rules applicable to ordinary Greek. It is significative enough, that things were so ordered, that this should be the language of the New Testament. All languages take a colouring from the neighbouring tongues. Greek, a Japhetic language, was thrown into the neighbourhood of Coptic, an Hamitic language, and, were it not beside the subject, might be shown to have been influenced by it. Then the Jews of the Semitic race had it put into their mouths, so to say, in order to write the Septuagint version with it. We shall say no more of this here, as we trust the drift of it will come out by and bye.

Once more: it would be plain that to gain an instinctive sense of what this language required, a man should have some knowledge of the other languages, which worked the Greek up into what we might call the sacred dialect. And this knowledge is also required with a view to the versions. But this perception or judgment, in what might be called the handling of the language, though indispensable, is not near so important as the perception or judgment which grows out of the other two points mentioned. We may seem to be going into a subject very different from that which we have undertaken, and shall be asserting, doubtless, what to many minds is nothing better than an irrelevant paradox; still we are not afraid to say that a mere acquaintance with dogmatical theology, or ecclesiastical history, will not suffice for the critic without a life which, as it has been well expressed, 'makes good God's word and comments on it.' The mere perseverance of an unspiritual mind, which is desirous of putting out an edition for critics to think highly of, will not supply the place of patience, pureness, and holiness. These, we dare to maintain, are necessary to clear up the sight of one that ventures to deal with God's word, and to create in one a spirit contrite enough to tremble at it. Men's senses must be exercised to discern good and evil, in order to appreciate internal evidence, which certainly is of some weight in the matter. And this is the more necessary for those who pay no regard to the teaching of the Church, in order that they may come to a nearer estimate of what the contents of Scripture are. For as it is credible, that not Catholic doctrines only, but also Catholic opinions are contained in Scripture, though visible only to the eye purged by due preparation,

so it is possible that a more systematic collation of manuscripts may prove much of the Church's teaching to be Scriptural, which to some men does not now seem so. For, putting party-spirit aside, men must allow that it is God's ordinary rule to teach by the Church first, and subsequently to let men see the proof in Scripture.

That it is no very easy task to come at such a collation of manuscripts as may be satisfactory, is plain from the diversity of opinions upon the matter. We need not inquire who was the prime mover of this yearning for collections of various readings, which, of late years, has infested the Church. Suffice it to say, that Mill collated a large number of manuscripts without any apparent attempt to systematize them or classify them; that Bengel proposed to divide them into the Asiatic and African families, and that Griesbach conceived that there were three classes, the Alexandrine, the Occidental, and the Byzantine. Others may have suggested other theories, but they are not worth mentioning. Of these Mill was certainly a theologian; his prolegomena are a valuable introduction to the study of the New Testament. The student may meet with those which have more modern advancements in criticism, and more modern advancements in rationalism and narrow views too. We have heard it said that a first-rate critic of the day thinks very little improvement in the text has been made since Mill's time. Bengel also was a man of considerable theological acquirements: it tells well for his tone of mind, that he was disposed to mystify, as moderns call it: he dwelt a good deal upon internal evidence, as, indeed Griesbach* also did, though David Schulz, who edited his Greek Testament after his death, complains that he practically neglected it. His principles were examined and exposed in an able tract by the last Archbishop of Cashel.

Of Griesbach, and, indeed, Wetstein, we cannot do better than use Bishop Bull's account of Grotius and Erasmus. "Uterque nescio quo fato ad loca Scripturæ illustriora quæque pro Filii divinitate (quam tamen et ipsi agnovisse videntur) convellenda natus!" A sort of men, we could conceive, who would talk about impartiality and disliking weak arguments, and betray the other signs of unearnest tempers.

These remarks premised, we proceed to give some account of the system adopted for his arrangement by the author of the three works with which we have headed this article. The system of M. Scholz is simple enough, and, if it can be substan-

* Symb. Cr. 11. p. 90, p. 638, et alibi.

tiated, is a very tranquillizing one: for it would relieve one in a good measure of the embarrassment which the supposed uncertainty of the received text tends to create in some minds. Of course it leaves room for cavillers to cavil, be it ever so true. Human systems of all sorts are fleeting and removable. They come forward for a time only, bring a portion of truth with them, are replaced by fresh ones, gradually are forgotten, or leave only in men's memory so much of them as was false, while the part they have done in their day towards the advancement of truth, is too often thanklessly forgotten. Our author divides the whole body of manuscripts into two classes; the Constantinopolitan, or Byzantine, or Asiatic, which he considers the repository of the most ancient and genuine text; and the Alexandrine, or Egyptian, or African, which he views as the source of all corruptions. Readers who have some little notion of different families of manuscripts, will, perhaps, incline to think this too great a simplification to be true, and fancy they are going to be cheated out of their belief, much as men must have thought of old, when the philosophers told them that all the points of the wind were *παρεκβάσεις*, or deviations, of the North and the South. However, we will let our author speak for himself.

"The distinction," he says, "of the two classes is easy. The vouchers of the first class (the Constantinopolitan) seldom disagree amongst themselves, but all the documents of the latter class have a good number of readings peculiar to themselves: but yet they are of the same character, have most of their readings in common, and seem not to owe their origin to any difference of native country; and for these reasons, I thought fit to refer them to one class, [*i. e.* not to assume an Alexandrine *and* an Occidental, as Griesbach had done]. To the former class belong pretty nearly all the codices which have been written within the last eight centuries, and all the editions. You will find it hard to meet with any reading in which those vouchers agree, without your being able to hit on the very same reading in some few codices of the eighth and ninth century; in the Philoxenian Syriac version, the Gothic, Georgic, and Sclavonic, and also in the Holy Fathers and Church writers who lived in Asia and the Eastern part of Europe—either in all or most of them —that is, if they happen to have quoted the passage in such of their writings as are now extant. To the second class are assigned most codices yet remaining, which are written in uncial letters, and a few more recent ones. You will scarcely find these codices harmonizing in any reading without your discovering the same reading in all, or at least in most of the Coptic and Latin versions; in the Ethiopic, the holy Fathers and Church writers that lived in Africa and the western part of Europe. Now this distinction of the critical documents is very serviceable towards a history of the text: for I think that by the help of it we

have presented to us the means of restoring, in a certain degree, countless lost documents."*

The learned reader will observe that the Peschito-Syriac and the Armenian versions are here omitted. The latter was made in the fifth, the former in the third century. We notice these two versions by way of pointing out how widely the Alexandrine text exercised its influence. That the Syriac was within that influence seems pretty plain from the circumstance that the Coptic, which belongs to the Alexandrine class (if we may judge from the preface to Wilkins's edition of it), agreed a good deal with that version; and, it may be observed, we have evidence of intercourse between the Egyptian and Syriac churches in the fact of St. Ephrem's works being translated into Coptic from the Syriac. Granting then that this Syriac version was of a mixed character, yet still the influence of the Alexandrine text was one of the causes which went to make it so. And since the Armenian Church depended much upon the Syrian Church, the Alexandrine influence would at this rate be conveyed through the Syriac into the Armenian versions. Now a person with this before him might naturally feel disposed to raise an *à priori* objection to our author's classification of the following kind. "The text which you condemn as least to be depended upon, is allowed then to have been the text provided for the purest parts of the Church, and to have been very widely circulated in the Church, or, where not actually circulated itself, at least to have considerably influenced the text that was circulated. Is there not then a ground for suspecting a theory of classification which would exclude a text so widely circulated from our confidence?" We own an objection of this sort rose in our own minds at first thought: but we cannot help giving Dr. Scholz credit for seeing through difficulties of this sort. At all events the state of the case is not improved by giving a preference to the opposite class of manuscripts. This side of the question has been adopted by Lachman, whose edition of the New Testament is now making a stir in Germany. Now Lachman gives up all hopes of coming at the original text, and is content with the tradition of the Church as *he* calls it; a reading that can be shown to have been in wide circulation (*erweislich verbreiteten*), is a good reading to him. He finds great fault with Scholz for giving up his own Church's vulgate, as he virtually does in making it belong to the Alexandrine family; he talks of the "fabulous notion" of the Alexandrine grammarians being correctors of the

* Prolegom. cap. iii.

text, and disclaims all but the oldest codices. Well, and where does this Rationalist lead us? We are upon his principles to give up the concluding verses of St. Mark as certainly spurious, and to make the Gospel conclude with ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ; and (to give one other instance) to eject the account of the agony of the Garden as spurious also (Luc. xxii., 43, 44). Yet this passage of St. Luke was surely spread far and wide: for St. Jerom, who allows that these verses were absent in some MSS., yet retained them himself, as did St. Hilary in the West, and (to go the other end of the Church) St. Ephrem in the East. Is this Lachman's way of going by the tradition of the Church? Conclusions of this sort make one think an author's theory must be wrong, wherever the fallacy lies. Faith would reject it much as she would any moral philosophy, which, if consistently followed out, would make parricide and adultery in certain cases excusable. "Has argumentationes, (to use St. Austin's words,) quibus impii nostram simplicem pietatem, ut cum illis in circumitu ambulemus, de via recta conantur avertere, si ratio refutare non posset, fides irridere deberet!" So we will return to the adopted classification by Scholz, and see what can be said to meet objections against it.

The Syriac version seems, from what we have said, to be of a mixed character. Parallel to this would be certain MSS., such as those marked by Scholz G. H. and M. among the earlier MSS., together with several later ones. Of this class he says:

"Besides the MSS. which belong to both these classes, there are also some which approximate sometimes to this class, and sometimes to that, and have also some peculiar readings, and yet on account of their want of a marked character (Characterlosigkeit), form no separate class. Several MSS. (above described) teach us also how this mixed text arose. Many copyists were not contented to copy one ancient MS. correctly, but from several MSS. which they had laid before them, and in which marginal notes were already found, they formed themselves a text as theirs, just as they chose either the Egyptian exemplar as the standard, and only called in the Constantinopolitan in difficulties; or conversely followed the latter, and only availed themselves of the former now and then in their work."—*Reise*, p. 164.

In the same place he had noticed that the Alexandrine MSS. were less used in the churches, which would of course be one reason why older MSS. of that class have survived. The wear of daily service would gradually destroy the copies so employed.

We will here cite what our author has said against an objection, which may be raised.

"People should not rejoin, that the whole is a mere hypothesis in which as much may be said for as against us, since the text of the majority of MSS. fluctuates. This objection can naturally be only refuted à posteriori, and therefore I have compared the greatest part of several MSS., although I had already determined the character of their text from some chapters. If then in eighty MSS. I find repeated nearly throughout the same additions and the same omissions, in a word, the same deviations from the received text, (some oversights of the transcribers, and some unimportant variations apart); and then in from fifteen to twenty chapters of different books of holy Scripture find their readings again in three or four hundred MSS., then I am fairly entitled from these fifteen to twenty chapters to make a conclusion to the remaining part of these MSS., and from these four hundred documents a conclusion to the whole; viz. that all which were copied under the same circumstances contain also the same text, and therefore that those which were written in the circuit of the patriarchate of Constantinople, and were used in Church, repeat also the same text—the text which we call Constantinopolitan."

This to English readers is perhaps no very clear account of these mixed MSS.; we will try to throw our author's meaning into other words, as follows:—There are a large number of MSS. of this compound character, of this text, seemingly distinct from that of the two classes specified; an induction is instituted in order to determine the nature of the variations by comparing them with the MSS. decidedly of one class. It is found by this process, that the additions and omissions are for the most part of a similar character; deduct then these additions and omissions, and we have left a substratum to which they were gathered or from which they were taken—a nucleus which they formed themselves on or were dropped from. This substratum tallies with the Constantinopolitan family, those additions, with the Egyptian family, or the converse. Therefore, going by this induction, the theory assumed to account for the existence of MSS. of this mixed class is a fair one: it is proved by à posteriori evidence, by matter of fact; there is no need to assume a third family independent of these two; the inter-marriages, so to say, of these two will abundantly account for the variety of complexion in their offspring.

Now it is natural to ask, how the Alexandrine text became so corrupt, as it is here assumed to be; what evidence is there to show that it was so corrupt? In order to get a fair view of this matter, we must weigh the evidence upon it in connection with the evidence for the priority of the Constantinopolitan text. Byzantium then stood in a position particularly favourable to its obtaining a pure text. Asia Minor and Greece were favoured

with the largest number of churches to which epistles were sent: hence a place situated upon the confines of them would be well situated for obtaining manuscripts of them; there would be a less number of links between their copies and the autographs. This then would obviously be the case in regard to the epistles which were the first Christian writings. With regard to the Gospels it should seem that they were not originally intended for public circulation. St. Luke's obviously was not, for he directs it to Theophilus, an individual. When the oral* Gospel was fresh, there would be no need of written ones; and so they may all have been written for individuals, save St. John's. St. Mark's then would alone be connected with Alexandria. St. Matthew's is perhaps as nearly connected with the one as with the other. St. Luke's is more likely to have been addressed to a resident in Greece. However, in Constantine's† time Eusebius was directed to get the best MSS. together for Constantinople, and so he would have recourse as well to Palestine as to Alexandria. Hence, if the two Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark were ever so distantly connected with Byzantium, and had ever so many links to pass in coming from the autograph, yet then there would be an opportunity of correcting them, were it needful. Farther, putting this evidence as low as we choose, there seem to have been particular reasons to expect a corruption at Alexandria, which reasons do not hold against Constantinople. Alexandria was much more of a school of learning than Constantinople was; grammatical studies were much in vogue there, and if those employed in transcribing MSS. had some grammatical learning, as one may suppose they would have, they would *à priori* be likely to soften down the solecisms of Hebraistic Greek. Now the character of many of the deviations of the Alexandrine from the received text, is precisely in confirmation of this probability. The phraseology, the order of words, and so forth, is altered by the Alexandrian MSS. to a greater conformity with the Grecian notions of propriety. Nor is this a fancy of our author's struck out in order to support a theory; for

* See a very able essay by Gieseler, the ecclesiastical historian, entitled "Historisch-Critischer Versuch über die Enstehung und die frühesten Schicksale der Schriftlichen Evangelien." Leipzig, 1818. After giving a sketch of the countless theories about an original Gospel, whence the others were drawn, he shows that an oral Gospel (assumed as the real basis of all of them, and as the reason of their coincidences and apparent discrepancies) would keep men clear of those perplexed (and somewhat profane) à priori theories for the purpose, which have little or no historical evidence on behalf of them.

† V. Const. iv. 36. Scholz, Prol. p. clix.

Griesbach, the great champion of the Alexandrian family, allows this most distinctly.* The drift of a remark of ours just now upon the Septuagint dialect, as it may be called, will now appear. A language which had been wrought up out of three distinct families of languages, would obviously have a peculiar plasticity for the translator. The more it kept its mixed character, the more capable it would be of translations into all languages, the more vivid and striking would be the likeness of the translation to the original. And this might be one reason why the Septuagint was appointed as the vehicle of God's Word to so many nations, in preference to the original. Be this as it may, the Alexandrian critics cannot be excused for their attempts at refinement; they certainly did not faithfully hand over what was entrusted to them, however much they might have fancied they were doing a service to religion by ameliorating the Greek. Scrupulousness on little points is generally to be commended; in matters of a religious kind it is of great importance. For besides that which we have just mentioned, viz. the diminished translateableness of the Gospels, other reasons for exactness in these matters may be suggested. It is a good opportunity of pointing out the importance of what men call trifling matters, and so we will suggest two or three reasons. This faithlessness then was an injury to the generations yet to come. For it was depriving those who might hereafter know Hebrew, of so many little ties and knots which link up the Old and New Testament into one whole; it was taking from out of their view those glancings back upon the old covenant, which a partial conformity to its language would have in the face of it; it was bereaving those who should hereafter be possessed of an adequate knowledge of Hebrew, of sundry occasions, in which such knowledge is not a sleeping habit, but a living energy putting itself forth the more practically, because almost unconsciously. Nor, again, would any one who has ever striven to blend a high tone of theology with the minutiæ of sacred criticism, be willing to lose these seemingly small things. How much of the Bible which is not obviously so, does turn out to be what may be called (if the word may reverently be used) a discoursing between the Persons of the ever-blessed Trinity. One should be fearful then lest by some judgment, we might be found to be displacing somewhat of the posture, so to say, of that form in which He was going to have revealed himself. Or how little do we know of the mysterious connection between the Word as personal and as

* Prol. p. lxxiii.

written, or of the bearings upon principalities and powers in heavenly places, of what seem to us small things. Possibly too, these minutiæ might have been intended to have guided men in the more mystical study of grammar, if Christians ever come to study it in a more religious manner.

What we would observe is, that however hastily moderns may go over the text of Scripture neglecting minutiæ, as unworthy of attention, this certainly would not have been the case either with the older Jews or with the Fathers. We have no hesitation in saying that they would have been very severe upon wilful corruptions however small. Now Scholz has noticed that the complaints to be met with in the Fathers concerning corruptions of the text, are always to be found in those who would use manuscripts of what he calls the Alexandrine family. This, as it is a confirmation of his theory, so it is also of the observation now made upon the scrupulousness of the Fathers. Moderns may say that they were careless about the written word: it is easy to talk in this way, when we have never read a syllable of their commentaries, or given their circumstances (*e. g.* persecutions, burnings of sacred books, &c.) a single thought. It is easy to disparage tradition and to talk lightly about having the law orally handed on by the priests' lips, and thus written on fleshly tables of the heart. Yet, still might those blessed men have diligently preserved even to a syllable slight things by oral teaching, since that could not so easily be snatched from them as books could, and still withal be very zealous for the written word, when and wheresoever they could have it. Far be it from us then to think amiss of their fidelity—it could not be from any want of care on their part that these deviations on little points first took their rise. Of the early transcribers of the autographs we know nothing. Of the love and earnestness and heedfulness of the Alexandrine Fathers we know much, and therefore would willingly betake ourselves to any explanations of such various readings, rather than seek it in them, whom to suspect of unfaithfulness were most unreasonable. Origen * himself complains of men's boldness in altering the sacred text, and even Jerom, in all his bitterness against Origen, says nothing to show how he corrupted the text, nay, does but sorrily answer Ruffinus's † arguments to show that Origen's own writings were corrupted. Heresy was rife then; men went out from the Alexandrian school who were not of it, who did practise similar frauds on other writings. "Athanasius Episcopus (Jerom admits) sic Dionysii defendit errorem."

* Ap. Mill, Prol. 699. † C. Ruff. ii. 17.

But the truth may have been as Mill* suggests in one case, "that certain later subscribers handling these sacred matters without reverence, took leave to mark right words, sometimes with figures, sometimes with one or more letters." The persons employed by the booksellers might not always have been Christians at all, or they might have the little grammatical knowledge which their art required and they might be proud to display, and they might fancy marginal notes were corrections of mistakes in the copy given them, and introduce them in perfect simplicity of heart. Booksellers would have to supply the demand as they could, and if they† were fraudulent, as we know they were at Constantinople, why not at Alexandria, where the trade was larger? they would get copies finished off for sale too expeditiously to be correct. And this would, we conceive, fully account for those cases in which words have been altered to suit allegorical interpretations. We need not speak disparagingly of the Alexandrian school with our author in order to account for them. They may have been adopted by an imperite scribe, from the margin where they had been written as a clue, as a sort of *memoria technica* of such an allegorical explanation of a passage. Did Dr. Scholz think to be severe upon allegorical interpretation because, if admitted, it would bear hard upon his Church's teaching in some points, *e. g.* in regard to the pre-eminence of two sacraments? Or are we to think he was infected with that narrow-minded judiciousness (as rationalism calls itself) which would condemn allegory as fanciful and dangerous? We fear there are marks of this in his Travels.

We have given then *some* of the proofs to show that the Alexandrine family is corrupt, and suggested some of the means by which such corruptions may have been brought about. Now there appears to us, so far as we can recollect, a defect in our author's mode of stating his theory which we should say has also influenced his application of it. It is this—he ought to have stated very distinctly (as others had indeed done) that no class could be implicitly followed, as the guide to the right reading in all cases. It is improbable to the last degree, that a whole family should not here and there, or even pretty often, have kept up the true reading. But here internal evidence would of course be necessarily appealed to, and this the Germans are practically very shy of; they construct a text upon numerical and mechanical principles. Now what constitutes the importance of internal evidence is this, viz. that while a very great degree of internal improbability is overcome by a very small amount of external evidence, on the

* In Jo. xix. 14. † See Reise, p. 171, where he quotes Chrysostom.

other hand, a very great degree of internal probability is confirmed, almost to a moral certainty, by a still less amount of the same. This is the mode in which Providence brings home to our minds rules for conduct in life, in the natural course of things: and this being so begets a presumption, that the same will be the case in regard to this mode of bringing before our minds portions of revealed truth. And internal probability can only be judged of by a theologian—a person whose mind is habituated to meditating upon these things and giving himself wholly unto them. This is a subject which it is much to the purpose to enlarge upon, though to do so we must take it up, in the critic's phrase, "paulo altius."

It is well known that the Marcionists of old made the God of the Old Testament different from the God of the New, and in order to make some of their positions good, they are accused pretty generally by the Fathers of corrupting the Scriptures. This must show, in a broad outline, the tendency which particular opinions have to make men wish away portions of Scripture, which they find not to fall in with their theory. Indeed, the whole of St. Irenæus is valuable in this way (as well as others) as giving us a broad and rough-drawn type of many a modern heresy. Thus Luther, in spite of his solicitous maintenance of the written word, as the sole and perfect source of revealed truth, at one time wished to be well rid of St. James's Epistle, and so we suppose must many modern thinkers who belong to his or Calvin's school. In like manner some talk of the spirit of the Psalms not being Christian, which is very like the Marcionist notion just mentioned. Now where this amount of Marcionist spirit exists, it will of course have a tendency to exert itself in a similar way; it would like interpretations and readings which made Christianity a harmless, inoffensive sort of religion, not at all intended to send fire and a sword upon the earth. Owing to the same paltry views of religion, as is very obvious, men speak amiss of the Athanasian Creed and the Commination Service, or explain them away.

The partialities then of a particular school would dispose a man to lean towards the reading which favoured the school; they would distort his reason, and prevent him from seeing the evidence for the two or more readings, or against them, in a fair light. But suppose a critic not to be biassed by any human school, and suppose him to believe in a system of tradition antecedent to the written word, and to imbibe so much of that tradition as he fairly can out of the writings of the Fathers, not to read them merely to get critical matter out of them; the importance of this tradition

would, we contend, be very forcibly brought out in the case before us: for it would furnish the critic's mind with many preliminary requisites;—with the proper tone for assaying the sacred text, with the knowledge requisite for appreciating the internal probability of any given reading, with a capacity for tracing up to a common source apparent discrepancies, and so for seeing which, of two readings, is likely to have been the original one. In illustrating this we trust also to illustrate the working of our author's theory, and to show the sort of difficulties there often are in the way of determining a single text. Of course, the difficulty of deciding upon the whole number of various readings will not be an exact multiple of the difficulty of deciding upon one. Twenty readings will not present twenty times the difficulty that one does. It would be unfair to represent it so. But yet, there is a sense in which it is not *certain*, that all is written text which we call so. There are difficulties in the way of the written text as well as in the way of tradition. Patient investigation is often required to clear them away, sometimes they remain difficulties after all. A Christian of the popular school thinks he knows the difficulties in the way of tradition, and forgets or is utterly ignorant of those in the way of the written word. When a critic is to assay the text, in order to do so satisfactorily, his mind ought to be thoroughly furnished with tradition, as found in the Fathers' writings and liturgies. Again, when a man is to assay tradition, he must be thoroughly furnished with a knowledge of Scripture. We may view him in this position or that, as standing in the former or the latter, but it is only a view we take of him; it is absurd, to the degree of being ridiculous, to pretend that he can divest himself of the one or the other. Let modern divines talk what they may about going unprejudiced to the Bible with a grammar and a dictionary! We shall take the liberty of preferring a catechism and a liturgy, and pass on and leave them to think us poor mistaken deluded creatures.

Now the allegorical readings we noticed before might serve to illustrate our point. In such readings is to be found one of the many evidences which show that that system of interpretation was once very widely received. And the same of course would hold of other readings: they often furnish evidence of the common reception of a doctrine. Thus when St. Optatus and St. Hilary and St. Ambrose and others gave the reading μνείαις ἁγίων κοινωνοῦντες, instead of χρείαις, &c., in Rom. xii. 13, it shows that they held the doctrine of the profitableness of commemorations of the dead by the living; or that it was believed in the Western Church. We are tempted to put down here a

parallel which occurs to us from the Old Testament. It will show the similarity there is between the deviations of various readings and those of versions, in one instance. In Ps. cxlix. 5, the psalmist says—"Let the saints rejoice in glory." The Syriac renders it—"May the righteous be strengthened in glory;" thus implying the belief that though departed, they might receive increase of strength and wax richer in glory. A Catholic tone of mind enables a critic to enter into men's feelings in those days, which led to such readings. Hence he appreciates the weight to be attached to them, and to learn moreover from them the full drift and comprehensiveness of the sacred text, instead of treating Holy Scripture as a book to be edited, and complaining of corruptions in the transcription. But in days when men firmly believed in the communion of saints, and felt that the spirits and souls of the righteous were bound up into one whole with those yet in the flesh, such an alteration might have easily come in from a mistake in copying a MS. A copyist who thought or knew of it at the time, would easily have given the visible words, *if* obscurely written, such a form as fell in with his thoughts. And this would be a reason for its being found in St. Chrysostom also, not indeed when he is commenting upon the text, but in his Commentary upon 2 Tim. i., where he *argues* from it. He might not have thought it worth while to compare MSS. in order to be quite sure of a doctrine which no one but the heretic Aerius and the unbaptized Constantine denied; he would have felt safe enough in the ordinary known method of appealing to the Church's teaching, not to man's guesses, as to what was scriptural or not. Now as Scholz* has noticed that St. Chrysostom paid great respect to Origen's text, of course the evidence of *this* reading belonging to the Constantinopolitan family is but small, and we may therefore conclude that this is not an objection to his theory, but a confirmation of it. For, on the face of it, it would seem like an objection, to find a Constantinopolitan Father agreeing with western Fathers, and that too when in the Roman text even before Jerom there seems† to have been the other reading. St. Ephrem in the East‡ does not adduce this passage among those which he gave to prove the duty of prayers for the dead. Mill§ felt persuaded that Clemens Romanus had it in his text, and thought it was the genuine reading, though he gave a reason for it which we cannot acquiesce in. He thought so upon the ground of the improbability of μνειαις being substituted for χρειαις—but this improbability does

* Curæ Crit., p. 41.
† Sabatier, in loc.
‡ Assem. B. i. p. 133.
§ Prol. 441, and in loc.

not exist, if we remember the universality of the practice to which the words allude. Sabatier also mentions a missal of Milan in which the reading of "memoriis" is adopted. And St. Augustine also in one place uses it, in another the reading of χρείαις. This latter reading would of course take in the other. The fact that God permitted so many holy men to believe in this reading and this application of it, is alone and in itself worthy of the attention of all who are not of, what Bishop Butler calls, a dissolute, immoral temper of mind.*

This then would illustrate that the matter cannot be decided by a mere mechanical parade of MSS. Another instance may perhaps make it yet more clear,—that internal evidence is of some importance, and that no one class of MSS. can be implicitly followed in all cases. In St. Luke, ix. 55, 56, the received text runs as follows. Καὶ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἶπεν· Οὐκ οἴδατε οἵου πνεύματός ἐστε ὑμεῖς. Ὁ γὰρ Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθε ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων ἀπολέσαι, ἀλλὰ σῶσαι. This passage has been thought to exclude anathemas and imprecations from the Christian scheme, to declare against the spirit of them. Of course a person who trusts to the guidance of the Church, would think objections to her teaching from individual passages of small weight, particularly as objections of this sort might be brought against the highest and most sacred doctrines of the Gospel. But for one who thinks that Scripture, not tradition, is the guide (be it observed, not the *proof* of, but the *guide*) to truth, the case would be different. In the passage before us then, the law and the Gospel can be shown to be opposed only upon the ground of the words ὁ γὰρ Υἱὸς, κ.τ.λ. For, though it be easy in English to slur the pronoun over, in Greek the ὑμεῖς is obviously emphatical, as though it had been said: What Elias did, was done in a good spirit: had it not been, my heavenly Father would not have answered him by fire; but ye act not in his spirit: ye breathe revenge and not zeal, fierceness, not considerate anger, which sinneth not. We hope we may not seem irreverent in venturing to paraphrase our Lord's words.—Now if any thing gave them the definite meaning which some would give them, it must be the addition ὁ γὰρ, &c. By the way, it is curious to see how much people who teach for doctrines the traditions of men can make of one text, when it serves their turn: whereas those who teach the commandments of God as handed onward by the Holy Catholic Church, are cautioned by these same persons not to build too much on isolated passages. To a Catholic these words would remain a difficulty *perhaps:* but an Ultra-protestant ought

* See the Analogy, p. 318.

to be very sure about them before he builds on this one text. Now let us see what authority there is for them. Ten very ancient MSS., and a large number of others of both classes, and several Fathers and versions, omit the whole clause, so as to leave only Στραφεὶς δὲ ἐπεῖλμησεν αὐτοῖς. Καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς ἕτέραν κώμην. The Syriac and Coptic (i. e. as Wilkins printed it, for Scholz gives it otherwise) and Latin have the addition. Only the latter two omit the γὰρ, which would be naturally accounted for if the whole was originally a marginal gloss, subsequently received into the text, and then made to unite with it by the further addition of a γὰρ. As for internal probability, Mill says of the words ὡς καὶ Ἠλίας ἐποίησε—"The thing speaks for itself that it was written on the margin by some student by way of comment, and thence was transferred into the text. For who, in his senses, could have cancelled so great a saying?" If this can be said of the words just specified, which some few MSS. omit, why should it not apply to the sentence in question? The γὰρ is omitted by several MSS. This is allowed by Matthæi, who defends the text, as he seems disposed to do most which Griesbach omits, and that in no very charitable spirit. St. Cyprian and St. Ambrose are cited by Sabatier in defence of it, and Matthæi seems to wish one to think St. Chrysostom went the same way. However, his citations (which we have verified) lead one to think, that that Father only had the words—καὶ εἶπεν. Οὐκ οἴδατε οἵου πνεύματός ἐστε twice, and ἐστὲ ὑμεῖς once. He also mentions the absence of it from the Scholia, and has no earlier authority than Euthymius Zigabenus to adduce for the addition, who indeed asserts that he first took away, and afterwards added the words upon the authority of St. Chrysostom, having at first mistaken him. The addition might easily have been formed from St. Matt., xviii. 11, and St. Luke, vi. 9, &c. An ancient MS. then, and one other, and one ancient Latin MS. give, with St. Chrysostom, this reading: καὶ ἐπεῖλμησεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἶπεν. Οὐκ οἴδατε οἵου πνεύματός ἐστε. This, with the ὑμεῖς, (added from some good MSS. which have the received text we suppose,) is the text as edited by Scholz. As then the whole is absent from so many MSS., and as those who attempt to account for its exclusion (Grotius and Wetstein and after them Matthæi) do it by supposing that the Fathers took it away, as favouring Marcion's theory, which is excessively improbable, to say the least; and as Scholz has admitted a portion of it which, though it exists in several MSS. along with the words Ὁ γὰρ——σῶσαι, yet exists but in three or four without them, and in St. Chrysostom; it follows that he must in some measure have gone by what seemed to him the internal probability of

the reading, and not from the mere external evidence. In this the most curious point, perhaps, next to the silence of so many Fathers and versions, is the fact that the Æthiopic and Coptic, which generally agree, here differ, the former leaving out the whole.

We are far from wishing hastily to determine upon taking away any part of what has been handed down to us as belonging to the Book of Life: only we think that those, who are for concluding from this single verse that the spirit of the Old Testament and of the New Testament differ, cannot with any *consistency* find fault with us for not ejecting this from the text: they, of all people, have no right to say, "If you really find that the evidence is against the passage, why not reject it?" They cannot complain of our reading it still as a part of the word of God given to Christians. For they read the Psalms still, many of which, they complain, are unchristian in their tone and temper. They nevertheless palm them off on the vulgar as fit parts of Christian worship, much as the Papists do their idols. Both of them have a way of explaining their own systems to themselves, though both must allow that they are in a fair way to deceive common, honest minds. We who do not think the spirit of the Old Testament contrary to the New, can use the Psalms alluded to in the plain sense which plain men would naturally give them. As for this single text, we cannot be blamed for misleading people by it, since, as we have said elsewhere, single texts may be found against any one doctrine or view of Scripture whatever. Sufficient proof, no doubt, a single text ought to be of the truth or falseness of any doctrine, unless it was a doctrine proved by a number of others. The truth is, people wish for a laxer discipline than the Old Testament will allow them in, and in this temper it is no wonder if they snatch at hasty conclusions from single texts against whole portions of God's word. "I know that, whatsoever God doeth, it shall be *for ever:* nothing can be put to it, nor any thing taken from it: and God doeth it, that men should *fear* before Him."—Eccles. iii. 14.

We cannot go through a great multiplicity of passages, to exhibit the working of our author's theory. The orthodox will be glad to hear that it has enabled him to restore Θεοῦ, Acts, xx. 28, for Griesbach's Κυρίου; and Θεος, 1 Tim. iii. 16, for Ὁς. Men, with Griesbach, console themselves for the loss of such texts as these, and say the thing is to be proved from numerous other passages. This might not be so much amiss if it was accompanied with a distinct avowal, that we depended for our knowledge of the doctrines contained in them upon the Church's teaching, and that therefore it was of no great importance, if the *proofs* of

them were obscure and scattered here and there in Holy Scripture. But these men in fact throw themselves upon the capacities of individuals not only for receiving the proof but for finding the doctrines, upon each man's own power of discerning in other passages what is more clearly stated here. But these passages are valuable in many ways (as what is not which proceedeth out of the mouth of the Most High?) for instance, as indicative of the early existence of formal statements of doctrine and as giving Scripture sanction to such statements, not to mention the blessedness of being allowed to meet with them while reading God's Word, and the effects they may have, as upon others, so especially upon some who, from very untoward circumstances of education, would be deserving of compassionate consideration. For as for those who talk about their conscience being wounded at not seeing a thing they are to believe, in the Bible, they only mean their pride by their conscience, and are not worth considering. This we say not to give an undue weight to evidence in favour of such formal statements of doctrine in Scripture, but to rouse people out of that cold phlegmatic drowsy kind of thankfulness, in which they give up important passages, and are unwilling to hear the question about controverted passages mooted again, and would give up every thing rather than have their sluggard ease disturbed.

This premised, we are desirous to say a few words upon the famous text concerning the Heavenly Witnesses, which Scholz has given up. Bishop Burgess has, we think, pretty distinctly shown, in his Tract upon the subject, that there is reason to think that it existed all along in the Carthaginian Church. When or how it came into the Vulgate might not be so easy to determine. It seems of old to have existed in the Italic version only in a reverse order—the eighth verse before the seventh. Now even Wetstein allows, that "*sometimes* the reading of the few codices is to be preferred to the many, nay a reading *which is found at this day in no Greek codices;*"* of course, he insists on great caution in preferring such a reading. He allows then the *possibility* of such a reading existing, though unknown for many ages to the Church at large. A partial illustration of this may be given from an addition found in several Latin MSS. on St. Matthew, xx. 28. It is as follows:—"Vos autem quæritis de pusillo crescere et de majore minores fieri. Introeuntes autem et rogati cœnare," &c., as in St. Luke. We omit variations, &c. This was found in one Greek manuscript, and that manuscript was then pronounced to be what was called a Codex Latinizans, till the Jerusalem Syriac version was discovered, which has a note here by the trans-

* P. 166, § 23.

lator, stating that he had found it in Greek copies (Adler's* proposed correction to the singular is a gratuitous one), though not in the oldest of them, and so he had introduced it. Now it is possible that something of this sort may happen in regard to the Complutensian text.

But to proceed: we allow the passage usually adduced from St. Austin will tend in some good degree to obscure the evidence for this text. It runs as follows:—"Search the Canonical Scriptures old and new, and find if thou canst, where it said of any things they are one, (*ubi dicta sunt aliqua, unum sunt*), which are yet of a different nature and substance. Indeed, I would not have you mistaken in the Epistle of the Apostle St. John, where he says—there are three witnesses, spirit, water and blood, and three are one, lest perchance you should say spirit, water and blood are diverse substances, and yet that it is said three are one. I noticed it for this reason—lest you should be mistaken. For these are mystical words (*sacramenta sunt*), in which one always attends not to what they are, but to what they indicate. But if we would search into the things hereby signified, then, without any incongruousness, there meets us the Trinity. Itself one, only, very, most high GOD, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, of whom most truly could it be said, 'They are three witnesses,' and 'Three are one:' so that we should take the name of Spirit to signify GOD, concerning the worship of whom the LORD spake, when He said GOD is a Spirit; the name of blood of the Son, because the WORD is made flesh; and the name of water to be the Spirit, &c. But that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are witnesses who that believes the Gospel would doubt?" This is in lib. 2. c. Maximin.† Again, Facundus (A.D. 547) says that St. Cyprian *understood them* of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. He might have understood them so; it might be said that he understood them so: but this does not amount to more than saying that he thought each of the mystical words had the meaning here attached to it. We do not see that it proves that the words which explained the mystical meaning were not in the text of St. Cyprian, or St. Augustin, or St. Facundus. St. Augustin might have had reasons for withholding this text, which we know nothing of, not to mention that in A.D. 434 Eucherius, and in 484 Vigilius Tapsensis, positively quote it. And as for the mystical interpretation, the application of the blood to the Son, is, we suppose, the only one which will occasion any difficulty. Some confirmation of this will be found in Lauretus's Sylva Allegoriarum, under the word, and, from Jewish sources, in Knorr's Cab-

* Adler, Vers. Syr. denuo exam. p. 91. † Ap. Sabatier in loc.

bala Denudata, p. 250, books which the student of allegorical theology may be glad to know of.

But to proceed: upon the supposition that theologians are the persons to judge of internal evidence, the fact that Bishop Bull, Bishop Pearson, Bishop Stillingfleet, Cave, Mill, and Grabe, were in favour of the genuineness of this text, is greatly deserving of consideration: that the opinion of mere sciolists in theology like Porson (one cannot mention him without thinking of St. Basil's θεολόγος δὲ πᾶς ὁ καὶ μυριάις κηλῖσι τὴν ψυχὴν στιγματίσας) ought to be of little value in comparison with that of those before mentioned; that Dissenters were the chief defenders of its omission in this country, who (to speak with fear), if aliens from the Church may be therefore wanting in those gifts of discernment which belong to the members of it; and, lastly, that this text having been so long in obscurity is no argument against it, if we judge from analogies. For as Bishop Butler observes:*—"Remedies existing in nature, have been unknown to mankind for many ages; are known but to few now.....Great has been and is the obscurity and difficulty in the nature and application of them. Circumstances seem often to make them very improper, where they are absolutely necessary. It is after long labour and study, and many unsuccessful endeavours, that they are brought to be as useful as they are; after high contempt and absolute rejection of the most useful we have, and after disputes and doubts which have seemed to be endless." A little thought will show that there is not a syllable in this passage which does not apply to the case in point. For instance: this text seems a very improper remedy for Socinianism, but is absolutely necessary, since what they have to learn is to believe upon doubtful evidence. "Ii sumus qui *omnibus veris* falsa quædam adjuncta esse dicamus, tantâ similitudine, ut in iis insit nulla judicandi et assentiendi nota; ex quo existit et illud multa esse probabilia: quæ, quanquam non perciperentur tamen quia visum haberent quendam insignem et illustrem, his sapientis vita regeretur."†

The discussions concerning any reading turn partly, as we have implied, upon the authority of the Fathers and the versions. Now of both of these authorities, it may be conceived that they represent a text prior to any existing manuscript, or prior to the majority of them; of the versions, that they would also exhibit a text removed out of the reach of subsequent influence of Greek or of Latin authorities, or of both, as the case may be. But this conception must be limited in many ways. Of the Fathers, Archbishop Laurence‡ well observed that the transcribers of them may very possibly have adopted, inadvertently or otherwise,

* Anal. ii. 3, p. 259. † Cicero de Nat. D. 1. 5. ‡ Tract on Griesbach, p. 32.

the reading of such manuscripts as they were used to themselves. Some other cautions are so well thrown together by our author in his prolegomena that we shall quote his words.

"But in one's way of using them great caution is requisite, lest you look for various readings in passages, where the writer has adapted the words to the construction he puts on the passage, or to his own opinion, or, again, where he has quoted from memory. The writers of the Church are in the habit of citing their texts by recollection without looking at the manuscripts: and this is why we can be so very seldom certain whether those allegations are faithful representatives of the very ancient books, or whether the variety of reading thus to be met with owes its origin to a slip of memory, and inertness on the part of those who cite them. Things related at length they often throw into a compendious form, and things told in a compendious way they open out into a full and diffuse account. They give rather the contents than the individual words of the passages cited, as their memory suggested, and the occasion allowed of their doing so: hence they bring forward the same passage in different ways in different parts of their works."—135.

And, after giving some specimens, he adds:—

"The same negligence in citing passages from holy Scripture, is observable in the writings of the other holy Fathers and Church-writers. Nor is there any reason why we should make this a charge against them, since the same is usually done by every one who recollects particular portions of the sacred book, and quotes them by memory. And on these grounds we must make a careful distinction between these passages and such as they produce verbatim from Holy Scripture. And the context will often enable us to determine with good probability, whether the writer is quoting word for word, or only in a random way. Learned men are usually of opinion, that much weight is to be attached to those citations which occur in the Commentaries of the holy Fathers: that for critical purposes, the dogmatical and polemical books are neither so extensively useful nor so trustworthy as the former, and that the homilies are scarcely at all available, unless the reading they give is confirmed from other sources. But this does not hold in an equal degree of all writers: for in the copying out places of Holy Writ, some authors are much more diligent, and more studious of accuracy than others. The writers generally follow their copies more closely in quotations, properly so called, than in allusions. We may feel very certain about the reading of such passages as the author of any commentary is engaged in the interpretation of. Those quotations too are to be held as accurate which have attached to them some distinct appeal to MSS., or some declaration that the reading stands thus, not the other way, &c. &c."

One quotation more shall be given from the learned and pious Benedictine, Sabatier, which will be found to be in part confirmative, and in part corrective of our author's language and spirit in

treating of the Fathers. It is taken from the preface to his Biblia Italica,* and runs as follows:

"Though I would not deny that the Holy Fathers adduced the words of Scripture from memory occasionally, as in those addresses which they made to the people as time and opportunity offered; yet I do contend that it ought to be held for an absolute certainty, that in their other books, concerning the faith, whatsoever texts they adduce from Holy Scripture were copied out exactly from the MSS. they had at hand, and looked into at the time. For is it credible that the holy doctors would have alleged the Holy Scriptures in a negligent way, from memory, as Fell thinks, when they apply them for the confirmation of the doctrines of our faith against the heretics. Certainly the holy doctors were too prudent willingly to give the ill-disposed any handle for calumnies, and rather used an over-great diligence in quoting Scripture against the enemies of the faith, than forebore such as was necessary. And this caution there was need to use, that the divine words which they produced might be upon the authority of written copies, and those as correct as possible, and not only thus correct, but such as had a translation (the Italic he means), which was so entirely received and agreed upon by all men, that no one would venture to set himself against it."

Nevertheless, even quotations, faulty in point of accuracy, may be, and often are, indications of a tone of mind thoroughly penetrated with, and as it were haunted by, a certain system of teaching now neglected, even where they are of little direct critical value.

As we shall notice a few important early variations in what follows, we proceed to the versions. A few remarks only will be offered, and those chiefly upon two, the Syriac and the Latin.

The Syriac versions have been examined by Adler, but there yet remains much to be done here. We should be glad to see the text of the Peschito (the oldest) carefully re-edited, with various readings, as some MSS. may contain important variations (e. g. Adler† mentions one which had the reading Θεοῦ in Acts, xx. 28), and wish it could be distinctly shown that this was not emended by subsequent collation with Greek MSS., or with other Syriac versions: since its value as an evidence for a reading would depend upon this being distinctly made out. If it were made out, new light might be thrown upon such readings of this version as seem to indicate a fluctuation between the two classes of MSS. The Philoxenian is a painfully literal version, by Thomas of Heraclea, in the seventh century. The Jerusalem Syriac is written in a dialect between Chaldee and Syriac, and possibly its dialect would approach to that which was used by our Blessed Lord. Adler gives a specimen of it: and Scholz mentions that Dr. Wiseman had a design of publishing it.

* Page xxxvii. † Vers. Syr. p. 17.

Our author mentions in his Travels (p. 148) some Syriac MSS. at Jerusalem, which we could wish were collated. The monks in that neighbourhood were shy of letting him see things, owing to some rich Englishmen having borrowed out MSS., and never having restored them. We fear this is not unlikely to be true, and so will, by way of warning, give what Mabillon justly says of the imprecations at the end of MSS.

"Forsooth, so great and so headstrong is men's covetousness of the goods of others, specially of those of the Church, so great in the case of most men is the disregard of the intentions of the more religious kind, that they are with difficulty to be held back from a violation of bequests and donations, save by the application of extreme remedies, such as are the terrors of religion and the laws. And certainly these imprecations, levelled against the infringers of wills, the Councils and Fathers, did, in a special manner, approve, supposing that, of all human things, nothing should be of a more inviolable nature than men's dying wills and intentions."

But a word or two more on the Syriac versions: there is a curious fact which our author mentions, which would account for considerable similarity between the codices of the East, and the absence of discrepancies. Books in the East used to be corrected in meetings, at which one dictated, and several others corrected each a manuscript at the same time. In Arabic and Syriac codices the point to which the correction was carried, is noted in the margin. Antonius Atidas, a Maronite priest, told Jahn of this fact.* Of course, for all this corruptions would creep in, as the fact of their wanting correction implies. An Arabic version was made however from the Philoxenian-Syriac, which would be another check upon corruption, as exhibiting a text earlier than most manuscripts. But this again might be corrupted, either from the source from which it had been first taken, which source was subsequently corrupted, or from other Arabic versions; for we know of two more at least, one from the Coptic, and one from the Latin. Thus it is then—spite of all that is said of the certainty of the written Word, in comparison with Tradition,—guard the Greek by the Syriac, and this may be corrupted: and guard this by the Arabic, and this again may be corrupted.

As to the Latin, it is probable, from several grounds, that there were more than one old Latin version. St. Austin tells us of translations, "jam inde a primis fidei temporibus;" and Mill has thought, upon considerable grounds, that the translations were made, as the Greek texts appeared, by separate hands—in a rude but very forcible dialect. St. Austin seems to have given the preference to some one version, though he mentions several done by private hands. Corruptions having got in, in process of time,

* Curæ Cr., p. 20.

Pope Damasus employed St. Jerom to correct them, who, as Mill observes, did it far too hastily, to do it thoroughly. Mill, indeed, thought that the Roman Church would* not have needed a Latin version till after Pope Pius, and Sabatier scarcely has any ground for denying the probability of this opinion. Yet a version of Irenæus,† with the quotations tallying with the Italic, which Tertullian used, seems to have existed pretty early. (A. D. 208.) Now this version abounds in unusual words and expressions, such as would seem to intimate that it was the produce of some colony. Possibly it might have been made in Spain or Carthage at an early period: reasons might be given for the name of Italica, if we were disposed to enter into them in this place; and though we do not profess to be well informed on the subject of municipal and colonial Latin, yet it would be an important thing that it should be made out which country the dialect used in the citations of Tertullian, and the interpreter of Irenæus, pointed too;—what connexions may have existed early between Alexandria and Carthage, how far the remains of the Punic tongue collected by Gesenius may throw light upon this supposed dialect; how far the Pœnulus of Plautus, or any thing in Terence's style, might assist us. We think we have sometimes got over difficulties in Tertullian by turning his words into Hebrew, though that might be accounted for upon other grounds.

However, if the early version could be traced to this source, we should see how it is possible for this version to have kept up a reading which, amid the persecutions and burnings of Christian books, was lost to other Churches. Bengel says of the Latin texts generally,—

"The critic (let him be ever so hostile to the Latin version) will not easily bring himself to approve any reading worth considering out of the Greek manuscripts and Fathers, and the Oriental versions, without his finding either in the Latin manuscripts or Fathers some traces of it at all events, which traces will, probably, gain their proper weight from those very Greek and Oriental authorities."‡

We quit this version with observing that Walton and Mill have defended it in the warmest way—and beg to refer our readers to Sabatier's admirable preface to it.

To conclude then our observations upon the versions. It is clear enough that a hasty and shallow temper of mind differs from a thoughful and deep one chiefly in this, that the latter discerns the truth which attaches to apparent error, while the former is shrewd and acute in detecting falsehoods: the one loves to believe if pos-

* See Sabatier, *Præf.* p. xi. † Mill, Pr. 608; and see 377, seqq.
‡ Int. in Cris. p. 53.

sible, the other to disbelieve. A deep mind is seldom what is called a shrewd mind: a shrewd mind has mostly a tinge of profaneness in it. We might commend the commentaries of the meek and deeply learned Pocock as teaching ignorant persons not harshly to despise a version which seems wide of the text: we might tell them, that the belief of the inspiration of the Septuagint rests on evidence, the same in kind as is adduceable for the canon of the New Testament, there being also no early disputes about it: we might show, from our own version, what seemingly conflicting meanings may be given to one passage: but we ourselves strongly believe that in all the versions, as wholes, an exact agreement with the original, as a whole, will be found by the calm and patient examiner, even where the deviations seem at first sight the most absurd, careless, and ignorant mistakes possible. Moderns may say, "inepte vertit Syrus," or the like—but they would do well to consider, that it is not impossible that these versions may bear some influence of inspiration upon them, lest haply they be found to speak a word against the Holy Ghost. Of old, great minds were afraid of this; now fools rage, and are confident that the sin cannot be done in our days! People who talk with scorn about the versions in parts, where they seem greatly to deviate from the original, would do well seriously to lay to heart the early variations of the text itself in different parts of God's Church. Speculative difficulties of this kind have been permitted, and are permitted; and they occur where we should least expect them, if we allowed ourselves to judge on à priori grounds. Such grounds, indeed, were often taken, but not very happily.

"That the all-wise Providence of God should have watched with greater care (says Wetstein), over the accents of the Hebrews in the Old Testament, than over the Greek punctuations in the New, credat Judæus apella, non ego! for since the doctrine comprised in the New Testament is salutary to the whole human race, and more perfect and good than the Jews' religion, it is, indeed, absurd to say that that which was more worth caring for, had less care taken of it, and that that which was less worth caring for, was the object of greater care."*

Now here he first assumes three-fourths of the Bible to be better than one-fourth, and then argues as if we were judges of how God should act! and this we think in the teeth of facts. Some specimens will explain what we would say: though we feel that it would require volumes to exorcise moderns of their low notions of the law satisfactorily. A priori it would be thought that the Lord's Prayer would have been guarded by Divine Providence from various readings, yet, as matter of fact, this is far from being the case. First, as to the doxology, we believe all the editors from Mill to Scholz (save Matthæi) have rejected it as

* Prol. p. 158.

a spurious addition from the liturgies. To be sure if it occurs in all the liturgies there would be no doubt about its divine original. People may have known that it was a part of the original traditionary teaching which they were to hold fast, just as they may have known those quotations in the early Fathers which have now only been preserved in the apocryphal writings, to have been a genuine part of the oral Gospel,* or as the Jews may have known the quotation from Jeremiah in St. Matt. xxvii. 9, to have been an orally received prophecy of his: but this is not enough; the importance of these words lies, as we shall endeavour to show, in their having come from our Lord's own lips. Now the internal evidence usually adduced against this reading is, we conceive, of very little weight. It is said by Scholz—"who can possibly persuade himself that a doxology so full of confidence is added so by the way, that the fourteenth verse fits on to the twelfth without harshness?" So far from thinking this of any weight, we rather contend that doing so would be quite in character with our Lord's usual manner, if we may venture to say so. This objection then, being removed, we will give the reason we have for thinking this a very important text, insisting as we have all along done upon the due importance of internal probability. In old times the very mention of three things, would have brought the most Holy Trinity to men's minds. The power of God is a name of the Son, the glory of God of the Holy Ghost. They are names of them as put forth, or, to use theological language, as Προφορικοί not as Ἐνδιάθετοι. It may be then that there is some great mystery concerning the Father hidden under the word kingdom, something too awful to attempt to embody in words. Something of the sort seems alluded to in Psalm ciii. 19—"The Lord hath established His throne in heaven and His *kingdom* ruleth over all" (for throne is a mystical name of the Son†); with the following verses. But that delivering up of the kingdom spoken of in 1 Cor. xv., is more clear to the purpose, and upon it we cannot do better than cite the words of St. Zeno of Verona, who thus shows the real drift of the petition—"Thy kingdom come," and so of the word kingdom in the doxology.

"St. Paul spoke of the kingdom of [the Son of] Man which is for a time, in which He is to come and judge the quick and the dead, as the whole tenor of Scripture bears witness, for it teaches that Christ must reign with his saints until all principality and power and might and dominion are made null, and all enemies are put under his feet, and death, our enemy, is destroyed, for He told us to pray daily that the *Father's kingdom* may come."‡

* Compare Acts, xx. 35. † Orig. de Orat. 16. ‡ Galland, B. P. ii. p. 424.

Now the doxology will refer most pointedly to this mystery if *it* be spoken by our Lord himself, as well as the petition, "Thy kingdom come." Its dignity and importance turns upon this; its mysteriousness hinges chiefly upon its having been said by our Saviour himself, upon its not being an addition from any Liturgy. We see then wherein its importance lies, and consequently the degree of probability there is that the external evidence for it would be weak in proportion to that importance. By weak evidence we mean not, no evidence at all, or even evidence which, viewed singly and alone, would not be strong, but evidence with strong objections against it for faith to overcome. This is what, reasoning from analogy, we should expect. We proceed then to state the evidence there is for it. St. Chrysostom is the first person, we believe, who is known to have commented upon it; and yet it is said not to have been used in the Constantinopolitan Liturgy. It exists in the following versions: the old Syriac, the Persian, and the Armenian (which contain a mixed text); in the Œthiopic and the Jerusalem Syriac, which follow the Alexandrine text, and in the Philoxenian Syriac, the Gothic, Georgian and Sclavonic versions, which follow the Constantinopolitan. Several manuscripts of both classes seem to have it. The Latin version, and Fathers who wrote on the Lord's Prayer, have it not. Origen, of the Alexandrine family, and St. Maximus of the Constantinopolitan, omit it, as do St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. Gregory of Nyssa, whose quotations, however, are of such a cast as to preclude determining of what family the manuscripts they used were, though probably Constantinopolitan. Chrysostom, and after him Isidore of Pelusium, and Theophylact and Euthymius, have it. We ought to mention that Euthymius reckons it not a part of the genuine text, but added by the Fathers from Liturgies. The evidence then against it lies chiefly in its not being mentioned by the Fathers who have commented upon the Lord's Prayer, which is certainly very extraordinary. Yet it is also extraordinary that St. Chrysostom should comment upon it, when it is not in his* Liturgy. Perhaps then, this is a clue to the whole matter. The absence of the doxology from the Latin Fathers is sufficiently accounted for by its absence from the Latin versions; its absence from the Latin versions would be accounted for, if it happened that they were made from a text out of which the transcriber, being used himself to a Liturgy without it, might have dropped it: the Greek Fathers were not commenting upon the text, but writing a book upon the Lord's Prayer, and the very first Greek Father we have left who comments upon the text has

* See Morinus, Ex. Bib. p. 74.

the doxology; so that if it so happened that they were used to a Liturgy without it, they might omit it. If the Liturgies they used now have it, is it less likely that they were interpolated, than the Gospel of St. Matthew? It will be seen, too, that the authorities for it are chiefly Constantinopolitan; now how comes our author to have deserted his usual authority? because many of its manuscripts have it only in the margin. Yet, how came it into so many versions? In his German commentary on the place he gives the old translations as authorities against it, which they certainly are not by his own showing, save the Latin; neither are the Alexandrine manuscripts, as a body, unless they all happen to be defective here, for he only cites three of the most ancient. Doubtless he would make it clear why he deserts the Constantinopolitan here, if we could ask him; but for ourselves, we profess we should be inclined to keep this text even if the external evidence in its favour were much less. Manuscripts made for Church use containing lessons for particular seasons, Lectionaria as they are called, would naturally omit the clause, if it was omitted in their Liturgies; and this, we say again, would be a reason of its omission in so many codices.

To notice a few more of the variations in the Lord's Prayer: Origen mentions that a petition was absent from St. Luke; Tertullian alone changes the position of two petitions; St. Gregory of Nyssa had Ἐλθέτω τὸ Πνεῦμα σου in his manuscript of St. Luke; St. Augustine and others had, "ne sinas nos induci in tentationem;" which looks at first like an expedient to remove the difficulty. But we have no room to discuss each and all of these, and so we shall content ourselves with giving St. Austin's own instructive way of reflecting on the differences he found in the two copies of the Prayer:—

"The Evangelist Luke comprised in the Lord's Prayer, not seven but five petitions, and yet he did not differ from St. Matthew, but hinted, by his very conciseness, how those seven are to be understood. Thus the name of God is hallowed in the Spirit; but the kingdom of God is to come in the resurrection of the flesh. And so St. Luke, showing the third petition to be, in a certain way, a repetition of the two former ones by passing it over, made it to be better understood. Then he adds three others of daily bread, of the forgiveness of sins, and of the avoiding of temptation. That which the other put last, 'but deliver us from evil,' he has not given, that we might understand that it pertaineth to that former which speaks of temptation. Thus then, he says, 'but deliver,' not and deliver, as though to show that the petition is one, do not this, but this, so that every one may know

that then he is delivered from evil, when he is not led into temptation.*

To give another instance, St. Basil against Eunomius, ii. 17, has the following words. "But charging the Ephesians as being indeed one with him, who Is, (Τῷ Ὄντι) in fulness of knowledge he gives them the peculiar name of those that are (ὄντας), saying, 'to the saints, which are, τοῖς οὖσι, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus,' for thus, both those before us have delivered it on to us, and we also have found it in the ancient copies." It must be observed he is arguing with a heretic and so would be careful of what he said; he has tradition and manuscript authority for this reading; he does not doubt, as some make out, that the Epistle is to the Ephesians, but leaves out ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, and explains τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσι as nearly the same with τοῖς ὄντως ἁγίοις. We will not trouble the reader with objections against the goodness of the Greek. St. Basil was a profound scholar and a better judge than moderns as to these matters, we must venture to think. Some have thought with Marcion, that it was the Epistle to the Laodiceans. The passages they quote from Tertullian † prove clearly enough that it was thought in that Church also to be written to the Ephesians, but they do not prove that the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ were in the text. Rev. ii. 2—4, might be urged as tending to favour St. Basil's interpretation, as St. Paul wrote a good deal earlier, and St. Ignatius calls them συμμύσται Παύλου τοῦ ἡγιασμένου. Now, St. Basil's witness is a remarkable one; he lived not so far from the place: his reading is even now confirmed by one manuscript, and that an Alexandrine one, though with the words appended in the margin. We should remember that the oldest Asiatic manuscripts have perished confessedly, and that St. Jerome, who followed the other class, would be for that reason no very strong authority against St. Basil's reading, though he does of course serve as witness in favour of the inscription to the Ephesians. The tradition of the Church here, as elsewhere, will set our minds at rest as to that, whatever difficulties moderns may raise from fancied internal improbabilities and the like. That tradition is the only foot upon which the canonicity of any book of Scripture can be established, and therefore we should trust it for other points and allow that our ignorance is an answer to the difficulties raised against us. The passage which Lachman has bracketed as not genuine, above noticed, would be another case in point. But we will forbear to multiply instances of early discrepancies and omissions. Those given are enough to show that the written word is not so certain as to preclude all doubt, while they

* Euch. ad Laur. c. 116. † Marc. v. 11, 17.

have also given us some scope for animadverting upon our author's theory and its bearings.

We can easily conceive an infidel to say much as modern arguers against tradition do, that if "All these fluctuations and variations exist, an uncertainty is thrown over the whole; that it is extremely unlikely, if there were any truth in the revelation, those who found great variations on important parts should not have known where to go to find the original codices; that such variations are allowed to have existed in the second century; that if the reverence you Christians pretend to have for the Gospels, &c. had existed in those times, they would have been sure to have preserved the autographs, instead of which there is not a vestige of them."* Nay, the infidel might, if he had a mind to proselytize, use this as an argumentum ad hominem with an Ultra-Protestant; he might put the case as a striking parallel. He might say, "You reject tradition, and why not reject Scripture too; and reject it on the same grounds as you reject tradition. You make use of Scripture against the Fathers, and I make use of the Fathers against Scripture, who quote it differently from what it is now found. You complain that men talk a great deal of jargon about disciplina arcani as being the cause why some important doctrines are not mentioned earlier, and I complain that men talk a great deal of jargon about Gospels being written by the four Evangelists, whom they pretend to have lived at the time; whereas we find no mention of such writings having been seen in early times. You desiderate the mention of certain doctrines, I of certain writings; you say tradition is so uncertain and easily corrupted, I bring the matter of fact, that the thing which was to be so certain was corrupted after all, and that in important parts too, and in early times: besides I do not care for your distinction of important and unimportant; it seems to me to be all unimportant together: if you were to be honest, you would just say the same. Let us be consistent; let us both be men of sense; let us both shake off the fetters of priestcraft at once, and be honest freethinkers."

Thus it is: when we stand at a distance, we think we see our sour neighbour Ultra-Protestantism; but when we come quite close up and look it full in the face, it is nobody in the world but our old enemy infidelity; it is freethinking stooping itself down low, and making believe that it is a child, but when we come fairly up to it, it stands up and we see who it is, full grown infidelity in disguise with a cloak of religion about it, because it keeps it warm, which however it means to put off as soon as it is

* See Scholz, Prol. p. xxi.

convenient; of course while the wind is so strong against it, putting off the cloak does not come into its head at all. We do not wish to be harsh upon the Ultra-Protestants, but we do really believe it to be true mercy to remind people *whose* steps they are walking in. Religion is brought home to us by the Church. The Bible is the means of proof; there are difficulties about tradition in spite of which a Christian must believe; and there are difficulties about the Bible in spite of which an infidel must believe. Truth of a moral nature does never come to us without such difficulties, if we like to dwell on them: *ἄνευ πίστεως οὐδὲ ὁ νοῦς δύναται ὁρᾶν τὰ νοούμενα*, said Aristotle, even in intellectual matters we begin by belief. And this holds on through our state of probation; there is a continual recurrence of a similar trial. An infidel who has to trust to the Bible, as the standard of truth, will find difficulties owing to various readings and early disputes about texts or passages of importance; and an Ultra-Protestant who has to trust the Church, is not to expect that the having got beyond the stage of infidel, difficulties will leave him at liberty to go on straightforward without any trials of the same sort. As well might a youth, who had escaped from the confinement of school-boy days, imagine that now there would be nobody in the world to interfere with him and check him, and try his temper. Men cannot be wide awake who talk in the way they do against the Fathers and Tradition. They really are fairly getting themselves round into the second childhood of infidelity, and they ought to be told so in severe, plain-spoken language.

But to take a look back upon the ground we have been going over. We have given the reader a sketch of our author's principles, and some specimens of them as carried into practice; we have shown the intricacies of the matter for the benefit of those who boast of themselves as Bible Christians. We have shown how we must be thrown upon the Fathers and versions, how important they are in deciding what is Bible and what is not: not merely what is right interpretation and what not; but the very document itself of proof depends *in parts* upon them, and has, in parts, scarce any substantive existence out of them. We have hinted that the versions are in fact tradition, and that, we take the liberty of thinking (from experience of the difficulties found where such tradition is wanting, either altogether or in mutual agreement,) a safer sort of tradition than a Bible Christian is likely to meet with in rationalistic grammars and dictionaries. And lastly, we came to some specimens of early difficulties about important passages. We must again repeat that we do not believe, that a single iota of Scripture is unimportant.

The faithfulness of the Jews in their preservation of the text,

is gainsayed by some and ridiculed by others; but it can be denied on no good grounds. However, it may be, that it was intended that men should be brought to see that the whole of the New Testament is involved in and wrapped up in the Old, and that this should be a measure and fixed standard to correct the other by. Things may have been so ordered, that the text of the New Testament should become confused and unsettled, so far as it is so, in order to call men's minds forcibly back to the importance of Tradition generally, and of the Mosaic and Prophetic Tradition in particular, as having in it, perhaps, the whole of Christian doctrine, but *certainly* a very large portion of it indeed, and that professed to be handed on from Moses, and appealing for proof to the law, as our Tradition professes to be handed on from the Apostles, and appeals for proof to the Gospel. Further, it might have been designed, that when a standard system was so worked out of the law, detached portions of the New Testament should be recognized as such, having been found only in particular Churches, and particular Churches may have been allowed to be the only keepers of them, in order to bring out a spirit of confidence between the particular branches of the whole Catholic Church, and with a view to it. The natural government of the world falls in with this hypothesis, and confirms it: for what Herbert says of interpretations, may be true of texts, families of MSS. and the like. "The country parson doth assure himself that God in all ages hath had his servants to whom He hath revealed His truth as well as to him, and that as one country doth not bear all things that there may be a commerce, so neither hath God opened nor will open all to one that there may be a traffic in knowledge between the servants of God, for the planting both of love and humility."* By the way we wish people would read this wonderful author, not to call him very beautiful, but to think about and practise his stern, meek holiness.

But if these things come to pass, we expect it will be by a careful study of the Liturgies of the Church, as developing and ascertaining these classes of MSS., and their respective mutual bearings, since the Church ever goes before the Bible, facts before the proof of them, in the order of knowledge. We have had collections of MSS. enough; we want method and arrangement, and think our author has gone a step towards it, and that he deserves great thanks for this, whatever his feelings in particular cases may be. Πάντα γὰρ σχεδὸν εὕρηται, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν οὐ συνῆκται τοῖς δ' ου χρῶνται γιγνώσκοντες. We will urge the remarks of another member of his Church upon our author, and

* Cap. iv.

indeed upon all the restless gatherers of various readings. We think them of vast importance, and fully concur with them.

"Those deviations in the translations rest then upon no variation in the originals, but have their origins in the manifold meaning, and in the endless never-to-be exhausted depth of Holy Writ. And this is the reason why there is no translation which is capable of fully expressing the sense of the originals. Every translation gives only one single sense, and must consequently necessarily vary from the other. The old translators, whom men now often so bitterly blame for their deviations from the original, and object to them not unfrequently ignorance, and defective MSS., certainly had more knowledge and more careful accuracy than men usually give them credit for. When therefore they differ from each other, their deviations are in fact no inward real contradictions, but only different modes of treating one and the same thing, which sure enough may all of them consist with each other in peaceful agreement. As then men in the bygone philosophical century have troubled themselves with great diligence, to the undermining of *genuine* religious faith, in tracing out the variations in the original codices and the versions, and therefore have displayed the expensive collations of various readings; may the time now soon come when men, led by a better spirit, may, to the triumph of faith, set forth all these seeming contradictions in the original and in the versions, in their inward agreement." *

This is, we think, a very just and right-minded view of the variations. It is as though, in full confidence in God's mercy, one believed that portions of Scripture may have different ways of looking at us without losing their own personality; nay (to word it so as to take in additions and omissions, as they seem to be), as though parts had slided and shifted themselves away into some other position, so that by one who looks, not for the physical form of the countenance of the divine word, but for its expression, it is clearly recognized to have the same looks of love and solemnness. We hope our readers will not think us irreverent for throwing what we feel into these inadequate words. On these grounds we should fully agree with Mill's wish, that the text of the Complutensian had been made the standing unalterable text. "For to what purpose would change be—(as he well says)—if for the sake of a purer text, when all editions subsequently got up, are at fault in diverse places, and not unfrequently depart from the genuine writing of the Apostles; it had been a far better plan to have appended to the margin of this first edition, assumed as a fixed basis, such readings as were esteemed preferable, than after taking the old ones away, to have incorporated these new ones with the text in their stead." This method would have left us something fixed to judge by, whatever became of theories of

* Molitor Ueber die Tradition, § 510.

MSS. and their classes and families: we then should have believed men who talked about no doctrine being invalidated by various readings, and we should have been better able to recognize the identity of the text, as a whole, however its parts might accidentally shift themselves, in whatever array they might happen to draw themselves up, in this or that set of manuscripts. And this, we think, with the help of the Church's teaching, might have been done; for who but the bride could understand the changes of her Lord's countenance? But we check ourselves; moderns are so little used to recognize the inscrutable connection between the written and the personal Word. If we lean affectionately upon the Church, these variations and difficulties will not disturb us. While the critical world disputes, we shall still beseech Him by His awful merits. While they are arguing, we may be using doxologies; while they are showing how rude and wise they can be in rejecting unauthorized additions, we shall be confiding in her and growing poor in spirit. "The Lord hath founded Sion, and the poor of his people shall trust *in* her."

ART. III. — *Life and Times of Archbishop Sharp, of St. Andrews, &c.* By Thomas Stephen, Med. Lib. King's Coll. Rickerby. 1839.

THE very worst enemies of Episcopacy must allow, that the annals of mankind have scarcely any thing to present much less attractive, than the history of its downfal in Scotland. The *Reformation*,—as it is called,—came there into the world as the twin-born sister of Rebellion. It was not, properly, the purification of an ancient Church from the leprosy of inveterate Superstition. Neither was it the deliverance of the Church from the ignominious domination of a foreign priest. The whole was, simply, a work of headlong demolition, and of equally impetuous re-construction. And this same work was carried on, for the most part, by men who lifted up the voice of brutal menace, and the arm of unhallowed violence, against the powers which are ordained of God. In England, the Reformation was what the word implies. The Apostolic Church was cleansed of much unseemly and offensive incumbrance; not, perhaps, without some mutilation of its primæval symmetry; not without some loss of its original dignity and grandeur; but, still, assuredly, without the sacrifice of any one attribute which was essential to it, as a living member of the holy Catholic Church, the mystical body of

the Redeemer. And, most happily, the hand of rebellion was not laid upon the Ark! In Scotland, on the contrary, the *Reformers* went to work, as if their express commission were to smite down *idolatry*, and to set up the worship, before unknown, of the true and living God. With them, the *Reformation* was, almost, as if the land were to be *reformed* from Druidism, or from the grim mythology of Thor and Woden, and to behold the Cross planted, for the first time, in their stead. And hence it was, that the process was one of ruin and destruction, carried forward in high disdain of ancient sanctity and immemorial authority, and in utter defiance of all sublunary power. With the saints of the congregation, fifteen hundred years were as one day. They went forth, as if they had just parted from the presence of the Apostles, to build up the Church of Christ in a heathen land, from the foundation to the key-stone! But they accomplished their warfare more like the warriors of Joshua, than the soldiers and servants of Christ. They searched the Scriptures, indeed; and there they found that the Hebrews were strictly commanded to root out the tribes of Canaan, and to destroy their pictures, and their molten images, and quite to pluck down their high places; lest the remnant of the idolaters should be as thorns in their sides, and as brambles in their eyes. And desperate was their fidelity to this appalling type: and loud was the outcry with which they demanded that "God's silly vassals," the princes and the rulers, should grasp the sword of havoc and extermination.

It is a saddening, though instructive task, to look into the various causes which imparted the character of a ferocious revolution, to a process, which might, otherwise, have conferred upon the realm the blessings of a mild and prudent course of restoration and improvement. In Scotland, as in other parts of Christendom, the ancient communion had been, for ages, the nurse of civilization and humanity—the patroness of learning and of art—the sanctuary of the weak,—the only rampart against brute force and merciless oppression. Her magnificence and taste were attested by the splendour of her sacred edifices; her patriotic liberality and enterprize by roads, and bridges, and other public works. Her religious institutions, with all their faults, were the retreats of charity,

"Where want had succour, and contrition rest."

And, more than this, she was, after all, the guardian of the faith, the depository of the truth, through centuries of wild barbarism and destructive anarchy. And, by her were transmitted to the hands of her persecutors those very oracles, in which they read her doom, and which they soon converted into an institute

of desolation. In the course of time, however, pride, and fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness, were found to do their usual work. It is said that long before the period of the great crisis, more than one-half the territorial wealth of Scotland had been transferred into the hands of the clergy: and the result was, the proverbial sloth,—the voluptuousness,—the corruption,—the ignorance,—and all those names of evil, so familiar to the lips, and so dear to the heart, of *reforming* rapacity and selfishness! At length, the mighty voice of the English autocrat went forth; and his challenge to the Romish pontiff found an echo in many a Scottish heart. But it only struck terror into the spirits of the hierarchy: and terror is the most cruel of all passions. To them, the defection of Henry was the signal for lighting up the fires of persecution. Hamilton and Forrest, Russel and Kennedy, and, at length, George Wishart, were dragged to the stake; and the smoke of their martyrdom seemed to spread, far and wide, the infection of their principles. All this time, the English court was as a city of refuge to the exiles for conscience sake, from the domestic enemy and the avenger. And, in England, they beheld the spectacle of a Church permitted gradually to effect her own reformation, under the protection of the sovereign; while their own country was convulsed by the struggles of a Church, engaged in a mortal strife for the preservation of her very existence. Neither king nor bishop were seen, in Scotland, labouring for the deliverance of the people from their *cruel bondage* under Rome. On the contrary, the impending dangers only bound the throne and the hierarchy in a closer league than ever, both with each other and with the powers of the Vatican. And thus it came to pass, that, from the first, the Scottish Reformation had so much of the character of a democratic movement. The impulse came not from the high places of the land. The agitation commenced in the lower regions. Instead of spreading downwards from the commanding eminences of authority and power, it had to expand upwards against the pressure of ancient and massive institutions. And dreadful was the paroxysm of the subterraneous fire, when once it had gathered strength for the eruption.

Another cause which impressed so desperate a character upon this mighty Revolution, was the wild confusion of thought resulting from the abjuration of the pontifical supremacy. For ages past, the Pope had been regarded as the fountain-head of all spiritual authority. He was the one visible representative of Christ,—the one universal bishop. All other bishops were but the delegates and vicars of this great high priest. To renounce the Pope, therefore, was to deny the existence of a Christian

hierarchy, and to abolish all distinction between priest and layman. Even the Anglican Church did not wholly escape the embarrassment and peril arising from her defection from the one Apostolic See. It is well known that Cranmer was, at one time, almost prepared to dispense with any *ordination* but that which might be conferred by royal hands. And, but for the influence of more resolute and stedfast minds, the Apostolic succession might have been discarded as a fable. In Scotland, however, the notion of any such descent of spiritual power, from hand to hand, appears to have been *scouted*, from the very first: or, rather, it scarcely seems to have been considered as worthy of a moment's thought. The Pope had, hitherto, been all but adored, as the head and life of the Church. But, now it was discovered that the Pope was a man of straw; and by many he was execrated as the man of sin. Was the Church, then, to be consigned "to a perpetual uncertainty, whether she were alive or dead," because the authority of the Pope turned out to be an empty fiction; or,—worse than a fiction,—an impudent and blasphemous imposture? —And, hence the phenomenon of "a self-formed priesthood."—And hence, too, the intensely popish intolerance of the priesthood so formed! If freedom of conscience was inscribed on one side of its banners, death to heresy was written on the other.

Episcopacy, then, went down, even to the dust. In 1572, however, an attempt was made to set it up again. The Convention at Leith seems to have been impressed with some suspicion that, after all, the ancient form of administration was the best: and, besides, in the very title of *bishop* lay the only charm which could possibly preserve the revenues of the Church from a sweeping confiscation. For, be it always remembered, that the lords of the congregation,—albeit their feet were not quite so swift to shed blood as those of their spiritual agitators,—still were impetuous enough in the pursuit of plunder: and, when bishops were no more, to whom should their vacant possessions revert, but to that gallant and noble class from which those possessions had, originally, been extorted? To stay this evil, the Convention dresses up a cloud, in the likeness of Episcopacy,—*tenuem sine viribus umbram!* And may we not justly go on with the quotation?

> ——————— dat inania verba,
> Dat, sine mente, sonum, gressusque effingit euntis:
> Morte obitâ, quales fama est volitare figuras,
> Aut quæ sopitos deludunt somnia sensus.

There was no breath of life, no vital power, in this miserable effigy. "Its bones were marrowless; its blood was cold: there

was no speculation in its eyes." It was the work of man, not the creation of God. Of the bishops thus appointed, about half were without episcopal consecration; and several were not even in priests' orders! They differed from Knox's superintendents, with whom they took their seats, in little but the name. Who, then, can wonder that this phantom of Episcopacy was afterwards well nigh dissipated and blown away, by the breath of Andrew Melville?

In the same year which witnessed the Convention of Leith, John Knox was gathered to his fathers. In the simplicity of his heart, he had once believed that their Lordships of the Congregation, and all other the secular patrons of the Reformation, were impelled by a consuming zeal for the glory of God, and the brightness and honor of his Church. Zeal, indeed, they were not without; and this of a kind sufficiently voracious: for Knox soon discovered, to the bitter anguish of his soul, that he had wrested the sacred patrimony from the idolaters of the Mass, only that it might be devoured by the idolaters of Mammon. And vain were his indignant struggles to rend the prey from their tenacious jaws. They smiled at his "devout imaginations." They stood unmoved in the midst of the tempest of his anathemas. And he died a broken-spirited man! The old Adam was found to be too strong, not only for young Melancthon, but for the turbulent energy, and shaggy virtue, of this great missionary from the Supreme Pontiff of Geneva!

But what was John Knox himself, when compared with the Presbyterian Hildebrand, Andrew Melville? In July, 1680, little more than eight years after the Convention of Leith, (which, be it observed, had the approbation of John Knox),—the voice of Melville spake by its appropriate organ,—the rebel assembly of Dundee: and its utterance was on this wise, "that the office of a Bishop has no sure warrant out of the Scriptures of God, but is brought in by the folly of man's invention, to the great overthrow of the Church of God." In spite of this outrageous denunciation, however, the king persisted, inflexibly, in his design of restoring something like body and substance to the apparition of the departed prelacy: and at length, in 1612, there was some reason to hope, that the hierarchy was, once more, a living thing. But the dream was soon dissipated. The new *Dispensation* of the Solemn League and Covenant was at hand. The "trumpet of God's Evangel" again sounded the loudest note of Rebellion. In the year 1638, Episcopacy disappeared from the land: and the Kirk came forth, if not "fair as the moon,"—(as was vaunted by its champions)—yet, most certainly, "terrible as an army with banners."

From that time the Presbyterian domination appeared to be immoveably established. And so it was, until the days of the Usurper. He, however, contrived to put a bridle in the jaws, and a hook in the nostrils, of this hitherto untameable monster: and nothing is more astonishing than the facility with which he appears to have achieved this formidable adventure. Under his rule, says Clarendon, "their beloved Presbytery became a term of reproach, and ridiculous; the pride and activity of their preachers subdued, and reduced to the lowest contempt; and the standard of their religion remitted to the sole order and direction of their commander-in-chief. And all this prodigious mutation and transformation (in Church and State) had been submitted to with the same resignation and obedience, as if it had been transmitted by uninterrupted succession from King Fergus! And it might well be a question, whether the generality of the nation was not better contented with it, than to return to the old road of subjection."* And no wonder. The land, at all events, had rest; which it had scarcely ever known from the accession of Mary to the usurpation of Cromwell. Since the first outbreak of the Reformation, indeed, it had been torn and convulsed by a legionary demon, which was cast out, for a time, by the potent exorcisms of a stern and awful tyrant. And it never has been questioned that this exchange of anarchy for peace, was signally favorable to the social interests of Scotland. But the house having been swept and garnished, the evil spirit returned, with unabated malignity, when the mighty exorcist was no more.

We are now brought to the period of the Restoration, and the times of Archbishop Sharp. The Archbishop has met with a very zealous biographer in Mr. Stephen. It would, perhaps, be too much to speak of him as gifted with the very highest qualifications for the historical office. But, beyond all question, he is a faithful, honest, and most laborious chronicler. The chief merit which he claims, is, that he has advanced neither opinion nor fact without ample authority; and the chief advantage he boasts, that he has had access to certain original manuscripts, belonging to the Church of Scotland, deposited in the Episcopal chest at Aberdeen. We are almost afraid, indeed, that his deep and honest indignation against schism and rebellion, may appear, in the judgment of some readers, to have nearly disabled him for the work of impartial and dispassionate narration. But, we firmly believe that the most suspicious among them will find themselves utterly baffled in any attempt to impeach his historical integrity. At all events we are heartily glad of his publica-

* Life of Clarendon, vol. i. p. 423, 424. Oxf. Ed.

tion. It was high time that the memory of Sharp should have fair play. And this it never could have, so long as public estimate of him should be formed upon the loose and spiteful gossip of Bishop Burnet.

James Sharp was born in 1618, at Banff Castle, the residence of his father William Sharp, sheriff's clerk of Banffshire. His mother prognosticated that he would be a bishop; a prophecy, of which she lived to witness the fulfilment. He was educated for the sacred office, partly at King's College, Aberdeen, and partly under the tuition of Dr. Forbes and Dr. Baron,—two distinguished "ornaments of the Scottish Episcopal Church." Under their guidance, we are told, "he sucked in a set of orthodox and catholic principles, more agreeable to his after elevated character, than adapted to the tragical times in which he was to make his first figure and entrance into the world."* In 1638, being then 20 years of age, he fled from persecution, and retired to England; where he acquired the friendship of Saunderson, Hammond, and Jeremy Taylor. It seems that his intention was to take orders in the Anglican Church. This design, however, was frustrated by a severe indisposition, which drove him back to his native air. On his return to Scotland, he became acquainted with the Earl of Rothes, to whom he was related on his mother's side; and, by his lordship's recommendation, was appointed to the chair of Philosophy, at St. Leonard's College, in the University of St. Andrew's. His residence there was rendered memorable by a somewhat undignified adventure. In the course of a polemical discussion with a brother professor, a sturdy champion of the Covenant, Sharp was assailed with the lie direct. To this figure of speech he replied by a sound cuff on the ear of his antagonist; much to the disadvantage of his reputation for modesty and self-control. Some time after this, he resigned the chair at St. Andrew's, and accepted the living of Crail, at which place,—says his biographer, with amusing *naïveté*,—"although he settled as a Presbyterian minister, yet he still held Episcopalian principles." The only excuse for this duplicity was, that, at that period, none but Presbyterian orders could be obtained in Scotland; a pretext which was, probably, found sufficient to pacify many a tender conscience in those unsettled and disastrous times.

But, whatever might be the secret principles of Sharp, he was then undoubtedly to be reckoned as a Presbyterian; a Presbyterian, however, of the milder type. The body was at that time divided into two classes; the *Remonstrators*, or *Protestors*,

* True and Impartial Account, &c. &c. p. 28; Stephen, p. 3.

who, in 1650, had stigmatised all persons who had ever opposed the Covenanted Reformation, as utterly unworthy of any public trust; and the *Resolutioners*, who were desirous of admitting such persons, on their making open profession of repentance. Through the breach occasioned by this schism, Cromwell marched to the dominion of Scotland: and then it was that Sharp became known to the Usurper, as the chosen representative of the Resolutioners, in opposition to Guthrie, the long-winded and fanatical champion of the Remonstrators. Cromwell was so much delighted by the keenness and address of the advocate, that he thought him deserving of the title of "*Sharp of that ilk.*" On one occasion, he urgently pressed the Remonstrators for their frank opinion of the character of Sharp; but finding them close and costive, the sagacious autocrat addressed them in a tone of sly sarcastic irony, which showed how well he understood their fierce and fanatical hatred of Episcopacy. "Weel, gentlemen," he said, "since you will not use freedom with me, I will do it "with you; and, my judgment is, that he is an atheist, and of "no principles at all." This, they remarked, was a harsh judgment. "No," he replied, "I do not think it; for he proposed "to me to establish *Episcopacy* in Scotland; and none but an "*Atheist* would do that!"*

The success of Sharp, in his intercourse with Cromwell, appears to have earned for him the bitter enmity of the Protestors, and the unreserved confidence of the Resolutioners. On resuming his residence at Crail, subsequently to these negociations, he lived on friendly terms with the moderate Presbyterians; more especially with James Wood and Robert Douglas. His reputation procured for him access to Monck, with whom he was admitted to a conference at Coldstream, and at whose request he prepared the declaration addressed by the General to his army; a service which was afterwards most honourably reported to the king, and which opened to Sharp the road to favour and promotion.

We are now arrived at a critical period in the biography of Sharp. In February, 1660, he received certain instructions from six Presbyterian ministers assembled at Edinburgh; and, with these instructions, he repaired to London. By this commission, he was enjoined to contend for the freedom and privileges of the Presbyterian Kirk; and, more especially, to protest against the *sinfulness* and *offensiveness* of *toleration*. And, the question is,

* Mr. Stephen will, we trust, forgive us for differing from him in our view of the spirit in which these words were spoken. We consider them as manifestly ironical; whereas Mr. Stephen appears to imagine that Cromwell was in earnest, and really believed Sharp to be an atheist.

did he act in faithful conformity to the spirit of the injunctions thus accepted by him? or, did he perfidiously abuse his influence and his opportunities, to the destruction of the hopes and prospects of his constituents? He appeared, be it remembered, as the representative of the moderate Presbyterian party; and, undoubtedly, the *language of his correspondence* is very much in accordance with their views and principles. He writes like a covenanter; not like a furious covenanter, indeed; but still like one who regarded the Covenant as the "yoke of Christ." His letters are filled with expressions of gloomy apprehension, lest the Presbytery should be set aside, and Episcopacy become triumphant. On the 4th of March, he writes,—"the great *fear* is, "that the king will come in; and, that, with him, moderate Epis- "copacy, *at the least*, will take place here. The *good party* are "doing what they can to keep the *covenant interest* on foot; but, "I fear that there will be much ado to have it so." On the 27th, "the fear of rigid Presbytery is much talked of here. But, for "my part, I apprehend no ground for it. I am *afraid* that *some- "thing else* is likely to take place in the Church, than rigid pres- "bytery. This nation is not fitted to bear the *yoke of Christ*. "And, for religion, I suspect it is made a stalking-horse, still." In April, "I *fear* the interest of the Solemn League and Covenant "shall be neglected. And, for religion, I smell, that moderate "Episcopacy is the fairest accommodation which moderate men, "who wish well to religion, expect." Again, "whatever kirk- "government be settled in England, it will have an influence on "this kingdom. For, the generality of this *upstart* generation "have no love to presbyterial government, but are wearied of "that yoke; feeding themselves with the *fancy* of Episcopacy, "or moderate Episcopacy." In a similar strain, he writes, subsequently to the restoration of the king. On the 7th of July, he says, "Some lawyers are giving papers to the court, proving "that the bishops of England have not been *outed* by law, of "any point of their jurisdiction, save of the high commission "courts. The *cloud* upon public affairs, on this, and several "other accounts, is become *more dark* than was apprehended. "The Lord reigns, and knows how to be seen in his glory, and "to appear *for his own interests*." Once more:—"I have a "toilsome life of it. The Lord's anger seems not yet to be "turned away from these kingdoms. Affairs here begin to be "much involved. Many foreseeing men expect a breach. We "know not on what foundation to stand. *The Presbyterians are "like to be ground betwixt two mill-stones. The papists and "fanatics are busy at work.*"

Now, all this, and more to the same purpose, is indisputably

the language of a man who regarded the subversion of Presbytery, and the restoration of Prelatical government, as a calamity to be deplored, and, if possible, averted; but who despaired of any effectual resistance to the impetuous re-flux of public opinion. And, if he had retired from the hopeless conflict, to his own country, untouched and untainted with the odour of gain, and without a particle of the profit resulting from the change,—or even if he had accepted preferment, after an ample interval for mature deliberation and inquiry,—in either case, his integrity might have remained beyond assault, and above suspicion. But, unfortunately for his reputation and his peace, his elevation to the See of St. Andrew's followed close upon the restoration of Episcopacy: and thus he became the foremost man of all Scotland in upholding that very cause, the success of which he so recently had deprecated. And hence, it has been confidently and loudly affirmed, that all his professions of anxiety for the preservation of the holy discipline, were false and hollow; that while he was deploring the probable fate of the *Covenanting Interest*, he was but deluding and mystifying his constituents; and that, throughout the whole of his negociations at the court of Charles, the mitre was perpetually hovering before his eyes. In the judgment of his enemies, in short, his sincerity was rendered utterly incredible, by the simple fact of his hasty and profitable defection from their interest. It must, however, in all equity, be recollected, on the other side of the question, that the suspicions to his disadvantage are greatly weakened by the reception of Sharp in Edinburgh, in the September following. At a meeting of the Presbytery there, he restored the commission received by him from Douglas, and others of the moderate party; and, on that occasion, he was honoured by the unanimous thanks of the body which he had been appointed to represent. That this circumstance should mitigate the hostility and rancour of the more furious of the Presbyterian faction, was scarcely to be expected. Still, it should never be lost sight of by those who would form a dispassionate estimate of his character.

This circumstance, indeed, is *not* lost sight of even by Wodrow, the Presbyterian Martyrologist. Nevertheless, he labours to disable and to neutralize it! Rather than Sharp shall be acquitted of falsehood, he is resolved that the Presbytery shall be made infamous by the charge of dissimulation. He roundly affirms that, while they were publicly recording their testimony of confidence and approbation, they were secretly conscious that they were setting them down to the solemn whitewashing of a traitor! For this, he appeals to the authority of Douglas, who was himself a party to the acquittal. It should, however, be remem-

bered that Douglas subsequently became reconciled to the faction of the Protestors, and may have spoken or written, after he had been infected with a portion of their virulence. Besides, it is quite notorious that Wodrow, in faithful compliance with the instructions of his party, compiled his history with an especial design to "aggravate the crimes of their adversaries." His statements, therefore, cannot be received with too much caution. But,—be all this as it may,—one thing is next to certain, that the cause of the Church was damaged and enfeebled by the elevation of Sharp. Whether, or not, he was guilty of betraying the interests of his party, it, at least, cannot be denied that, at this period, there *was* something in his conduct, which bore, at least, a most unhappy resemblance to apostasy. The delegate of Presbyterianism is suddenly transformed into the Primate of Scotland! The mitre at once takes the place of the cap of Geneva. The crozier is grasped instead of the rude staff of the rebel discipline. The commissioned advocate of the Covenant becomes, as it were in the twinkling of an eye, the prime guardian of the Apostolical succession. The change was too abrupt, and too closely coincident with the influx of promotion and emolument, to leave his good name unscathed. It was scarcely to be expected that even moderate and candid men should look upon so marvellous and so hurried a transmutation, without certain awkward and uncomfortable misgivings. And it would have been wonderful indeed, if the fanatics of the Solemn League had failed to stigmatize him as another Judas! Circumstanced as he was, Sharp, beyond all question, was *not* the man to rally the affections and the energies of a distracted nation round the standard of the Catholic and Apostolic Church. And this he ought to have seen and felt. Of the sincerity of his conversion, God alone can judge; but surely, he should have perceived that the very suddenness of it rendered him unfit for the foremost post of danger and of honor. The man wanted for the emergency, was one whose fidelity and courage had been never, for one moment, dubious; one, who, in prosperity and adversity, in good report and evil report, had been uniformly and inflexibly true to the one great cause; one, in short, of whom malice herself could never whisper, that, in his hand, the revenues of his high office showed too much like the *rewards of divination.* Whether such a man could then be found in Scotland, may indeed be doubted. But, at all events, he was not that man. His attachment to Episcopacy may, for any thing we know, have been cordial and unfeigned. But such were the circumstances under which it was professed, that his motives might reasonably be doubted, even by his friends; and were

sure to be loudly and scornfully questioned by his enemies. He was, therefore, destitute of that high moral force of character and name, without which, no man can, humanly speaking, be fitted for the task of raising up the fallen fortunes of a Church.

It is said that the Archbishopric of St. Andrew's was first offered to Douglas; but that he declined the promotion, chiefly on the ground that he had dipped too much into oaths, and had been too deeply implicated in the late troubles, to be qualified for such a station. He added, however, that if Sharp felt himself able to comply, he neither could, nor would blame him. According to Kirkton's fiercer version of the story, Douglas said to Sharp,—"James, I see you will engage. I perceive you are "clear. You will be Bishop of St. Andrew's. Take it; and "the curse of God go with it." Whether the curse of God went with it, it would be awfully rash and presumptuous to say. But, alas! there is but too much cause to doubt whether it was attended by the blessing of God!

But, with reference to the question of Sharp's integrity or falsehood, thus much, at least, is clear,—namely, that if he were perfidious to his constituents, his perfidy was all thrown away. It is affirmed by Guthrie, very justly, that there was "no occasion to "have recourse to the apostasy and treachery of Sharp, to ac- "count for the re-establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland; as "it was almost an inevitable measure, in whatever manner he had "acted." After some prelusive and ambiguous movements, it soon appeared to be a measure on which the court was inflexibly resolved. As considering the matter in the abstract, Charles, of course, was profoundly indifferent whether the people were consigned to the spiritual government of Bishops or of Presbyters; nay, of Brahmins or Imams! But he must, really, have been more or less than man, if he did not cordially abominate the Covenanters as a faction. It was mainly by the help of the Covenanters that his father was eventually undone. By the Covenanters his father was sold. By the Covenanters he had himself been harassed and insulted past endurance, and compelled to dishonor his father's memory. Who, then, can be much surprised that he should have pronounced that theirs was not a fit religion for a gentleman; or that he should have dreaded the predominance of that religion in any part of his dominions? Accordingly, in 1661, came the Act *Rescissory*, by which were *rescinded* all the acts passed by the rebellious Parliaments since 1633. And thus the ground was quietly removed from beneath the whole Presbyterian fabric; and the Church virtually restored to the condition in which it had been placed in 1612. The next measure was, to restore the right of presentation to the patrons of Scottish bene-

fices; of which right they had been deprived in 1649. And, at last, came forth the proclamation from Whitehall, declaring it to be the King's pleasure "to restore the government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops, as it stood settled in the year 1637."

And here we are induced to pause, for the purpose of considering who were the instruments by whom this holy work was to be effected. In the first place, there was his Majesty himself, of whom little need be said, but this,—that, of all men living, he was among the last who might be expected to win a blessing upon any religious enterprise which he might take in hand. A godless and heartless voluptuary was not the man to rear up the prostrate temple in majesty, and beauty, and holiness. But, perchance, there might still have been hope in the undertaking, if the ministers employed in it had been wiser and better than their master. Who, then, were these? Of Sharp we have already spoken. But, foremost among the secular functionaries was Lauderdale; first, a zealous and fiery covenanter; then a devoted adherent of the royal cause; but, nevertheless, to the last, a bitter Presbyterian in his heart. After the Restoration, he could find no terms acrimonious enough to pourtray the atrocity of his own former courses. He called himself, and his nation, "a thousand traitors "and rebels." In alluding to events long past, his language usually was, "When I was a traitor; when I was in rebellion!" No conversation was so agreeable to him, as that which might afford him occasion to pour contempt upon the Solemn League and Covenant; on which he always lavished whatever powers of ridicule he possessed.* Again,—when the restoration of Episcopacy was under discussion, Lauderdale passionately declared that "the Covenant was a wicked and traitorous combi-"nation of rebels against their lawful sovereign, expressly con-"trary to the laws of their own country. He protested his own "hearty repentance for the part he had acted in the promotion "thereof, and was confident that God, who was witness of his "repentance, had forgiven him that foul sin; *that no man had a "greater reverence for the government by bishops than he himself "had; and that he was most confident that the kingdom of Scot-"land could never be happy in itself, nor ever reduced to a perfect "submission and obedience to the king, till the Episcopal govern-"ment was again established there.* The scruple that only re-"mained with him, and which made him differ with his brethren, "was, of the manner how it should be attempted, and the time "when it should be endeavoured to be brought to pass."† And

* Life of Clarendon, vol. i. p. 428. Oxf. edit. † Id. pp. 434, 435.

yet, did this same man, afterwards address the following words to Sharp:—"Mr. Sharp, bishops you are to have in Scotland; "and you are to be Archbishop of St. Andrews. But, whoever "shall be the man, I will smite him and his order, below the "fifth rib." And well did he make this flagitious saying good! For when he perceived that the restoration of bishops was inevitable, his malignity found a resource in the resolution to make Episcopacy hateful and intolerable. "My lord"—he exclaimed, with an oath, to the Earl of Glencairn, who had expressed his anxiety for a limited, sober, and moderate Episcopacy—"My "lord, since you are for bishops, and must have them, bishops "you shall have; and higher than they ever were in Scotland: "and that you shall find." It is well known that he was faithful to this threat. He succeeded, to his heart's content, in making the cause he wished to ruin, utterly detestable, by often labouring in its behalf with the merciless ferocity of an inquisitor.

Mr. Stephen, indeed, seems to be persuaded that he has discovered in the "Episcopal chest" some conclusive evidence of Lauderdale's sincerity as a supporter of the Established Church. From a document there found, he collects that Bishop Leightoun, and certain other persons, "had formed a design quietly "to subvert Episcopacy, and to establish Presbytery, under an "Erastian regulation;" but that the insidious blow was warded off by the firmness of Lauderdale, and the cordial co-operation of the king. The conspiracy or design to which the paper in question alludes, is doubtless Leightoun's well known scheme for an *Accommodation*. And if so, it would be difficult to unfold what addition has been made by the "Episcopal chest," to the knowledge of which the world was already in possession. That Lauderdale opposed this scheme, was notorious, before the "chest" was opened. And Burnet has told us the reason for his opposition. "He said a law that did so entirely change "the constitution of the Church, would be construed, in Eng- "land, as a pulling down of Episcopacy. And, *since the load of "what was to be done in Scotland would fall heaviest on him*, he "would not expose himself so much, as the passing of such act "must certainly do, till he knew what effects would follow it."* The fact is, that the patchwork of Leightoun was neither Episcopacy nor Presbyterianism;

> "But, as it were, an after-dinner's sleep,
> Dreaming on both:"

And for this sort of "half-faced fellowship," (which was regarded with suspicion, if not with contempt, by the Presbyterians them-

* Own Times, vol. i. p. 479. Oxf. edit. 1823.

selves), Lauderdale was, naturally enough, unwilling to incur responsibility, or to impair his own influence and credit. But it must require a large measure indeed of the "charity which thinketh no evil," to conclude, from Lauderdale's opposition to this ricketty contrivance, (as Mr. Stephen has concluded), that "he was in earnest in his support of the Established Church."

No!—Lauderdale, after all, was a dissembler and a traitor. It is, further, undeniable that he was a coarse sensualist, and a brutal tyrant. And lastly, if Burnet may be trusted, he was a stranger to all moral and religious principle. During his long imprisonment, indeed, subsequently to the battle of Worcester, religion seems to have exercised some dominion over his mind. But these impressions were transitory; and when he emerged again into active life, "he wore them out so entirely, that scarcely "any traces of them were left."* And this was the chief man, whom the king delighted to honour. This was one of the physicians, to whose tender care and mercy he consigned the Church, in the most critical period of her seeming recovery and convalescence. Instead of keeping her blood cool and temperate, he did his best to exasperate her symptoms, and to madden her with the new wine of persecution.

So much for Lauderdale. We now come to Rothes; a worthless minion, on whom it is painful, and almost degrading, to waste a single thought or word. He appears to have been a prodigy of licentiousness: and that, probably, was his most potent recommendation to the king. Of this, the public seems to have been sufficiently aware. For, in answer to some indignant remark on his scandalous debaucheries, it was observed, that the King's Commissioner ought, in all reason, to represent the king's person! The two were united by the closest sympathies and affinities of vice. Burnet's description of this man is absolutely shocking. From his account, it would appear that Rothes had contrived to deliver himself from all the restraints of virtue, or religion, or even of common decency. His one palmary maxim was, to do every thing, and to abstain from nothing, that might minister to his ambition or his appetites. He was, unhappily, made for drunkenness; and was able to subdue one set of drunkards after another, without any confusion or disorder, more than an hour or two of sleep would carry off. This, however, says the historian, had a terrible conclusion. For having drunk all his friends dead, he did at last succeed in ruining his own constitution. His stomach gave way, and nothing but fiery potations could assuage his inward torments;

* Own Times, vol. i. p. 174. Oxf. edit. 1823.

so that, in the latter part of his life, he was always either sick, or drunk. One never, indeed, can refer to the authority of Burnet, without some misgiving and distrust. But still, what must have been the original, of which any historian would dare to draw so ugly and hateful a portrait? And yet,—it will scarcely be believed—this son of Belial was allowed, for several years, to combine in his own person, the offices of General, Chancellor, President of the Council, and Royal Commissioner. At length he sunk under the superior influence of Lauderdale, and in 1668 was stripped of most of his employments; all of which he had disgraced by his infamous neglect and profligacy.

Of Middleton, who was Rothes's predecessor in the office of Royal Commissioner, a few words will suffice; as he was dismissed from office as early as 1663. In some respects (if Burnet has not exaggerated) he seems to have been but a few shades better than his successor. He and his companions were so madly addicted to frolic and intemperance, that the whole Scottish nation were disgusted with their excesses. And, for this reason, his disgrace was signalized by a general rejoicing throughout the kingdom. But this—observes Burnet—"lasted not long; for "those that came after him grew worse than ever he was likely "to be." He served the king, in the spirit of a profligate and unscrupulous cavalier; and the Church, in the spirit of a zealous, but imperious, patron. The Bishops he regarded as his creatures, and took care that they should feel the supremacy of the master whom he represented. The king, we are told, was sufficiently satisfied of his fidelity and ardour: but, nevertheless, found that his continuance in office must bring ruinous dishonour upon the royal government. Like Rothes, he came into collision with Lauderdale: and, like Rothes, too, he went to pieces in the encounter.

Such were the pure and virtuous agencies by which Scotland was to be won back to the primitive discipline of the Church of Christ! Whether the adventure was to be achieved by any imaginable combination of sagacity and firmness,—of benevolence and piety,—is a question, respecting which opinions will, probably, continue in a state of interminable conflict. Thus much, however, is absolutely certain,—that these elements were not found in the government of Charles; or, at all events, that they were utterly overpowered by baser influences. The task, undoubtedly, was one of extreme perplexity. There is, indeed, good reason to believe that a decided majority of the Scottish nation were well enough affected to Episcopal government. That the iron of the Presbyterian regimen had entered into the very soul of the pacific and reasonable majority of the people, is

reluctantly and querulously acknowledged by several of the Presbyterian writers. But the peaceable and the rational, although potent in numbers, are often comparatively powerless in turbulence and noise. And thus, probably, it was in Scotland. They who were disposed to be "quiet in the land" might gradually have settled down in the ways of obedience and peace. But then, there was unhappily a precious remnant, who had vowed never to bow the knee to the Baal of Prelacy. With them, the Covenant was as the Book of Life. And the Covenant was neither more nor less than an institute of schism and rebellion. And schism and rebellion are "stirring, audible," and restless. Their lungs are of brass;—and so loud and so incessant is their voice, as to sound like the voice of a vast multitude: and the voice of the multitude is, often, most impudently and profanely vaunted to be the voice of God. It required all the meekness, as well as all the stedfastness, of the wisdom which is from above, to still the blatant clamour, and to tame the rampant fury. Whereas, unhappily the court and council had little to oppose to them, but the wisdom which descendeth *not* from above; but is earthly, sensual, and devilish. And, still more unfortunately, the Bishops were, in consequence, defrauded of the reverence and affection due to them as ministers of God; and were hated or despised, —(though often most unjustly),—as the colleagues, or the slaves, of a knot of the most worthless individuals in the king's dominions. In short, the cause of Episcopacy came, at length, to be almost identified, in the general estimation, with that mystery of iniquity, the government of Charles the Second! And the result was, what might have been expected even by devout and thoughtful men. Such men might ask, not without some show of reason—Do we gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Can the same fountain send forth sweet and bitter waters? Can "peace "and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety," issue forth over the land, from a council-chamber, where the priests of God are benchers by the side of God's worst enemies?

Among the difficulties with which the rulers of those days had to contend, there was none which required a rarer combination of moral excellence, with intellectual power of the highest order, than the one to which we have just alluded;—namely, that almost from the first, sedition and fanaticism were so closely allied, that it was scarcely possible to punish the one, without the appearance of persecuting the other. When the royal proclamation for Episcopacy went forth, it was scarcely to be hoped that the inveterate Presbyterians should comply. But then, the inveterate Presbyterians seem to have had no notion whatever of quietly suffering for conscience' sake. Their religious system

speedily took the form of an armed doctrine; till, in time, a great part of the land was sown with dragons' teeth; and a frightful harvest of conflict and bloodshed was the produce. The realm was maddened with the exasperation resulting from a long succession of mutual injuries. On the one hand, the government appeared, like the Mother of Abominations, to be drunk with the blood of the Saints: and the Saints, on the other hand, were deeply drugged with a deadly potion, of their own preparing, which drove them violently down into the depths of "malice domestic," and of "foreign levy" and alliance. The *ultimate* consequence of all this miserable action and re-action, is scarcely described in colours too fierce, by the historian of the Constitution. Without at all admiring the spirit which presides over his work,—and utterly repudiating the scornful tone in which he is pleased to treat the question of Episcopal government,—we scarcely may gainsay the substantial truth of the following representation:—"It was very possible that Episcopacy "might be of Apostolical institution. But, for this institution, "houses had been burned, and fields laid waste; and the Gospel "had been preached in wildernesses, and its ministers had been "shot in their prayers, and husbands had been murdered before "their wives, and virgins had been defiled; and many had died "by the executioner, and by massacre, and in imprisonment, and "in exile, and in slavery; and women had been tied to stakes "on the sea shore, till the tide rose to overflow them; and some "had been tortured and mutilated. It was a religion of the "boots and the thumb-screw; which a good man must be very "cold-blooded indeed, if he did not hate and reject, from the "hands that offered it. For, after all, it is much more certain "that the Supreme Being abhors cruelty and persecution, than "that he has set up Bishops to have a superiority over Pres-"byters."*

Such was the disastrous issue of the struggle. The first steps, however, towards the *redintegration* of the Church, were most abundantly moderate; so moderate, that Calamy, on learning the easy terms of communion with the Church, exclaimed, in astonishment,—"What would our brethren in Scotland be at? What "would they have? Would to God that we had these offers!" There was no Liturgy,—no ceremonies,—no cross in baptism,—no altars,—no kneeling at the Eucharist,—no chancels in the churches,—scarcely any bells to call the congregation of worshippers together. As for clerical habiliments, gowns and cassocks, indeed, were to be seen. But the eyes of the people

* Hallam, Const. History, c. xvii., vol. i., p. 689, 690, 4to. edit.

were never offended with that odious linen rag, which was thought to exhibit the service of God in the vile masquerade of Pagan idolatry. With regard to discipline,—the Church had its kirk-sessions, much after the Presbyterian manner;—its Presbyteries, under a Moderator of the Bishop's nomination;—its Diocesan Synods, of which the Ordinary himself was the president, or else, a representative of his appointment. National synods, indeed, or general assemblies, there were none. Not that they were, in themselves, at variance with the principles of the new ecclesiastical constitution; but that the government did not judge it expedient to sanction their convocation. It was, indeed, scarcely more to be expected that Charles should have been in haste to revive the General Assembly, than that Louis XVIII. should have been anxious to re-animate the Jacobin Club. But, with this one exception, the whole ecclesiastical apparatus bore so close a resemblance to the Presbyterian system, that the people actually began to go quietly to church, and some of the most able and pious ministers endured to be present when the pulpit was occupied by the Episcopal clergy. But all this profited nothing with the Remonstrants. In their judgment, the whole was an Erastian abomination. The crown, as they complained, was taken from the head of Jesus Christ, and placed upon the head of the sovereign. The hierarchical form of church government was nothing better than a fortress erected by arbitrary power against the civil and religious liberties of the nation. Moreover, the bishops were all deserters and apostates; and the Episcopal clergy were all contemptible for their ignorance, and hateful for their depravity. And then, their patrons, Middleton, Lauderdale, and Rothes, were, notoriously, monsters of impiety and vice. It would be idle to attempt any process by which the truth and falsehood of all these various allegations might be completely extricated and disentangled from each other. The last of them, indeed, was true enough. True or false, however, the whole of these sweeping imputations was indefatigably spread abroad; and, by many, was most profoundly credited. The matter, therefore, was soon placed far beyond the province of argument or persuasion. It was left to the fierce arbitration of heated passions, or of outraged consciences.

The first open collision was on the question of patronage. By the Solemn League and Covenant, the ministers were pledged to the extirpation of prelacy, as a poisonous weed, which had crept into the vineyard of the Lord. And, true to the spirit of the covenant, the clergy of the south-western districts refused to receive presentation or Episcopal induction. The Archbishop of Glasgow was incensed by their obstinacy; and, at his insti-

gation, the recusants were inhibited from the exercise of their spiritual functions; their benefices were declared vacant; they themselves were commanded to remove beyond the limits of their respective presbyteries; and all who should attend upon the ministry of the exiles were made punishable as frequenters of conventicles. In this act of precipitate severity, the government and the hierarchy were but too faithful imitators of the rebellious assembly of 1638. The victims, however, were prepared to suffer, as well as to inflict. Between two and three hundred of the ministers resigned their livings. A flight of young men from the north were called in to occupy their places. These were despised as striplings, and detested as intruders; while the banished clergy were left to wander over the land, and to scatter, far and wide, the seeds of disaffection.

It appears that the persons, who left their churches upon the Glasgow proclamation, belonged to that lawless class of Presbyterians, who, in former days, had been found altogether unmanageable by the General Assembly itself. And, it was not to be imagined that these children of disobedience, who had set their own supreme judicatory at defiance, would tamely endure the yoke of the Episcopal regimen. Their impatience *for* persecution, indeed, was, after calm reflection, condemned by the more wise and moderate of their own party. It seemed as if an opportunity of bringing obloquy and confusion upon the government was, in their estimation, cheaply purchased by any extremity of personal suffering: and this sort of factious and ostentatious spirit of martyrdom was, by many, deemed to be at variance with the genuine lowliness and simplicity of the Christian character. If, however, their object was to embarrass and confound the counsels of their present rulers, it must be confessed that they succeeded to admiration. The difficulty was foreseen by Sharp; who complained that the rashness of the Archbishop of Glasgow would ruin all. If the matter had been left to the discretion of the primate, the contumacious ministers would have been singly removed, one after another; and each vacancy promptly filled up, as soon as it occurred. But the evacuation of between two and three hundred incumbencies, "at one fell swoop," was a measure from which he, very justly, predicted nothing but danger and perplexity. His worst anticipations were verified by the event. The new curates were received with tears, and almost with execrations; sometimes, with more substantial indications of dislike. They were, occasionally, saluted with volleys of stones; and, boxes of ants were emptied into their boots. Nay, —if Kirkton may be credited,—to insult a curate to day, was thought to be an appropriate testimony of repentance for a sin

committed yesterday! Among the fiercest of the adversaries, were crowds of women of the humblest class,—the Janets, and the Margarets, and the Mauses of the parish. And so stout was their resistance, that the civil and military functionaries have been known to retire before them, with aching bones, and discoloured skins!

Matters were now becoming ripe for civil war. And the crisis was hastened by the Act of 1663; which, among other severities, provided, that noblemen and heritors, wilfully absenting themselves from their parish churches, should lose a fourth part of their rent for each year of delinquency, and yeomanry a fourth part of their moveables. Burgesses were subjected to a similar forfeiture of property; and, further, to the loss of all their municipal rights and privileges. And, in 1664, in order to strengthen the hands of the government, in the execution of this odiously penal measure, a sort of High Commission Court was erected, armed with all the inquisitorial terrors which had made its prototype so hateful in England. A more calamitous and insane proceeding, can scarcely be imagined, If some vile Ahitophel had been at hand, to "perplex and dash the counsels" of the Church, he could not have dictated a measure more fitted to direct against her the full rush and sweep of the public indignation. So long as the suppression and punishment of disobedience was left wholly to the Privy Council, it might always be, more or less, a doubtful matter, whether their severities were not provoked rather by the general and treasonable spirit of resistance to all social order, than, specifically, by the wantonness of opposition to the Church. But, now, the office of forcibly upholding the Church was, virtually, transferred from a secular council to the hierarchy. The whole bench of bishops were the principal members of the commission; and the presence of one bishop, at least, was required to constitute a *quorum*. The consequence was, first, that the people felt as if they were bound, hand and foot, and delivered over to the tender mercies of an interested, selfish, and bigoted inquisition; and, secondly, that nearly the whole undivided blame of the most oppressive measures of the time, rested upon the Church Establishment. This unconstitutional board was, fortunately, of short duration. The king finding that it only aggravated the public discontent, listened to milder counsels, and recalled the commission. It continued but a year two; and, then, perished for ever. But, in the course of its or brief existence, it accomplished much irreparable mischief. It spread ruin and terror among the ignorant peasantry; fixed the country people in a temper of sullen desperation; drove many

of them to Ulster; and made the Church more hateful and unpopular than ever.

The primate is expressly charged by Burnet, as the projector of this arbitrary tribunal: and we do not find the imputation questioned by his devoted biographer. Until better informed, therefore, we have nothing for it, but to acquiese in the statement; fatal as it is to the credit of the archbishop. Though, by his own confession, too young to meddle with such high matters, Burnet declares that he ventured to remonstrate, both with Sharp and Lauderdale, against the headlong violence of their counsels. But, he spoke in vain. Sharp, he tells us, despised his applications, and grew jealous of him. Lauderdale, though less contemptuous, was equally immoveable. He was suspected by Burnet of imitating the treacherous policy of Traquair, in "giving way to the follies of the bishops, *on design to ruin them.*" And this suspicion must have been potently confirmed by Lauderdale's reply to his expostulations:—"He ran into great freedom; told many passages of Sharp's past life; *was persuaded he would ruin all; but, nevertheless, was resolved to give him line,* as he had not credit to stop him."* Here, therefore, was one insidious blow under the fifth rib of the archbishop and his order. The suicidal weapon, indeed, might be in the hands of the primate himself; but his perfidious counsellor contrived to give to it the most deadly aim!

According to Wodrow's account, another cowardly blow was struck about the same period. In former times, the Primate had precedence of all the officers of state: but, in the days of the Rebellion, this high honour was lost. In January 1664, however, his majesty was pleased to issue his gracious letters patent, for the restoration of the archbishop to his original rank. Now, Burnet affirms that these royal letters was written at the suggestion of Sharp himself; and he stigmatises it as "an inexcusable piece of vanity." But, the martyrologist tells a very different story. He says that "Lauderdale, in order to *bring hatred on the bishops,*" procured this royal mandate; which placed the primate of Scotland above the chancellor himself: the chancellor being the person who, in the absence of the high commissioner, was always considered as the representative of the king. Which of these two accounts may be the true one, we really cannot undertake to say. But, of one thing we may be quite assured,—that, if Wodrow knew of Burnet's version of the matter, and had seen any fair reason for believing it, he would have flown upon it like

* Burnet's Own Times, vol. i. p. 256. Oxford edit.

one who had found great spoil. To blacken Lauderdale might have been something. But, what would it have been, compared with the triumph of fixing upon Sharp the charge of personal vanity, and of priestly arrogance? We are the more disposed to credit Wodrow's statement, because, after all, it seems extremely doubtful whether the archbishop ever made use of the letters patent of the king.*

The fines, the penalties, the free quarters of a licentious soldiery, which followed on the establishment of the commission, were soon found to produce the ordinary effects of a persecution, vigorous and active enough to irritate, but not sufficiently overpowering for the purpose of extermination. "And then"—we use, once more, the words of Mr. Hallam—"then came the "fruitless insurrection, the fanatical assurance of success, and the "certain discomfiture by a disciplined force, and the consterna-"tion of defeat, and the unbounded cruelties of the conqueror." To affirm, however, that the cruelties, which were inflicted after the defeat at Pentland were "*unbounded*" would, undoubtedly, be an exaggeration. The number who lost their lives was by no means very great; and all of them would have been spared, if they could but have been prevailed on to renounce the covenant. But they were faithful, to the death, in "giving their testimony" to that bond of treason and dissent; and they died with all the exultation of martyrs. The most piteous circumstance in this miserable history, is, that all who perished were obscure, ignorant, misguided men; while the desperate authors of the rebellion escaped discovery and punishment. The sympathies of the world would have been comparatively languid, if the only victims had been those remorseless and pestilent agitators, who sought the aid of foreign enemies for the purposes of revolution, and sacrificed deluded multitudes to their own dark and treasonable designs.

By these executions, curses, both loud and deep, were brought down upon the Church. The hierarchy came to be detested as a "grim divan" of inquisitors, a sanhedrim of vengeance and blood. And, yet, it would appear that this sweeping charge was very far from being righteously deserved. Even Burnet allows that the best of the Episcopal clergy were importunate in their entreaties, that the bishops would seize this opportunity to regain the lost affections of the country; and, further, he tells us, that, in compliance with these applications, many of the bishops actually hastened to Edinburgh, in order to do the merciful office

* Mr. Stephen quotes Fountainhall's Decisions, vol. i. p. 184, where it is stated that the Archbishop had such a letter; but, never made "use of it."—Stephen, p. 292, note †.

of intercession. But then, he adds, that the primate was inexorable.* With reference to this charge, his biographer, Mr. Stephen, complains bitterly of the exaggerations of the archbishop's enemies; from which, he says, "it would appear as if "the whole powers of the privy council, and the crown itself "had been wielded by his single arm; whereas, he had only one "vote among fourteen or fifteen counsellors." Well,—be it so. But, then, the question is, how was that one vote given? If it had been given, as Leighton or Wishart would most probably have given it,—if Sharp had stood foremost, at the council board, as either of those men would have done, in the work of benignant mediation,—it is scarcely to be supposed that the gracious deed would have been long concealed. But if, on the contrary, his single voice was in unison with the chorus of severity, no great benefit, we fear, can be derived to his memory, from vague complaints of vindictive exaggeration. That there *was* much exaggeration, indeed, may easily be imagined. And, in one instance, the exaggeration appears to have been most wanton and malicious. "*I am well informed,*" says Wodrow, "that, after some "of the prisoners were condemned, and a few executed, a letter "came down from the king, discharging the taking any more "lives: this letter came to the primate, as *president;* and ought "to have been, by him, communicated to the council; but, the "blood-thirsty man kept it up, till as many as he had a mind were "despatched." Now, that a letter came from the king, is true; in which letter, his majesty "approved of what had been done; "but added that blood enough had been shed; and ordered that "such of the prisoners as should promise to obey the laws in "future, should be set at liberty, and that the incorrigible should "be sent to the plantations." This letter was brought from London by Archbishop Burnet. And he it is, not Sharp, who is charged by the historian, his namesake, with suffering the execution of one of the prisoners, M'Kail, to go on, before he produced the letter: whereas, "he, knowing the contents of the "letter, ought to have moved Lord Rothes to call an extraor- "dinary council, to prevent the execution. And so, that blood "was laid on *him.*"† Of Archbishop Burnet's guilt, or innocence, in this matter, we are unable to speak. But, assuredly, there is nothing, in the above account, to implicate the primate in this enormity. The letter could not come to *him,* as acting president of the council; for the president himself, Lord Rothes, was on the spot. Neither is a moment's attention due to the off-hand conjecture of Cruikshanks, when he says: "*I am apt to believe*

* Own Times, vol. i. p. 410. Ed. Oxf. † *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 412.

"that, *if* Burnet brought the letter from the king, he delivered it "to the hands of Sharp, who, wickedly and basely concealed it." And, lastly, it would appear from a manuscript in the Advocate's Library, "containing some particulars not generally known," that, at the period in question, the primate was at St. Andrew's, and not at Edinburgh; and, if so, a letter to the president of the council, could hardly have been suppressed by him.* And, yet, "this foul act," says Wodrow, "the primate was *justly* charged "with, by the persons who, some years after, took away his life. "And, when he cried pitifully for mercy, he was told that, as he "had never showed mercy to others, so, he was to expect none "from them!"

In 1667, the violence of the storm abated, and there came a lull. An indemnity was offered to all who would consent to sign a "bond" to the effect that they, their tenants, and servants, should "keep the public peace," on pain of forfeiting one year's rent. This engagement was willingly subscribed by those, who were conscious of no design against the "public peace," and were prepared to exert a salutary and pacific influence over their dependents. But the "bond of peace" was refused by the saints and martyrs of the Covenant. They avoided it, as men would avoid a pitfall, or a trap! In July 1668, the "public peace" was broken, with a vengeance, by that "strange accident," as Burnet calls it, James Mitchell's attempt to assassinate the primate. It is scarcely possible to recollect, without loathing, Burnet's heartless and malicious notice of this "strange "accident:" "I thought it decent to go and congratulate him, on "this occasion. He was much touched with it, *and put on a "show of devotion upon it.* He said, with a very serious look, "My times are wholly in thy hand, O Lord, thou God of my "life! This was the single expression, savouring of piety, that "ever fell from him, in all the conversation that passed between "him and me."† Well might Swift write, in the margin, "*rank "malice!*" rank beyond endurance! Who art thou, O man, that judgest thy brother, and callest GOD's high-priest a whited wall? Sharp, it seems, was not in the habit of *talking* piety and devotion to Burnet. And, therefore, Burnet must write him down, to all future ages, as a godless churchman, who, "on a compelling occasion," could put on the form of godliness! Out upon it!

In 1669 came forth the well-known indulgence; the black indulgence, as the rabid Presbyterians were pleased to call it. By this act of toleration, the more moderate of the deprived

* Note to M'Crie's Ed. of Veitch's Life, p. 35—37. Stephen, p. 352.
† Own Times, vol. i. p. 482. Oxf. Ed.

ministers were allowed to hold parochial incumbencies, on certain easy specified conditions. The concession was gratefully embraced by many of the clergy: but it was most disdainfully snorted at by their more fanatical brethren. In the first place, they suspected it, as nothing better than an artful and insidious contrivance to ensnare their consciences. In the second place, they would endure no abridgement of that inflammatory license of speech, which Cromwell had found it necessary to suppress, as it were by a gag of iron. The indulged ministers were, accordingly, branded as traitors, and scorned as king's curates, and laughed at, as dumb dogs that would not bark: and so conventicles began to multiply in the land.

The Episcopal clergy, on their part, were greatly disconcerted and confounded by a measure, which looked very much like a virtual surrender of the whole principle of episcopal discipline: and, loud and long were the discussions which ensued. But the government held on its course. The times were perilous. The kingdom was torn to pieces by religious discord. Schism and faction were marching abreast over the country. Some desperate remedy seemed indispensable. And, what remedy so hopeful as an ecclesiastical dictatorship? Accordingly, in October 1669, the parliament assembled. Lauderdale presided as commissioner, or viceroy. And, solemnly, and sonorously, did he assure the House of his majesty's inflexible resolution to preserve the Apostolic government of the established Church. *How* it was to be preserved, was soon apparent; to the utter consternation of all sound-hearted churchmen, and to the unspeakable disdain of their antagonists, the faithful children of the Covenant: for the very first measure of the session was an act "anent the supremacy;" more generally known by the title of the act *Assertory*. And, doubtless, its *assertions* were as sweeping and comprehensive, as any royal *Pontifex Maximus* could reasonably desire! It roundly declared that, "by virtue of his supreme "authority, his majesty may emit such ordinances and constitu-"tions, as he in his royal wisdom shall think fit, touching the "external administration of the Church, and the persons employed "in the same,—and, also, concerning all ecclesiastical meetings, "and the matters to be therein propounded and determined; any "law, act, or custom, to the contrary, notwithstanding!"

Here, then, Mr. Stephen exclaims, was another deadly stab under the fifth rib. Or, rather, we may liken it to an impaling both of prelacy and presbytery, on the tall sword of state. That the implement was forged by Lauderdale, there seems no reasonable cause to doubt: and deeply did he resent Archbishop Burnet's known aversion for the measure. The inflexibility of

that prelate cost him his see: and Sharp, at one time, was in danger of the same fate. As for the indulged Presbyterians,—they did not much writhe under this seemingly mortal infliction; for, the same weapon which made the wound, brought with it an anodyne. The indulgence was an act of questionable lawfulness. But the act "anent the Supremacy," placed the indulgence beyond all possible question; and so, secured to the Erastian ministers, the full enjoyment of its benefits.

But, who shall paint the rage and the contempt of "*the godly*," when the secular arm was thus audaciously laid bare? The sight of one finger of it was, at any time, enough to send alarm and agitation through their ranks. But, the recent exhibitions of "bare-faced power," drove them to open insurrection. Their scorn for the indulged ministers knew no bounds. Their incendiary preachers were followed by armed congregations, to the moor, and the mountain, and the heath; and, so imminently dangerous were these desperate assemblages to the public peace, that in August, 1670, a dreadful law was passed for their suppression. This bloody statute declared every such meeting to be a *rendezvous* of disorder and rebellion: and it punished with death, and confiscation of goods, all who should preach, expound, or pray, at any such conventicle, whether it were held in the open field, or in a house insufficient to hold all the numbers collected. And, since the Covenanters usually refused to give up the names of the persons present at these assemblies, it was further provided, that every man should be compelled to answer, upon oath, all such questions as the council should ask, on pain of exile, or punishment at pleasure! But, at this point, we must stop. We can pursue no further the murky labyrinth of Lauderdale's serpentine policy. It must suffice to say, that from this time forth, until the Revolution, with the exception of some intervals, Scotland may be said to have been under martial and inquisitorial law, rather than ordinary civil government: and that, by this course of statesmanship, more was done to ruin the Church, than could, probably, have been effected either by the most contemptuous neglect, or the most undisguised hostility.

The year 1678 was memorable for the execution of James Mitchell, the fanatic, who attempted the assassination of the Primate about ten years before. That the man was a worthless *desperado*, seems unquestionable; albeit he figures as a saint in the Presbyterian calendar! His fate contributed to swell the torrent of obloquy which had long been rushing onward to overwhelm the Archbishop. It is scarcely possible, by any art of condensation, to present a clear and satisfactory view of the merits or demerits of the case. The trial lasted four days, and was one of the most

solemn that was ever seen in Scotland. The culprit was condemned chiefly on the ground of a confession made by him in 1674, before certain members of the Council, of whom Lauderdale was one. The case, on his behalf, may briefly be stated thus: Either he did make such confession, or he did not. If he did make it, it was, as he alleged, on the ground of a promise that his life should be spared. If he did not, there was no sufficient evidence against him. The most remarkable part of the story is, that he denied the confession, and yet persisted in claiming the promise. The Lords of the Council, however, deposed on oath, that no such assurance had been given: and, there is too much reason to believe that, in so doing, they proved their memories to be very narrow, or their consciences very spacious. It does not appear that Sharp was one of those by whom the precise promise in question was said to be given; but he allowed that, on Mitchell's first arrest, in 1674, he did promise to "*use his best endeavours* for favour to him, provided he would freely confess his fault, and express his repentance." It is affirmed by Burnet, that Lauderdale, on having his memory refreshed respecting what passed in the Council, in 1674, was willing to grant a reprieve, and to refer the matter to the King; but that Sharp objected to this act of favour towards an assassin, on the plea that it would operate as an encouragement to any man that might be disposed to murder him: upon which Lauderdale profanely replied, "then let Mitchell glorify God in the grass-market,"—(the place of execution). To this account we really know not what can be opposed; unless it be the feeling of distrust which habitually steals over us, whenever we meet with any allegation of Burnet, to the disparagement of Sharp. At all events, allowing Burnet's story to be true, it cannot be said that the primate's apprehensions were altogether unnatural or visionary. It is pretty notorious that he was already a doomed man. Nevertheless, it would have been more righteous, and certainly more magnanimous, in the Archbishop, at any personal hazard, to allow this half-crazed ruffian whatever advantage might be derived from an appeal to the justice or the clemency of the King. But, it is easy for all, who are remote from danger, to preach generosity and composure to men surrounded by daggers and by pistols! Mitchell did not, most assuredly, strive to earn the good offices of his intended victim, by any expression of repentance. On the contrary, he died exulting in his crime. Under all the above circumstances, however, it is greatly to be lamented that the government did not frankly recognize the promise, and give the man his life, and keep him to hard labour during the King's pleasure; or else send him off at once to the plantations. This, probably, would not have

been so bitterly complained of; for no one ever affected to doubt that he was the assassin. As it was, the government incurred the infamy attached to a supposed breach of faith; and, withal, solemnly invested an obscure villain with the public honors of a martyr.

On the 3d of May, 1679, the tragedy was acted, to which the attempt of Mitchell had been fearfully prelusive: for, on that day, the Archbishop was inhumanly massacred, before the eyes of his daughter, by a band of armed ruffians, on his way from Edinburgh to St. Andrew's. It would be painful to recite the particulars of this atrocity. The tale has been often told: and the history of mankind has seldom been disfigured by a scene of more savage butchery. In adverting to it, however, we see no necessity (to borrow the language of Mr. Carlyle) "to shriek ourselves hoarse, cursing it: for that, to all needful lengths, has "been already done." Rather, "as actually existing sons of Time, "we look with manifold interest on what *that* Time did bring "forth; therewith to edify and instruct ourselves."* First, then, let us go with the conspirators to the dark conclave where they assembled when preparing for the deed. And there we shall hear one of them (the notorious John Balfour) declaring to his confederates, that "he was sure they had something to do; for "he, being at his uncle's house, was *pressed in spirit* to return; "and, on inquiring the Lord's mind, got that word *borne* in upon "him, *Go and prosper:* and, being still doubtful, he got it con"firmed by that Scripture, *Go; have I not sent you?* And, there"upon, he durst no more question; but presently returned." And, there too, we shall hear another of them affirming, that "it "had been *borne in* upon his spirit, some days before *in prayer*, "having more than ordinary *overlettings* of the Spirit,—that the "Lord would employ him in some place of service, ere it was "long; and, that there would be some great man cut off, who "was an enemy to the Kirk of God. And, (seeing he had been "at meetings with several godly men, who not only judged it "their duty to take that wretch's life, and *some others*, but *had* "*essayed it twice before*,)—he was sure that he had a clear call at "that time; for, though the Lord kept him back formerly, he "doubted not his offer was acceptable to the Lord." And next, let us image to ourselves the daughter of the mangled victim screaming—*this is murder*,—and one of their number sternly replying—*it is not murder, but the vengeance of God.* And further, let us look into the intercepted letter of John Cargill to his brother, dated on the very day on which the deed was done, in

* Carlyle, French Revolution, vol. i. p. 298.

which the writer says,—"I hope you have heard of the death of "the *old fox*, who was clothed in the sheep's skin, and counte- "nanced with the King's authority. The same was intended for "others also: but it seems God hath not altogether forsaken "them, and given them over to themselves: but, it may "be supposed that they are reserved to a greater judgment, which "God in his appointed time will cause to fall upon them." And lastly, let us follow the murderers from the spot, where the mutilated corpse of the Primate is left bleeding, to their own secret retreat, on the evening of the day in which the sanguinary business had been achieved; and there we shall find them praying,—first together,—then individually;—praying, not for deliverance from blood-guiltiness, but "with great composure of spirit, "and with more than usual *enlargement of heart*,—blessing the "Lord who had called them out, and carried them courageously "through the great work, and had led them, by His Holy "Spirit, in every step they took: and, (seeing that He had been "pleased to honor them to act for Him, and to execute judgment "on *a wretch* upon whom all who loved the welfare of Zion "ought to have striven first to lay their hand)—beseeching him "to make his good pleasure known, by keeping them out of the "hands of their enemies: protesting, at the same time, that if he "should see it for his glory, they were ready to seal the truth with "their blood, through his grace and strength enabling them, who "would send none upon a warfare upon their own charges."* Now, if scenes like these do not proclaim to us the folly and the sin of religious persecution, then might the thunders of Sinai roll over us in vain, for the utterance of that lesson. Here were some dozen, or more, of human beings, all manifestly in a state of mind which made them as unfit to be let loose upon society, as if they had been a company of howling maniacs. And what was it which brought them to that piteous and desperate condition? What could it be, but a firm persuasion that the world's law was in arms against the rights of conscience. Oppression of any kind, as every one has heard, may sometimes drive wise men to the verge of madness. But when once the oppression is believed to be the work, not merely of secular power, but of spiritual despotism, it is almost sure, in the end, to disorder the faculties of many of its victims. And by nothing is that belief so likely to be produced, as by the sight of spiritual assessors at the Council Board of penal and sanguinary justice. The raving of these fanatics was truly dreadful; the more dreadful for the deep solemnity of its tone. But, what must be the infatuation of those rulers who, with the annals of the world wide open before them, can persist

* Russell's Account. Stephen, p. 589, 616.

in a course, which tends only to multiply fit occupants for Bedlam or Gehenna?

It must not, however, be forgotten that the oppression which, in those days, helped to bring this ferocious lunacy upon the land, was but a "bloody instruction," taught by the fanatics themselves, and which at this period returned "to plague the inventors." The cradle of the Scottish Reformation was, unhappily, rocked by sedition on one side, and persecution on the other: and never did it wholly lose the character derived from that fierce nurture. The fever departed not from its veins. In the day of its wild predominance and power, it held the wine-cup of its intolerant fury to the princes and the people. It was, in truth, a many-headed Popery. And now, in turn, the ingredients of its poisoned chalice were commended to its own lips. And, at last, when it was finally triumphant, it seized the poisoned chalice again; and, deeply did it compel its prostrate enemy to drink of the same! The history of our Sister Church —the Episcopal Church of Scotland,—will tell us a sad tale of oppression and persecution; but, we are happy to add, of oppression and persecution which produced, among her sons, no raving and desperate fanatics, no wild bands of ruffians and conspirators, no saints, with the praises of the Lord in their mouths, and a two-edged slaughter-weapon in their hands. If the confessors of the Rebel League and Covenant had been doomed to the miseries and the wrongs which, from time to time, during a tedious century, were heaped upon the Episcopal Clergy and their people,—"the fields would have been covered with conventicles, "and the mountains would have bristled with arms, and a testi-"mony would have been lifted up on every high hill," and the deeds of the faithful would have been chronicled in volumes of impassioned martyrology. But the true Catholic Communion in Scotland, had nothing to oppose to the fury of her adversaries, save the panoply of meekness, and the unconquerable might of patience. And, besides, as Bishop Russell observes, "No "Wodrow has yet arisen to record the sufferings of her chil-"dren: and poets and orators find not the same scope for their "powers, in describing the ravages of a lawless mob, plundering "manses, and driving out their inhabitants, as when they choose "for their subject a field-conventicle, assembled in a remote "glen, or desert mountain, and praying for courage to fight, or "strength to revenge. The warlike peasant, leaning upon his "gun, while listening to his favourite preacher, presents to the "imagination a more picturesque object, than the wife and chil-"dren of the clergyman, wandering about and seeking shelter, "under the inclemencies of a northern sky, and reduced to the

"necessity of begging food and a roof to cover them."* And then, "Who compassionated the unseen prisoner and the weary "exile? Who traced the steps and sufferings of him, who was "chased from the scene of his labours, saw his chapel closed, "his flock scattered, his person reviled, and the sources of his "honest independence dried up? Law pursued him, in the form "of starvation and contempt; marking him as one excluded from "the benefits of civil society; deprived of political rights him-"self, and carrying a similar disqualification to others. Even "his meek resignation exposed him to neglect. Had he, like "the Covenanter, taken the field, he would have assumed a more "interesting attitude in the public eye; and his death on the "scaffold would have thrown a deeper odium on our illiberal "government."†

But,—to return to the murdered Archbishop. His death was received with a savage yell of exultation, throughout all the regions of remonstrant Presbyterianism, which, at that time, had absorbed into itself some portion of the more moderate and sober class. The deed recalled the glorious names of Phineas, and of Jael, and of Ehud. It held out a noble example, for emulation, to all the true servants of God. The execution of Mitchell was a martyrdom; the assassination of the Arch-priest of Baal, was God's righteous judgment on a malignant and blood-thirsty apostate. All this was very much after the usual fashion of the frantic crusaders of the Covenant. It had long been their habit to fix the *caput lupinum* upon the shoulders of all, whom they deemed their adversaries: and, considering the willingness and aptitude of their hearers, it really is a matter of some astonishment that these acts of *righteous* retribution were not more frequently achieved! That Sharp, however, was really such a monster as he has been painted by the coarse artists of the Whiggamore school, is altogether incredible. The surpassing ugliness of their portraiture is, of itself, enough to destroy its pretensions to fidelity. They have represented him, not only as a traitor and a persecutor, but as a wretch, stained with the most abominable crimes,—with infanticide, adultery, and incest. And, in order to deepen the horrors of the picture, they have not scrupled to affirm, that he was in a dark confederacy with the evil potentate! It is seriously related by Wodrow that, on one occasion, the Archbishop despatched his footman to St. Andrew's for a paper; and that, when the man arrived at St. Andrew's, after a hasty journey, to his terror and astonishment, he found his Grace there, quietly sitting at his table, with his black gown and

* History of the Church in Scotland, vol. ii. p. 352.
† Bishop Russell. History of the Church in Scotland, p. 404.

tippet, and his broad hat, just as he had left him at Edinburgh. Another story is, that one Janet Douglas, when summoned before the Council, on a charge of sorcery, declared that she knew who were witches, but was no witch herself. Being threatened with the plantations, she turned to the Primate, and said, "My lord,—who was with you, in your closet, on Saturday "night last, between twelve and one o'clock?" And, when afterwards privately questioned by Lord Rothes, she declared that his Grace's nocturnal visitor was no other than *the muckle black Deevil* himself. It was, moreover, asserted that "he bore a charmed life," or, at least, a *shot*-proof body, upon which leaden bullets could work no further mischief than to leave black or blue marks behind them! And, all this trash is propounded with just as much confidence and gravity, as if it were a narrative of the best authenticated facts! It would be cruel to hang a dog on the sole testimony of such witnesses.

But, there is another witness, whose name and station have enabled him to inflict still more serious and irreparable damage on the memory of Sharp,—that everlasting retailer of scandal, Bishop Burnet; who really seems to have made the Archbishop a scape-goat, that might safely be sent forth into the wilderness of after-ages, laden with the iniquities, and the transgressions, and the sins, of a most execrable government. "Soon after the "Revolution," says Guthrie, "the memory of Sharp became "detestable: and, it was, then, fashionable for the friends of the "government to lay on him the blame of many measures, in "which they themselves concurred, or directed. Hence it is, "that the chief charges against Sharp rest upon Bishop Burnet's "private anecdotes, provincial traditions, and inflamed narra-"tives; which ought to be adopted with caution. Where such "a man as Lauderdale governed, it is needless, and in vain, to "load any other person with state crimes." What precise portion of the violent measures of that period may *justly* be attributed to Sharp, is an historical problem, which will never, perhaps, receive a complete solution, until the day when all hidden things shall be revealed.

In the mean time, while so much evil is surmised of the Primate, let all the good that is known or believed of him be spoken. It appears, then, that he was a man of competent learning, of highly respectable abilities, and of considerable address, and aptitude for affairs. We have seen that his acuteness recommended him to Cromwell: and, we find, that his services in bringing about the Restoration were rewarded by the king with a pension of £200 a-year, which he enjoyed until his death. That his personal habits were blameless we shall conti-

nue to believe, until we have much better proof to the contrary than the outrageous invectives of his enemies. That his religion was sincere we shall not hold to be doubtful, until the malicious insinuations of Burnet shall be confirmed by other and more trust-worthy evidence. That he was charitable to the poor, seems to be beyond all question. Neither can it be disputed that he was capable of kind and generous offices towards men who were any thing but his well-wishers. By his intercession with the king, he saved the lives of two traitors, Simpson and Gillespie; and he made a similar attempt, though without success, in favour of a third, the notorious Guthrie, author of the treasonable pamphlet entitled, *The Causes of God's Wrath, &c.* These facts were known to Wodrow; but were scandalously suppressed by him in his calumnious History. His commission was "to aggravate the crimes," and not to blazon the virtues of the loyal clergy. The same very unscrupulous writer has even ventured to cast suspicion on the loyalty of Sharp: for he intimates that in Cromwell's time, he signed what is called the *Tender*, or instrument of abjuration, by which he renounced his allegiance to King Charles the Second; an overt act of disloyalty which was too much for the most determined even of the Remonstrant faction. On the face of it, however, Wodrow's intimation is, to the last degree, improbable: seeing that what was too hard for the conscience, or the modesty, of a Protestor, would be utterly beyond the digestion of a Resolutioner. Besides, the insinuation is indignantly contradicted by the contemporary biographer of Sharp, the author of the True and Impartial Account.

To conclude, then,—on the one hand, albeit we listen with much incredulity to the pleadings of the "devil's advocates," we still have some doubts about the canonization of Archbishop Sharp. We have scarcely enough before us to make good his title to a place among the most single-hearted champions, and blessed martyrs of the Church. But, on the other hand, we vehemently protest against a sentence which should consign him to everlasting infamy, and excommunicate him for ever from the sympathies of mankind.

ART. IV.—*A Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language, containing the Accentuation, the Grammatical Inflections, the Irregular Words referred to their Themes, the Parallel Terms from the other Gothic Languages, the Meaning of the Anglo-Saxon in English and Latin, and copious English and Latin Indexes, serving as a Dictionary of English and Anglo-Saxon, as well as of Latin and Anglo-Saxon: with a Preface on the Origin and Connexion of the Germanic Tongues, a Map of Languages, and the Essentials of Anglo-Saxon Grammar.* By the Rev. J. Bosworth, LL. D., Dr. Phil. of Leyden, B. D. of Trin. Coll. Cambridge, F. R. S., F. S. A., &c., &c. One vol. royal 8vo. London. 1838.

IN the present day, when the minds of so many are led away by the ignis fatuus of novelty, and when the mere circumstance of any thing having been long held in reverence is sufficient to procure its condemnation, it is gratifying to perceive that a taste for studying the history, language, and literature of the Anglo-Saxons is rapidly increasing. We deem this study to be of great importance, because it leads to a right understanding of much which in our ecclesiastical and civil polity is either unknown or misunderstood.

The Saxon conquest of this country was the most complete it ever sustained, and was followed by consequences of far greater importance than any which have resulted from similar causes. It usually happens that the conquered become the servants of the people who have subdued them, and thus their habits and language become incorporated with those of their masters. But this was not the case when the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, or as they are commonly denominated Anglo-Saxons, obtained possession of this island: for the Britons, disdaining their yoke, abandoned their homes, taking refuge in Wales and Cornwall, and left their country to the quiet occupation of the invaders. The Saxon tribes being very numerous soon spread exclusively their own language and laws over Britain, and the dynasty which they established was so firm that it continued for about 600 years. Although the Saxon power ceased when William the Norman ascended the throne of these realms, yet the popular customs and language were not at first affected by his conquest; for the language of the Anglo-Saxons, after rejecting or changing many of its inflections, continued to be spoken by the people, until the time of Henry the Third, *i. e.* for the space of nearly 800 years. Even at the present time our language and our laws display their Saxon origin in almost every part; and thus our Anglo-Saxon ancestors live not merely in our annals and traditions, but also in

our civil institutions and perpetual discourse. The parent tree is indeed greatly amplified by branches engrafted upon it from other regions, and by new shoots which the accidents of time and the improvements of society have produced; it still, however, retains its Saxon properties, although more than thirteen centuries have rolled over with all their tempests and vicissitudes.

As the great body of our population, the substance of our language, and many of our customs are of Saxon origin, there is something truly national, something conducive to *real* patriotism, in the study of the language and literature of the Anglo-Saxons, and we would willingly exert ourselves to give an additional stimulus to it. It is true that the series of works which have been published in this country during the last fifteen years* is an ample proof that this subject has received considerable attention, but it must be admitted that it deserves still more; for, to use the language of a late Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, (Dr. Ingram,)—

"That no man can shine at the bar, in the senate, or in the pulpit, without a knowledge of Anglo-Saxon literature, it would be ridiculous

* As for instance:—The Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar, with copious Notes, illustrating the Structure of the Saxon, and the Formation of the English Language. By the Rev. J. Bosworth, M. A., F. S. A., &c. London. 1823.

2. The Saxon Chronicle, with an English Translation and Notes. By the Rev. J. Ingram, B. D., formerly Anglo-Saxon Professor in Oxford. London. 1823.

3. Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry. By J. J. Conybeare, M. A., successively Professor of Anglo-Saxon and Poetry in the University of Oxford. London. 1826.

4. King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of Boethius de consolatione Philosophiæ; with an English Translation and Notes. By J. S. Cardale, Esq. London. 1829.

5. A Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue, with a Praxis. By Erasmus Rask. Translated from the Danish, by B. Thorpe. Copenhagen. 1830.

6. Menologium, or Poetical Calendar of the Anglo-Saxons; with an English Translation and Notes. By the Rev. Samuel Fox, M. A., of Pembroke College, Oxford. London. 1830.

7. Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase of Parts of the Holy Scriptures, in Anglo-Saxon: with an English Translation and Notes. By Benjamin Thorpe, F. S. A. London. 1832.

8. The Anglo-Saxon Poems of Beowulf, the Traveller's Song, and the Battle of Finnesburh. Edited by John M. Kemble, Esq., M. A., of Trin. Coll. Cambridge. London. 1833.

9. Analecta Anglo-Saxonica. A Selection in Prose and Verse from Anglo-Saxon Authors of Various Ages; with a Glossary. By Benjamin Thorpe, F. S. A., &c. London. 1834.

10. The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Story of Apollonius of Tyre, with a literal Translation. By Benjamin Thorpe, F. S. A., &c. London. 1834.

11. King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of Boethius, with an English Translation and Notes. By the Rev. Samuel Fox, M. A., of Pembroke College, Oxford. London. 1835.

12. Libri Psalmorum versio antiqua Latina, cum paraphrasi Anglo-Saxonica, partim soluta oratione, partim metrice composito. Nunc primum e cod. MS. in Bibl. Regia Parisiensi adservato, descripsit et edidit Benjamin Thorpe, S. A. S., &c. Oxonii. 1835.

13. A Translation of the Anglo-Saxon Poem of Beowulf, with a copious Glossary, Preface, and Philological Notes. By John M. Kemble, Esq., M. A., of Trin. Coll. Cambridge. London. 1837.

to assert. But that a strong and steady light may be reflected from this quarter on many points of the municipal and common law, the theory of our political constitution, and the internal history of our religion, I trust no Englishman of the present day will venture to deny. Where is the lawyer who will not derive an accession of solid information from a perusal of the Anglo-Saxon Laws, published by Lambard, Wheloc and Wilkins? Not to mention the various charters and legal instruments which are still extant, together with the ancient records of our county courts; on the foundation of which is erected the whole superstructure of our forensic practice. What patriot is there whose heart does not burn within him whilst he is reading the language in which the immortal Alfred and other Saxon kings composed the elements of our envied code of laws, and portrayed the grand outlines of our free constitution? And when the divine contemplates a work so extraordinary as the translation of Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History, as well as the various other works of piety translated by King Alfred into his native language, will he not be filled with additional admiration of that Providence, by which a wise and benevolent monarch was led, amidst the horrors and difficulties of continual warfare, to inform the manners, regulate the conduct, and enlighten the minds of his rude and illiterate subjects? The whole fabric of our laws, indeed, ecclesiastical as well as civil, is built on a Saxon foundation. The criminal law of every country undergoes considerable and frequent changes in the progress of national refinement; but the structure of the civil code and of municipal regulations, as well as the general complexion of the common law, continues, like the forms of government, to be maintained and supported in the same state for many years. Accordingly we find, that, though many barbarous modes of punishment adopted by our Saxon ancestors have been long since abolished, yet the remains of their civil and municipal customs and regulations are still visible in our cities, towns and villages. We have an obvious and striking proof of this even in our modern names of offices, terms of police, and titles of honour; as there is at this moment scarcely a civil magistrate, or a parochial officer, from the highest denomination to the lowest, whose duty, rank, and qualifications are not emphatically comprised in a Saxon appellation."

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries many learned and indefatigable scholars flourished, who considered a knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon tongue to be indispensably necessary in the study of English antiquities. Among these antiquarian scholars John Leland stands foremost both in order and rank; he is justly esteemed "the father of English antiquaries, and the great precursor of topographical writers." In the same path followed William Lambard, the first editor of the Archaionomia, or Collection of the Ancient Laws of England. To these names we may add the celebrated archæologist and biographer Bale, Bishop of Ossory, Dr. Nowell, Dean of Lichfield, Dr. Caius, or Kayes, the founder of the college which bears his name in Cambridge;

and John Foxe, the Martyrologist. In the seventeenth century, among the cultivators and promoters of Anglo-Saxon literature, we find the distinguished names of Sir Edward Coke, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Symonds D'Ewes, Sir Roger Twysden, Sir Henry and Sir John Spelman, Dr. Cowell, Dr. Brady, Camden, and Selden. These were all English scholars, and men of profound learning in other branches of literature. In the same century we also find that some of the most distinguished scholars on the continent turned their attention to these pursuits, which they cultivated with the same success as that which rewarded the efforts of their cotemporary labourers in England. Among others we may mention John Gerard Vossius, John de Last, Olaus Wormius, and Franciscus Junius; the latter of whom stands unrivalled in the patient industry and unwearied diligence with which he followed his favourite pursuit. This extraordinary man continued his labours in Anglo-Saxon and Mæso-Gothic literature with unabated ardour to his ninetieth year; and the various remains of his pen which are preserved in the Bodleian Library, will long bear testimony to his untiring zeal. Before we conclude our list of eminent men, we must record the names of Archbishops Parker and Ussher, Bishops Gibson and Nicholson, Sir Andrew Fountain, Somner, Hickes, Wanley, Mill, Wheloc, Wilkins, Lye, and Rawlinson. In rather later times Tyrwhitt, Warton, Manning, Daines Barrington, and Horne Tooke distinguished themselves in the same pursuit. These form a respectable list of scholars and antiquaries by whose progressive labours and exertions the knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon language has been rendered easy of access to their successors. Had they not exerted themselves many valuable MSS. would have remained unpublished; they would consequently have been known but to very few; and there would have been left in that dull obscurity from which they have been rescued, productions which must make the heart of every Briton throb with exultation, since they place him in a far higher station of the temple of literature, than that to which the inhabitant of any other country can aspire.

Christianity not only corrects our natural asperities and promotes benevolent dispositions, but the contemplation of her elevating doctrines strengthens the mental powers, and gives a taste for intellectual pursuits. Hence literature and science are ever foremost in the train of Christianity. The introduction of Christianity, therefore, into this country, must be considered the era from which the commencement of Anglo-Saxon literature may be dated. This took place during the papacy of Gregory surnamed the Great, towards the latter part of the sixth century. In the seventh century a poem was composed which has been handed

down to us. Cædmon, the author of this poem, is generally supposed to have died about the year 680: this celebrated metrical paraphrase of the Scriptures, which bears his name, may, therefore, claim a date still more remote. There has been much controversy about its antiquity. The difference of opinion has arisen from King Alfred's translation of the works of Bede, in which he gives the introduction of the paraphrase of Cædmon in words differing from the commonly received text. But this by no means ought to invalidate the antiquity of the poem itself. We have nothing to do with the monkish fiction of Cædmon's inspiration, we are merely concerned with the performance itself, which has been handed down to us, and for which we claim a high antiquity. This poem was composed by Cædmon in the seventh century in Anglo-Saxon; it was afterwards translated into Latin by Bede, and retranslated with part of Bede's other works into Anglo-Saxon by King Alfred. This, therefore, is sufficient to account for the verbal difference which has occasioned so much disputation. Mr. Thorpe in his preface to the work of Cædmon, to which we have already referred, says,—

"In King Alfred's Saxon version of Beda's history, the lines are given which Cædmon is reported to have composed in his dream. These have by Dr. Hickes and others been considered as the only genuine fragments extant of Cædmon's work: but when we reflect that the lines in question appear in Beda's original text only in a Latin translation, which Alfred in his version, instead of giving the original Saxon as written by Cædmon, seems to have retranslated, they rather furnish additional proof in favour of the genuineness of the poem; the variations between them and the lines with which the poem opens being such as might naturally be expected to exist between an original composition and a retranslation from a translation of it."—p. ix.

In the Bodleian Library in Oxford there is an ancient manuscript of this poem, which is adorned with some curious illustrations exhibiting an early specimen of outline drawing. On the subject of this manuscript Mr. Thorpe says—

"The original manuscript of the poem preserved in the Bodleian Library is a small parchment volume in folio, containing 229 pages: the first 212 are written in a fair, though not elegant hand, apparently of the tenth century. The remaining seventeen pages, forming a second book, are in an inferior hand-writing; and as the orthography used in this part of the poem is less pure, and the language less grammatical than in the first part, it is perhaps to be considered less ancient. Of the history of this MS. nothing more, I believe, is known than that it was the property of Archbishop Ussher, who presented it to Junius, by whom with the rest of his MSS. it was bequeathed to the Bodleian Library."—pp. xii. xiii.

There is a diversity of opinion with regard to the precedence

of Anglo-Saxon authors. Some maintain that the Saxon laws, first reduced to writing by Ethelbert, in the beginning of the seventh century, are the earliest Anglo-Saxon composition; others give priority to Beowulf; and others, again, to Cædmon. We have adopted the latter opinion, because the date of Cædmon's production is better ascertained than that of the two former works. Although we have thus given precedence to Cædmon, yet Beowulf ranks among the most perfect specimens of the language and versification of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. The only ancient copy known to exist, is a MS. apparently of the tenth century, one of the number fortunately rescued from the fire which consumed so great a part of the Cottonian Library, and now deposited with the other remains of that valuable collection in the British Museum. This MS. is perfectly legible throughout, and with the exception of some trifling injuries, sustained probably at the time of the fire, is in a state of good preservation. The exploits of Beowulf form the subject of this poem, which Thorkelin, a Dane, and the first editor of Beowulf, supposes was originally written in the language of Denmark by an author contemporary, and personally acquainted with his heroes, the chief of whom, Beowulf, he conjectures, was the same as Boe, or Bous, the son of Odin, said by Saxo-Grammaticus to have fallen in battle with Hother about the year 340. Mr. Kemble, who has recently edited this work, considers the date of the events described in the poem to be about the middle of the fifth century. Thorkelin also imagines that the present version, which of course he considers to be a translation, may possibly have been executed by Alfred, or at his command. This hypothesis of Thorkelin is, however, disputed by Mr. Conybeare, and with a great appearance of truth, except so far as the poem may possibly be a translation of some former work, there being in it frequent allusions to some more ancient story; and the author appeals several times for his authority to popular tradition. Whatever may be the exact date of the poem, it is evidently the production of a Christian, and of a mind not so well versed in the customs and superstitions of his pagan forefathers, as the practical antiquary could desire. The internal evidence of its language appears to identify it with the age of Cædmon's Paraphrase, although there is a greater obscurity in the structure of the poem, which may in some measure, however, be attributed to the nature of the subject.

The next valuable relic to be noticed is the celebrated Exeter MS., commonly called the Exeter Book, which was given to the cathedral of Exeter by Bishop Leofric, about the time of the Norman conquest. This MS. contains several interesting poems on various subjects, chiefly moral and religious. The MS. does

not appear to be very ancient, and we should probably not be far from correct, in assigning it a date but little anterior to the presentation of it by Leofric.

The next work claiming our attention is one which in point of interest is not inferior to those we have noticed: it is King Alfred's paraphrastic translation of Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiæ. This work, on account of its purity and general accuracy, justly ranks among the best specimens of Anglo-Saxon literature. The Cottonian MS., containing both the prose and metrical portions of this work, was so much injured by the fire before alluded to, that it is of little or no value: indeed until a few fragments were discovered through the indefatigable research of Mr. Stevenson, the entire MS. was supposed to have shared the same fate as that which has deprived us of many other valuable remains.

The only MS. copy of the whole of Alfred's Boethius is a transcript by Junius of the Cottonian MS., and it is now preserved in the Bodleian Library. There is an ancient MS. in the Bodleian of the prose portion of Boethius, written probably about the ninth or tenth century. To the pen of Alfred the Saxon scholar is more indebted than to that of any other writer. Although his reign was much disturbed, and his leisure almost continually interrupted, yet this royal author found time amidst all his "various and manifold worldly occupations," "to translate into Anglo-Saxon those works which show at once his powerful mind, and unfeigned piety." Among these we may further reckon the works of Venerable Bede, the pastoral charges of Gregory, and the geography of Orosius, the whole of which exhibit the Anglo-Saxon tongue in its greatest purity. The most ancient MSS. of these works are in the British Museum.

The Menology, or Anglo-Saxon Calendar, is an interesting poem, which appears to have been composed sometime between the consolidation of the Octarchy and the Norman Conquest. The MS. containing this poem is also in the British Museum. But perhaps the most interesting work extant is the Saxon Chronicle, which contains an account of many important transactions of our forefathers from their first arrival in this country, until the year 1154, written apparently by those who were contemporary with the events described. Though this work is called the Saxon Chronicle, it is in reality a collection of chronicles arranged chronologically. It is remarkable for conveying to posterity the early history of a country in its vernacular tongue, and with the exception of the sacred annals of the Jews, there is no parallel to it. The poems which are interspersed throughout the chronicle are interesting both to the antiquary and the poet.

The MSS. containing these early records are deposited in the

libraries of the British Museum, the Bodleian, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Trinity College, Dublin. The latter, however, is only a transcript by Lambard from a MS. formerly in the Cottonian Library, but which is now lost.

There is a curious MS. in the Bodleian Library, entitled the Ormulum, a small portion of which has been published by Mr. Thorpe in his Analecta Anglo-Saxonica. In speaking of this MS. Mr. Thorpe says—

"This singular work is among the Junian MSS. in the Bodleian Library. It consists of a metrical paraphrase of the Gospels, interspersed with moralizations, by an ecclesiastic named Orm or Ormin, by whom it is addressed to his brother Walter. It is without rhyme, in lines of fifteen syllables, which for smoothness of rhythm may vie with many modern productions. The author seems to have been a critic in his mother tongue; and by his idea of doubling the consonant after a short vowel, as in German, we are enabled to form some tolerably accurate notions as to the pronunciation of our forefathers. Thus he writes min with a single n only, because the i is long, or dipthongal, as in our mine: on the other hand, wherever the consonant is doubled, the vowel preceding is short and sharp, as in gett, pronounced as our yet, not yate, as it would be if written with a single t. Godd pronounced God, not Gode," &c.—p. ix.

These works, although forming only a very small portion of the ancient literature of our country, are sufficient to show that there is a rich store for those who will encounter the imaginary difficulty of investigating a language, which if it be not absolutely essential to the accomplished scholar, is at all events highly valuable to him.

The path has been cleared of many obstacles which impeded the progress of those who in former days devoted themselves to this pursuit. The difficulties alluded to were disregarded by men of the highest attainments, and indeed we are only surprised that more labourers were not attracted to so rich a mine of ancient learning.

Among those who thus exerted themselves, we should give the first tribute of praise to Dr. Hickes; since amid many hardships and difficulties he compiled and published his "Thesaurus Linguarum veterum septentrionalium." This work contains four distinct grammars, viz. the Anglo-Saxon, the Gothic, the Franco-Teutonic, and the old northern Norse, or Icelandic. With much that is valuable in Dr. Hickes' work, there are undoubtedly many errors; but before we harshly condemn, we should recollect the difficulties with which he had to contend, and the obstacles he had to surmount; it would be well also to remember how much easier it is to discover an error, than to explore for the first time.

It is owing to the knowledge which our predecessors have handed down to us that we are enabled to perceive their inaccuracies; instead, therefore, of triumphing in our fancied superiority, we should feel grateful for the assistance we have received; and regard their errors as friendly beacons to warn us of the rocks on which they struck. These remarks are equally applicable to the laborious performances of Somner and Lye, who in compiling their dictionaries accomplished much, and should not be blamed because they fell short of perfection.

Junius published several works, and if we may judge of his intention from his transcripts in the Bodleian, he purposed publishing many more. His transcripts and collations are very faithful, though in the wearisomeness of his labours he sometimes fell into error.

Among other works he published an edition of Cædmon.

In the year 1698 Rawlinson sent forth from Oxford an edition of King Alfred's version of Boethius, which was printed with the types procured by the University for Junius. This work is, as stated by the editor, a faithful copy of Junius's transcript. Wheloc was the first who edited Bede's Ecclesiastical History, with the Anglo-Saxon translation of Alfred. He also first published the Saxon Chronicle, and a new edition of Lambard's Archaionomia. Wheloc's edition of Bede appeared in the year 1644; and in 1722 a much improved edition of this work was published by Dr. Smith. Wanley was at the pains to form a catalogue of all the Saxon MSS. which were known to exist; and his Catalogue is at the present day highly valuable, and forms a third and very important part of Dr. Hickes' voluminous work on the northern tongues.

In our remarks on the numerous scholars who have pursued Anglo-Saxon literature with devoted assiduity, we must not omit to mention Mrs. Elizabeth Elstob, who translated into English, with copious notes, an Anglo-Saxon Homily on the Birth-Day of Gregory the Great, the Roman Pontiff who sent missionaries to England. The same lady also published a Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language.

The dictionary published by Somner in the year 1659 was the first attempt of the kind, if we except an imperfect vocabulary by Dr. Nowell, and a small collection of Anglo-Saxon words, compiled and left unfinished by Jocelin, secretary to Archbishop Parker. The appearance of Somner's dictionary may be considered the chief means by which the study of Anglo-Saxon literature was revived: and so highly did Dr. Hickes estimate the performance, that he designated the author *Literaturæ Saxonicæ Pater.* This industrious lexicographer was followed by Lye and

Manning, and it is to be regretted that they did not invariably adopt the plan pursued by Somner, of giving English explanations of the Anglo-Saxon words. Anglo-Saxon being the foundation of the English language, may most readily be explained by it. Such a plan would not only frequently exhibit the real meaning of words which are now more than doubtful in Lye, but it would moreover point out the correct and strict meaning of the English word, by giving its etymology. The scarcity of Somner's Dictionary, together with the comparative paucity of words explained in it, has caused that compiled by Lye, and edited by Manning, to be more generally used. But notwithstanding this defect in Lye, we are much indebted to him, and his Dictionary will always find a place on the shelves of the Anglo-Saxon student. The value of Lye's Dictionary is much enhanced by embracing the Mæso-Gothic tongue. Those Goths who settled in Mæsia were called Mæso-Goths and West-Goths. There are but few remains of their language, besides a translation of the scriptures by Ulphilas, who was their bishop in the fourth century.

Such were some of the labours of Anglo-Saxon students in former days; and although much was done by them for facilitating this pursuit, yet until within the last few years their path was long neglected. Indeed one might have imagined that the Teutonic tongues were the vernacular language of the South Sea islanders rather than that of so many nations in Europe. It is true the attention of the public was for a short time occasionally roused by the efforts of a Tooke, a Tyrwhitt, and a Wharton, but it soon subsided; and the language appeared likely to be involved in that fate which has befallen so many of the monuments of the Saxon era. But a spirit of inquiry is now abroad, and has again awakened the attention of many to this interesting branch of literature.

This has probably been increased by the liberality of Dr. Richard Rawlinson, who contributed towards the promotion of Anglo-Saxon learning by the endowment of a Professorship in the University of Oxford; and it is to be hoped that before long, Cambridge will realise the wishes of Sir Henry Spelman, by establishing a similar foundation. The Anglo-Saxon chair in Oxford has hitherto been, and doubtless will continue to be, the means of turning the attention of numbers to the ancient literature of our country, and giving a stimulus to etymological inquiry. When, moreover, we have seen the Professor's chair filled by such men as Ingram, Conybeare, Silver, and others who might be named, we may have the satisfaction of witnessing more direct benefits of Rawlinson's endowment.

The University of Oxford has further lent her powerful aid in

promoting attention to Anglo-Saxon literature, by printing at the Clarendon Press a version of the psalms in pure and elegant Saxon, partly in prose and partly metrical, which Mr. Thorpe transcribed and edited from a MS. in the Royal Library at Paris. With regard to this work, the tribute of our praise is due both to the liberality of the university and to the skill and accuracy of the editor. We sincerely hope this example will not be lost on the sister university.

In noticing the works to which we have referred, and to which we may fearlessly appeal for a proof of the increasing taste for Teutonic literature, we would rather take them in the order of their intrinsic importance, than in that of their publication.

Doctor Bosworth, with one of whose works we have headed these remarks, has been long known to the public as an indefatigable and accurate scholar, and the dictionary which he has just published fully answers the expectation which had been formed of it during several tedious years of anticipation. To those who are acquainted with the laborious nature of lexicography, especially in a tongue whose literature is still partly in manuscripts, some of which are nearly illegible through age, damp, and accidents to which they have been exposed, the delay which has taken place since the first announcement of this dictionary will not appear surprising. The author candidly observes—

"This work was begun with a sanguine hope of soon bringing it to a satisfactory conclusion; but it has employed every leisure hour of the compiler for more than seven years, four of which it has been in the press. It is at last brought to a close; and, though he has used all the diligence, and availed himself of every means in his power, having the patriotism, amidst many disadvantages, to print it in his own country, at his own expense and risk, it is far, very far from answering even his own expectations. He can, however, honestly declare, that his utmost exertions have been continually made to lay before the public, in this dictionary, a brief, but comprehensive summary of the Anglo-Saxon language. The sources of information are constantly pointed out; hence, where there are errors, there are also means of discovering truth. Though he has always endeavoured to guard against prejudice and predilection, he is conscious that opinions have sometimes been advanced which may appear to want support. In such, and indeed in all cases, as he has stated in another place, he invites liberal criticism, being assured that by the collision of opposite opinions, new light, if not truth, is often elicited; and should this be the case, he will have cause to rejoice, whether it be produced by himself, or by a more successful investigator."—pp. clxxvi. clxxvii.

The taste of antiquarians would perhaps have been gratified if what are commonly termed Anglo-Saxon characters had been

used in printing this work; but the general convenience rendered the use of Roman letters preferable.

"After much consideration, the Roman character has been adopted in printing the Anglo-Saxon words, with the exception of the two peculiar letters þ and ð, an account of which will be found under þ in the dictionary. With all the prejudices of an antiquarian taste, and an eye long familiar with the form in which the words had been accustomed to be read, in what has been called the Anglo-Saxon character, and with the difficulty of recognizing the same words when presented in a different dress, it required a strong reason to justify the rejection of the old letters. Nothing would have led to the adoption of this type, but the thorough conviction that the Roman character would be the most legible, and would best show the identity of the present English with the Anglo-Saxon, as well as the clear analogy existing in the words of all the other Germanic languages."—p. clxxi.

The great superiority of this dictionary over those which preceded it, does not consist more in the increased number of words explained, than in the manner in which the explanation is made.

"With the view of illustrating the Anglo-Saxon, nearly all the radical words, and a few important compounds, are followed by the parallel terms from the cognate dialects..... The derivation immediately follows the synonymes. If the word be uncompounded in Anglo-Saxon it is occasionally traced to an oriental origin..... Immediately after compound terms will be found their constituent parts, with their separate meanings..... The explanation of the Anglo-Saxon is in English, one word of which is often identical with the Saxon; hence the necessity of a long paraphrastic Latin rendering is superseded, and the definition much shortened."—pp. clxxiii.—clxxv.

Dr. Bosworth has illustrated the meaning of many of the words explained, by copious quotations; and the accuracy with which these are for the most part given, denotes unwearied industry and care in the compilation. Indeed we have no hesitation in saying this dictionary is one of the most important works which has issued from the press for some time, and that the manner in which a very difficult task has been executed, corresponds with its importance.

Having made chronological order subservient to the general nature of the works which we are noticing, we must revert to the Saxon Chronicle which was published in 1823 by Dr. Ingram, President of Trinity College, Oxford, and formerly Anglo-Saxon Professor in that University. This is a highly valuable and interesting work; it was first printed, as we have observed, by Wheloc in his edition of Bede; Gibson, afterwards Bishop of London, published another edition with considerable augmentations, but the work now before us contains much more matter than its predecessors.

"To those who are unacquainted with this monument of our national antiquities," says Dr. Ingram, "two questions appear requisite to be answered:—what does it contain? And by whom was it written? The indulgence of the critical antiquary is solicited whilst we endeavour to answer, in some degree, each of these questions. To the first question we answer, that the Saxon Chronicle contains the original and authentic testimony of contemporary writers, to the most important transactions of our forefathers, both by sea and land, from their first arrival in this country, to the year 1154. Were we to descend to particulars it would require a volume to discuss the great variety of subjects which it embraces. Suffice it to say, that every reader will here find many interesting facts relative to our architecture, our agriculture, our coinage, our commerce, our naval and military glory, our laws, our liberty, and our religion."—p. ii.

Who the writers of the Saxon Chronicle, or rather series of Chronicles, were, it is difficult to say, having very little more than rational conjecture to guide us. Bede may be regarded as the first who brought the Chronicle into a regular historical form, and he has also given the name of some of those Saxon bishops and abbots, who furnished him with local information. Among these we find the names of Alcuinus, or Albinus, an abbot of Canterbury, Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, and Tobias, Bishop of Rochester. It is also probable that King Alfred contributed to this important document, from which all succeeding historians have drawn abundance of matter for illustrating the early history of our country. But while we offer our acknowledgments to the learned president of Trinity, we must not pass over in silence the labours of his lamented successor in the Anglo-Saxon chair. The volume of Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon poetry is valuable to the Saxon student; and if the richly stored mind of Conybeare were not so much devoted to antiquarian pursuits as to literature of a more elegant kind, still his labours will be valued, and his name held in high estimation, while piety and talents of superior order demand our admiration.

The next work in point of importance is the edition of Cædmon, published by Mr. Thorpe, under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries, to which allusion has already been made. Mr. Thorpe has performed his task so well that we are assured his work will be highly appreciated by all who are competent judges of its merits. A correct alliteration and beautiful rhythm are conspicuous throughout, the text having been most successfully rescued from the corrupt punctuation by which it was obscured. But we let Mr. Thorpe speak for himself:—

"The text of the present edition is founded upon a careful collation of that of Francis Junius with the Bodleian MS. In a few places, where

the latter is manifestly corrupt, recourse has been had to conjectural emendation; this, however, has been very rarely ventured upon, and in no case without giving the reading of the MS. at the foot of the page. Though the present edition be freed from the inaccuracies, both editorial and typographical, in which the former one abounds, yet the text of the manuscript itself is, in numerous instances, so corrupt as to admit only of conjectural interpretation; and some few places have, I regret to say, baffled all my efforts even at conjecture."—p. vii.

In speaking of the edition published by Junius in 1655, Mr. Thorpe complains that the text contains numerous errors.

"In the manuscript, for instance, the metrical point is of frequent, though by no means of constant occurrence, and is in most instances inserted correctly; while in the printed edition it is often so placed, as to destroy both sense and alliteration, by separating words in connexion, and vice versâ: so that in many instances passages sufficiently plain in the manuscript, become totally unintelligible in Junius' edition."—pp. xiii. xiv.

Mr. Thorpe has remedied these defects and furnished us with a correct and faithful text. His industry in Saxon literature has been further manifested by the publication of a very useful and amusing work entitled Analecta Anglo-Saxonica.

"This volume," says Mr. Thorpe, "is the result of a wish to promote amongst us the study of the language and literature of our Saxon forefathers, by supplying students to whom the inflexions of the tongue are already familiar with a work though small in compass, yet, from the nature of its contents and its glossarial illustrations, capable of conducting them far onward towards the possession of their object."—p. iii.

The little volume which Mr. Thorpe has subsequently edited, entitled Apollonius of Tyre, is an additional proof of his zeal in promoting Anglo-Saxon literature. Before, however, we take our leave of Mr. Thorpe, we would remind him that several years have now elapsed since he first announced his intention of publishing a complete edition of the Saxon Gospels. From whence the delay has arisen we are at a loss to conjecture. As the work is important on many accounts, we hope Mr. Thorpe will either proceed with it or resign it to those who have leisure and inclination to complete it.

Some of the valuable remains of Alfred's pen have lately been republished with translations by the joint labours of Mr. Cardale and the Rev. Samuel Fox; the former edited the prose portion of the Anglo-Saxon version of Boethius, and the latter completed the work by printing the metres. Mr. Fox has followed the plan successfully adopted by the last editor of Cædmon, and, by altering the punctuation, has in many places improved both the alliteration and the rhythm; while he has at the same time

made several passages intelligible which were extremely obscure in Rawlinson's edition. It is to be regretted that the Cottonian MS. of Boethius has been so much injured by fire, as to render it impossible to try the accuracy of Mr. Fox's alterations by that standard. Mr. Cardale's portion of the work has been several years before the public, and has received that meed of approbation its accuracy so well deserves.*

To Mr. Kemble we are indebted for a new edition of Beowulf, with an improved text, and also for a translation of that author with a glossary and notes. It is printed from the MS. to which allusion has already been made; and with regard to this interesting work Mr. Kemble says,—

"The poem contained in the Cott. MS. Vitelius A. xv. and of which as accurate a copy as I could make is now presented to the reader, is, no doubt, not in its present form referable to so high an antiquity as the period of the events which are recorded. The MS. of Beowulf consists of two portions, written in very different hands, and differing very considerably in language; of these the former portion is far the older, and seems to show that some few peculiarities of the Anglo-Saxon tongue, which are found neither in Gothic, Old High Dutch, Old Norse, nor Old Saxon, were even among us gradually introduced by time; such for example, is the ëa which finally superseded a before h and l, and certain combinations of these letters."—p. xx.—xxiii.

As Mr. Kemble was desirous of presenting a perfect edition of his author, he has made considerable alterations in the text; relative to this he remarks,—

"With respect to the texts here given, I wish to add a few words. All persons who have had much experience of Anglo-Saxon MSS. know how hopelessly incorrect they in general are; when every allowance has been made for date and dialect, and even for the etymological ignorance of early times, we are yet met at every turn with faults of grammar, with omissions or redundancies of letters and words, which can perhaps only be accounted for by the supposition that professional copyists brought to their task (in itself confusing enough) both lack of knowledge and lack of care. A modern edition, made by a person really conversant with the language which he illustrates, will in all probability be much more like the original than the MS. copy, which, even in the earliest times, was made by an ignorant or indolent transcriber. But while he makes the necessary corrections, no man is justified in withholding the original readings: for although the laws of a language, ascertained by wide and careful examination of all the cognate tongues, of the hidden springs and ground principles upon which they rest in

* Mr. Fox has also published an interesting poem generally known by the title of the Menology. It is a kind of Anglo-Saxon calendar, and is highly extolled by Hickes. The edition before us is nearly a reprint of the poem as contained in Hickes, and we cannot but regret that Mr. Fox did not pursue the plan of amending the punctuation throughout, which he adopted in his edition of the Boethian metres.

common, are like the laws of the Medes and Persians, and alter not, yet the very errors of the old writers are valuable, and serve sometimes as guides and clues to the inner being and spiritual tendencies of the language itself. The reader will moreover be spared that, to some people, heart-burning necessity of taking his editor's qualifications too much for granted, if side by side he is allowed to judge of the traditional error and the proposed correction. I have endeavoured to accomplish this end by printing the text letter for letter, as I found it; the corrections, which, for the most part, either the laws of the grammar or of the versification suggest almost without possibility of error, are added at the foot of each page. The only exception to this, is the accentuation of the long vowels, which from its importance to the meaning of the words I have every where added, still however carefully distinguishing such as are found in the MS. by a circumflex. In cases where portions of the text have perished, which has happened unfortunately by the edge of almost every page, and which is a progressing evil, I have generally from conjecture, (if conjecture it can be called, to restore letters to words whose form no scholar can doubt for a moment,) endeavoured to supply the deficiency; such interpolations are all confined within brackets."—p. xxiii.—xxvi.

We consider that Mr. Kemble has acted judiciously in the manner in which he has corrected what appear to be corrupt readings in the MS. of Beowulf; and we also approve of his translation, but we cannot give our verdict in favour of the accentuations which he has so unsparingly introduced. That accents are found in ancient metrical MSS. we are ready to admit, but it is an equally established fact that they are not invariably found, and the authority of Rask and Grimm is not sufficient, as we conceive, to justify their introduction when their absence in MSS. leaves us without any authority whatever; in such a case analogy furnishes the only guide, and any rules so derived are liable to faults, and are consequently apt to mislead. There is, moreover, some doubt as to the original use of accents; they are therefore, under any circumstances, rather doubtful guides in directing us to the proper pronunciation of Anglo-Saxon.

"A mark of accent in modern tongues," observes Dr. Bosworth, "may have three applications:—1st. It may denote the stress of the voice on a certain syllable, and this is, perhaps, the only purpose for which the accent (') may be lawfully used. 2d. But, improperly and contrary to its original design, it may denote the very nature of the sound of the vowel. And 3d, it may be used to designate the lengthening of a short vowel, without altering the nature of its sound."—p. lxxviii.

With Dr. Bosworth we are far from depreciating the use of marks of accent, but we must confess they are involved in much obscurity, since the two principal advocates of accents, Rask and Grimm, differ in the import they ascribe to the same sign! Under

these circumstances, therefore, we would suggest the propriety of being strictly guided by MSS., and objections will thus be avoided, which to many appear as detractions from well-earned merit.

In the restoration of the Anglo-Saxon text to its original purity, the scholars of the present day are under great obligations to Rask; indeed, his labours cannot be overvalued, nor his principles of versification too generally studied. He may be considered the restorer of Saxon verse; for before his time, from Hickes downward, there were as many theories on this subject as theorists, and they only agreed in one point, viz. in being equally distant from the truth. Grimm has also contributed largely to Anglo-Saxon literature; for, while his writings are highly valuable to the northern scholar generally, they are so in particular to the Saxon and German student. Besides these, there are many on the continent following in the steps of the venerable Thorkelin, whose names we are obliged to pass by with this general remark. On the whole, then, it appears that the study of Anglo-Saxon is fast reviving; and when we consider how important that language is in leading us to a correct knowledge of our mother tongue, we cannot but rejoice at it. Besides being the only key by which we can understand our own grammar, there are many expressive Anglo-Saxon words, no longer in use among the refined, but which are still retained in our provincial dialects, and for a knowledge of these we must have recourse to Anglo-Saxon. Hence we shall discover that many apparent vulgarisms, especially in pronunciation, are nothing but pure remains of our ancient language.

But the further we advance in this and every other branch of knowledge, the more charitable should our feelings be towards those who have preceded us, and who were perhaps unfortunate in some of their speculations. When a piece of mechanism is put together, it is often no difficult matter to suggest an improvement, when the invention of the machine would have been far beyond the mechanical skill of him who makes the suggestion. There is scarcely any study in which greater latitude is afforded to conjecture than that of Anglo-Saxon, for much is necessarily left to the discretion of the student. The late discoveries have chiefly resulted from the labours of our predecessors; frequently they have afforded a clue which has been successfully followed; again their positions have appeared so untenable, that they have directed the inquirer to some other source for the solution of his difficulties; and thus, on the one hand, they have assisted us by their ingenuity, and on the other warned us by their errors.

There are still abundant stores to exercise the industry and per-

severance of Saxonists for years to come. The Cottonian MSS. are many of them highly valuable, and furnish an extensive field for the diligent student. Those in the Bodleian Library are also extremely interesting; and the MSS. belonging to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, are of a similar character.

With the facilities now afforded, and the encouragement held out, it is our anxious hope that Anglo-Saxon literature may form a prominent branch of education; and that the rising generation, while they regard with reverence the monumental remains of their ancestors, will be taught not to be forgetful of their language.

ART. V.—*Elizabethan Religious History.* By Henry Soames, M. A. Author of the History of the Reformation, and of the Anglo-Saxon Church. London, 1839.

THE present volume of Mr. Soames, whose diligence as a student of Ecclesiastical history is already attested by several valuable works, is intended to be a continuation of the History of the Church, from the point where his former work, as well as that of Burnet, drops it: that is, from the Convocation of 1562, in which the Thirty-nine Articles were finally settled, and which both of them consider to be the proper termination for a History of the Reformation; though Burnet has run on for five years longer, in order to introduce the correspondence sent him from Zurich between the English and foreign Reformers. We can hardly conceive any page of our Church history to which a student, qualified, by his acquaintance with antiquity and his freedom from party views, rightly to appreciate the character and importance of the great crisis from which the English Church had just emerged, would turn with greater interest. Both her historical position and her internal state would afford him matter of anxious consideration. As regards the first of these, he could not but view her recent emancipation from the influence of the Bishop of Rome as a critical act, and pregnant with important consequences for the future. While his historical knowledge would satisfy him that this influence had become secularized and tyrannical, connected also with such grave abuses as to render its removal a cause of thankfulness, it would also remind him that it originally bore a very different character. Indeed, apart from history, it must be plain to any unprejudiced person that a power appealing entirely to unseen and spiritual sanctions, opposing itself to selfishness, to cupidity, to the whole current of worldly passions, could never have gained such an ascendancy over them, had it not

rested on a truer and nobler foundation than vulgar ambition on the one hand, and servility on the other. And German historians, whose testimony, being Protestant, is beyond suspicion, have lately demonstrated how entirely the great Pontiffs, to whom the increase of the Papal influence is attributable, extended it by becoming a rallying point for the Christian world, the protectors of the rights of the Clergy and of the Church against the rapacity of princes and nobles, by being zealous in redressing wrongs, in reforming abuses, in establishing the faith. The beneficial effects of this influence, if only that it connected her with continental Churches, and facilitated an interchange of talents and gifts for the service of God, the English church had in former times frequently experienced. Now however a severe necessity had compelled her to forego these advantages, to entrench herself in her insular position, and to depend on her own resources for the maintenance and propagation of the faith—on her own vigour for the extirpation of heresy—on her own power, or the protection of pious princes, for immunity from the encroachments and turbulence of the world. Without entering into the question of the very earliest state of the English Church, this isolated position had been to her for several centuries an unknown and untried position, and was therefore now a hazardous one. There was obviously danger (as the events before Elizabeth's time had proved) of the Regale becoming at least as peremptory, as overbearing, and as oppressive as the Pontificate. The horse had accepted the services of the man to deliver himself from the stag —he had now to deprecate being overridden by his late ally.

And next as regards her internal state; the student would be anxious to discover whether the late flood of religious excitement had left the foundation of the faith unshaken, whether men preserved their allegiance to it now that it had been relieved from the weight of many corruptions, or whether they were turning against it those dangerous weapons, ridicule and natural reason, which had been somewhat too freely used in the past conflict. He would perceive various indications of that unsettled state of mind which seems the inevitable attendant of a religious revolution, of that temper by which persons who have been placed under the unhappy necessity of sifting and criticising the creed of their forefathers, are powerfully allured onwards to further changes. From this temptation even our principal Reformers, who in the main took their stand so firmly on the basis of Catholic antiquity, were not preserved. There is a grotesque instance of this in one of Latimer's Sermons, where, speaking of the Reformed faith in the latter part of Edward the Sixth's reign, he says, " It is yet but a mingle-mangle, or hotch-potch, I cannot tell what; partly

popery and partly true religion mingled together. They say in my country, when they call their hogs to the swine-trough, 'come to the mingle-mangle, come, puz, come'! Even so do they make a mingle-mangle of the Gospel." And if Latimer, who was so thoroughly English, could allow himself to speak thus, much more reason was there to apprehend that "Germanical natures," as Archbishop Parker called them, *i. e.* those who during their exile had been brought into contact with continental Reformers, and became familiarized with their sweeping and wholesale proceedings, would not rest satisfied without introducing changes of a similar character in the Church at home, particularly with reference to her ritual and discipline.

The fortunes of the Church, at this time, for good or for evil, appearing to be suspended in so nice a balance, one naturally opens a narrative of the period with feelings of deep interest—we cannot say, however, for our own parts, that we close this volume with a sense of their having been satisfied. This partly arises from the mode in which Mr. Soames has treated his subject; his diligence and candour are truly praiseworthy, but he seems to be deficient in the power of grasping the important and critical points of his subject-matter, and in placing them in their due position with the subordinate ones grouped around them. In consequence of this we toil on from page to page blindly and wearily, in the hope of finding the statement of some master-principle, which may both throw light on the tangled maze through which we have passed, and be a clue to guide us in our way onwards. Still less does he seem to realize to himself that no event in the history of the Church can be indifferent, that all must have a tendency either to the maintenance or dereliction of the high trust committed to her, and all therefore are the appropriate subjects of praise or blame to the historian, whose duty it is to distinguish those boundaries of right and wrong which in the struggle itself were imperfectly seen, and by both parties, it may be, overstept. And hence the tone of moral colouring in which he represents his facts is so vague and undecided, that the eye grows dim and weary, and would gladly accept in exchange some bolder and more determinate tints, even if they were not laid on exactly in the places or upon the figures which one's own taste might approve. We are fully sensible that in saying this we are imputing a serious fault to Mr. Soames's history, since we thereby imply that it imperfectly performs its loftiest function, and moreover contributes to give speciousness to the vulgar sneer, that there is nothing great, earnest, or noble in religious controversies. Therefore, before taking notice of the work itself, we must endeavour to justify our strictures on the tone in which it is written, by

giving an instance or two, which will enable our readers to judge for themselves. Mr. Soames is speaking of the effect Puritanism had in undermining several ancient customs which had survived the Reformation itself: he delivers an opinion that in this it "did some service," and then proceeds:—

"In one conspicuous observance, although of high antiquity, the government left really nothing for Puritanism to effect. Adherents to that system were very far from undervaluing fasting, but as usual abhorred the stated fasts prescribed by Rome. This reprobation, aided by men's general impatience of restraint, seems to have driven the customary fish-days very much out of fashion. The change was naturally disagreeable to those who lived by fishing. Their interests, however, were duly regarded in an order of council, directed for circulation, to the primate, enjoining the customary attention to 'embring and fish-days.' But no Puritan had any occasion for alarm. Religious considerations were entirely disclaimed. People, it was declared, were not required to continue this form of fasting for any liking of Popish ceremonies heretofore used (which are utterly detested), but only to maintain the mariners and the navy of this land, by setting men a fishing."—p. 245.

Now we cannot suppose that a divine of Mr. Soames's character can really intend to class the immutable Christian obligation of fasting and abstinence together with those other antient customs which Puritanism "did some service" in removing, or that he can approve of the low economical reasons for retaining its observance, which an unworthy compliance with the temper of the day dictated; and we therefore think that we have reason to complain of his using language respecting it so equivocal as to give a fair pretext to those, who at the present day disparage this duty, to claim his authority in their favour.

Here, then, we have an instance of his neutrality or indifference in a case where express censure would have been more appropriate: we will now take one of another kind. Mr. Soames observes, that after the Reformation there arose "a want of a vent for severe and ascetic views of religion."

"Such views," he proceeds, "are always popular among those to whom the indulgences of wealth are unattainable. Nor, from remorse, temper, enthusiasm, and various incidents, are they without many admirers in every class. While the monastic system continued in active operation, fanatical, stern, envious, and gloomy spirits found everywhere facilities for a religious development. But all such became uneasy for want of new channels, when conventual penitentiaries had wholly disappeared, begging friars no longer extolled devotional raptures, and ascetic observances ceased to disparage a less obtrusive piety. No censure is intended here upon severe, enthusiastic, or ascetic principles, whether Protestant or Romish, nor upon any who favour without adopting them. Most of those who hold such opinions are sincerely pious,

though human infirmity sometimes betrays them into uncharitableness and indiscretion. The latter class aids in diffusing a conviction that real amendment will alone consist with bright prospects for eternity."—p. 31.

Now we will not stop to inquire whether "devotional raptures" are not spoken of in somewhat an unbecoming way; nor whether it is a true or profound view of the matter to say, that people are self-denying because they cannot help it, or have been wicked, or are enthusiastic and moody; nor will we dilate, by way of answer, on such examples as St. Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandia and Viceroy of Catalonia, who, in the midst of a virtuous and prosperous career, renounced his dignities and revenues, and embraced a religious and austere life;* or as St. Charles Borromeo, who, amidst the necessary cares and pomp of the Bishopric of Milan, preserved the most perfect mortification and simplicity in private. But we will take this broad ground—that a practice which has a so manifestly powerful effect on our relations with the world, on the temper of our minds, on our whole religious character, must be something much better or much worse than an amiable weakness, a harmless eccentricity; and people who are in earnest feel that it is trifling with them to treat it as such. If it can be shown to have a tendency to degrade the dignity of our nature, to fill us with lofty notions of our own merits, to be alien to what is called the mild and cheerful spirit of the Gospel, let it be condemned with due severity. If on the other hand we find ourselves obliged to acknowledge that as it is the literal, so it is the truest and highest form in which obedience to the precept of perfection, of selling all that we have and taking up our cross, can be expressed,—a precept which in its spirit speaks to every one, then let us not sully with affected candour and faint praise what we have not courage to imitate; rather let us be thankful that such an exemplar and encouragement of our puny strivings has been vouchsafed to us.

But it is now time that we refer more directly to the volume before us. It may be briefly described as containing an account

* As perhaps the phrase, "an austere life," conveys little idea to people's minds now-a-days but of a formal discipline, of a hair shirt and a knotted cord, we subjoin a little trait of each of the holy men we have mentioned, to show how simple and unpretending, how compatible with the commonest routine life, true Christian mortification is. One day, when his broth had by accident been made with bitter herbs, S. Francis eat it cheerfully without saying a word. Being asked how he liked it, he said, "I never eat any thing fitter for me." When others found out the mistake, and the cook, in great confusion, asked his pardon: "May God bless and reward you," said he, "you are the only person amongst all my brethren that knows what suits me best."—When some one would have had a bed warmed for S. Charles Borromeo, he said, with a smile, "The best way not to find the bed cold, is to go colder to bed than the bed is."

of the Puritanical controversy,—*first*, as regards Ceremonies; *secondly*, as regards Discipline; *thirdly*, as regards Doctrine; also an account, running collaterally through the whole of the last-mentioned narrative, of Romish recusancy.

In reviewing the Puritanical struggle, it is curious to trace the very gradual progress of their objections, beginning with the cap and surplice, continued on into the ritual and ordinances, and ending with doctrine itself. That the point of the vestures was not conceded to them, we seem to owe entirely to Archbishop Parker and to the queen. Grindal expressly tells us, that he and his brother exiles, who were raised to the bench on Elizabeth's accession, "contended long and earnestly, before preferment was accepted, for a complete revolution in ecclesiastical attire;" and we have moreover the individual opinions of most of them; Jewel for instance calls, or rather approves of Peter Martyr's calling them, the "relics of the Amorites." Encouraged by such sympathy, it was no wonder that others should actually refuse to conform. The Archbishop's firmness in compelling uniformity, the ejection of Dr. Thomas Sampson from the deanery of Christ Church and his imprisonment, and that of Dr. Laurence Humphry, president of Magdalen College, the deprivation of thirty-seven of the London clergy through the unwilling agency of Grindal, and the consequent formation of a Puritan party external to the Church—these things are well known and need not be dwelt on here.

The transition from this the earliest stage of the Puritan controversy to the one which we have pointed out as succeeding it, is thus graphically described by Mr. Soames.

"Demands were no longer limited by vestures and a few ceremonies. *Discipline* was now the cry. The Church must surrender every thing but her doctrines. Questions upon the ordinal parity of bishops and presbyters gave way to denial of any difference in function, rank, or dignity. Episcopacy, it was insisted, had no exclusive right of ordination or discipline. * * * The new *platform*, as the Disciplinarians called their system, denounced archdeacons, deans, and other cathedral functionaries, as unknown to Scripture or primitive antiquity. Their precedence was therefore an infringement upon the privileges of ordinary Presbyters. A godly discipline could alone prevent indiscriminate access to the Lord's table and general claims to communion with a Church described in her own Articles as a *congregation of faithful people*. Her formularies too were unsatisfactory. The use of a Liturgy was readily conceded; in fact, the Puritans used commonly that of Geneva. But they claimed free licence for extemporaneous prayers, both before and after sermon. The English service was faulty, from frequent use of the Lord's Prayer, and of responses by the congregation. Nor was it proper to say, in the marriage office, *with my body I thee*

worship; or in that for burials over almost every corpse, *in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life.* Nor were lessons to be read from the Apocrypha, nor ought cathedral service to continue, or the use of musical instruments in any Church.

"The homilies escaped objection, but ordination of any unable to preach was condemned. Loud were declamations against *dumb ministers*, pluralists, and non-residents. Individuals, exercising ecclesiastical patronage, usurped upon the rights of congregations. The pastor should be the people's choice.

"The observation of Saints' days, of Lent, and of other stated fasts, was unscriptural and superstitious. Buying and selling on the Lord's day should no longer be suffered.

"In baptism the sign of a cross was improper, as were also the occasional administration by midwives, or other women; the use of sponsors, unless parents were dead, or in a distant country; and the answers of sponsors, in the child's name instead of their own. Names of heathen origin, or designating any person in the Trinity, or Angels, were objectionable. The churching of women was akin to Jewish purification; confirmation might be administered too soon, and wore something of a sacramental aspect; kneeling at the Lord's Supper was connected with idolatrous abuse among Papists; bowing at the name of Jesus was founded upon a false interpretation of Scripture; the ring in marriage was devised by Romanists, to give that rite the character of a sacrament. * * * * * * The surplice and certain ceremonies, professedly reserved for decency, were denied any such character, and branded as disgraces to the Reformation."

These opinions soon found Parliamentary advocates, and two bills were brought into the Lower House for abolishing the bulk of established rites and ceremonies, and rejecting some of the Thirty-nine Articles. The Commons passed that for rites and ceremonies, and it was referred to a committee of the two Houses. But the Queen signified her high displeasure, and both bills were dropped. This deference to her wishes seems to have disgusted their friends out of doors, for they now published, what they had before prepared, "An Admonition to Parliament;" being a virulent pamphlet, full of abuse of the Clergy, Liturgy, and the whole of the Ecclesiastical polity. Mr. Soames has given a sketch of its contents, which are so similar in tone and matter to the objections just quoted, that we will confine ourselves to one passage. After mentioning their allegation that the Burial service maintains prayer for the dead, as may be "partly gathered out of some of the prayers;" in which allegation, by the way, we have at any rate a remarkable testimony to Sir Herbert Jenner's late memorable judgment, that our Church has never *forbidden* such prayers; Mr. Soames proceeds:—

"Exceptions are also taken against various passages in the Prayer-

book, and among them against praying that 'all men may be saved.' The Psalms are said to be 'tossed in most places like tennis-balls,' and Sunday amusements, immemorially in vogue, are invidiously mentioned as if chargeable upon the ecclesiastical authorities. Cathedrals are stigmatized as 'Popish dens,' which, together with the Queen's chapel, by their organs and curious singing, 'must be patterns and precedents to the people of all superstitions.' The monitors add, 'we should be long to tell your Honours of Cathedral Churches, the dens aforesaid of all loitering lubbers, where Master Dean, Master Vice-Dean, Master Canons, or Master Prebendaries the greater, Master Petty Canons, or Canons the lesser, Master Chancellor of the Church, Master Treasurer, or otherwise called Judas the purse-bearer, the chief chorister, singing-men (special favourers of religion), squeaking choristers, organ-players, gospellers, pistellers, pensioners, sextons, vergers, &c. live in great idleness, and have their abiding. If you would know whence all these come, we can easily answer you, that they come from the Pope, as out of the Trojan horse's belly, to the destruction of God's kingdom."

We have thought it worth while to make this extract, for who knows but that this very bead-roll of Cathedral officers may have suggested an idea to the Royal Commissioners of Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues? Sure enough it is that they have not only proposed to sacrifice to the Puritanism of the day a considerable number of these functionaries, but have also been careful to reduce under one denomination the few who are to be spared; so that if their recommendations are adopted, Precisian ears will be no longer offended with the obnoxious titles of Master Prebendary, Vicar-Choral, Priest-Choral, and so forth, but Master Canon, and Master Canon the lesser will alone remain; and the day may not be far distant when the precedent will be followed up, and even those small "relics of the Amorites" rooted out of the solitary Cathedral close.

The most prominent and eloquent advocate of those opinions, and whom Mr. Hallam calls the author of the Admonition itself (though this does not appear), was Thomas Cartwright, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Both the old biographer of Archbishop Whitgift and Fuller ascribe his discontent to the preference shewn by Elizabeth to Preston, his opponent in the Philosophy act held before the queen on her visit to the University in 1564. Be this as it may, he shortly afterwards withdrew to Geneva, and became thoroughly imbued with the principles prevailing there. On his return he was elected Margaret Professor of Divinity, and in his lectures denounced archbishops, deans, archdeacons, and the like, as impious both in name and office, and denied the validity of the orders of the Church. Against the surplice he and two followers preached with so much vehemence, one Sunday morning, that all Trinity College,

excepting three, appeared without it in the chapel at evening prayers. For these flagrant acts of disobedience he was ejected from his fellowship and professorship, and driven from the University. These sufferings for the cause he had espoused, and the talent he shewed in his *Defence of the Admonition*, which had been attacked by Whitgift, obtained for him from his party all that exaggerated veneration which sectarians, who have cut themselves off from communion with the high virtues of holy men of past ages, are wont unworthily to lavish upon some contemporary partizan.

"They termed him their 'most reverend brother, Master Cartwright,' and introduced his name into their prayers. A congregation no sooner heard of his deliverance from prison than it 'had Psalms of thanksgiving, prayers to the same purpose, and a sermon.' The books of T. C., as they were familiarly called, were deemed necessary 'for coming to the knowledge of the truth.' One admirer compliments them as 'the rare bird's books.' Another thought of him as the Queen of Sheba did of Solomon. A third maintains roundly that 'the form of government set down by T. C.' was 'commanded by God'."

He withdrew, however, to Antwerp, and resided there some years. On his return from thence the Earl of Leicester appointed him master of a hospital at Warwick, lately founded by himself. Meanwhile the first Presbytery was erected at Wandsworth, and congregations were secretly formed through the country. National synods were held, and Cartwright was called from his retirement at Warwick to act as moderator. Upon this he was brought into the Consistory Court of St. Paul's before Aylmer Bishop of London, the two chief justices and other law officers, for the purpose of answering under oath *ex officio* thirty-two charges. These involved his renunciation of deacon's orders, and his acceptance of a foreign ordination; his acting as president of an unlawful eldership claiming ecclesiastical authority; and his publication or promotion of illegal declarations. On his declining to take the oath to answer all these charges, he was remanded to the Fleet, where he remained for some time; at last he was liberated, and ended his days peacefully at his hospital.

But the same spirit which had inspired Cartwright continued to blaze, and with still greater violence. Not long after the *Admonition*, appeared the famous Mar-Prelate Tracts. The principal author of these, as well as the most interesting character among those whose misguided and presumptuous zeal led them to an untimely end, was John Penry. He was, to use his own words, "a poor young man, born and bred in the mountains of Wales," and who was "the first, since the last springing of the Gospel in this latter age, that publicly laboured to have the

blessed seed thereof sown in those barren mountains." This, indeed, he did in an irregular way, being unordained, and the same impetuosity seduced him into more dangerous practices. He was seized in London, and some papers found on him relative to the queen, the tenor of which was adjudged worthy of death, and he was cut off at the early age of 34 years. His last protestation is so beautiful that we cannot forbear extracting part of it from the Appendix to Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, p. 304.

"Far be it that either the saving of an earthly life, the regard which in nature I ought to have to the desolate outward state of a poor friendless widow and four poor fatherless infants, whereof the eldest is not above four years old, which I am to leave behind me, or any other outward thing, should enforce me by the denyal of God's truth contrary unto my conscience to leese mine own soul. Great things in this life I never sought for, not so much as in thought. A mean and base outward state, according to my mean condition, I was content with. Sufficiency I have had with great outward troubles; but most contented I was with my lot. And content I am and shalbe with my undeserved and untimely death; beseeching the Lord that it be not laid unto the charge of any creature in this land. For I do from my heart forgive all those that seek my life, as I desire to be forgiven in the day of strict account, praying for them as for mine own soul. That although upon earth we cannot accord, we may yet meet in Heaven, unto our eternal comfort and unity, where al controversies shalbe at an end."

We have now reached, it must be admitted by hasty and irregular steps, that part of the volume before us which notices Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity;* and at the same time that third and last stage of the Puritanical controversy, their *doctrinal* difference with the Church—a difference which this and his other writings may be considered, if not to have created, at least to have brought out into distinct consciousness and life. Any remarks of our own on this part of the subject may well be spared, when we are able to point to the Preface to the late edition of Hooker by Professor Keble. There is contained, in the space of a few pages, and in a form the most unpretending, not only a luminous account of Hooker's work itself, and of its bearings and operation upon the events of the day, but hints and principles of general application, the depth of which is only perceived in proportion as they are mastered and understood, and by which the student feels himself put in possession of a talisman, by means of which he may unlock the secrets and difficulties of early Reformed Theology.

Somewhat, however, we wish to say explanatory of our observation that it was Hooker who first made apparent the growing difference between Church doctrine and Puritan doctrine, and

who by his own works established and strengthened that separation. And we will adduce what seems to us a confirmation of this, at least in one particular. The Lambeth Articles bear date 1595, that is, one year subsequent to the publication of the first four Books of the Ecclesiastical Polity, and several years after the delivery of the discourses censured by Travers; and a jealousy of the tendency of Hooker's Theology may fairly be considered as one of the causes of their promulgation. Supposing such to have been the case, it may be thought rather to prove that Hooker's views were, on their appearance, generally disapproved of; and so it does, if we take the common view of these Articles, namely, that they were the development and expression of the opinions *then* dominant in the Church; a view which their concoction by a set of learned men from Cambridge, under the eye of the Primate, and their publication by the latter, certainly seems to warrant. We believe, however, the true state of the case to be this, and if so, it will tell strongly on the other side :—

Those who are at all acquainted with history well know that the Thirty-nine Articles do not speak the Calvinistic language; for this reason, if for no other—that only one year, as the late (alas! that we must write that word) Principal of King's College has pointed out in one of his eloquent Lectures, intervened between their date and the first publication of Calvin's opinions—an interval much too short for the latter to have gained any ground in England. But it is also true that very shortly afterwards English theology became extensively tinctured with them, and from this infection Whitgift, who perhaps was not well versed in the writings of antiquity—some assert that he was ignorant of Greek—did not escape. Of these early prepossessions a party of divines at Cambridge availed themselves. Finding that a disposition to recur to a more Catholic tone of doctrine was rapidly spreading—a disposition which, in a Church that has never relinquished the appeal to antiquity, nor bound herself by lengthy and determinate confessions to the opinions of any particular age, must ever be springing up from time to time—they attempted to repress it at one of its salient points, by affixing to part of the Articles a narrow and sectarian interpretation. Herein they signally failed, and thus what was intended to be an authoritative declaration of a peculiar line of doctrine, became indicative of its decline, and of the rise of doctrine of that purer and more Catholic tone, which was hereafter to distinguish the Church from Puritanism as widely as they were already separated in their ceremonial and discipline.

Mr. Soames devotes two chapters and part of a third to an account of the efforts made by the Roman Catholic missionary

priests to recover their lost footing in the kingdom. It is impossible to read without pain of the cruel sufferings to which men were exposed, who had risked their all in order to propagate what they deemed the truth among their countrymen, or without sympathizing with piety and zeal, such as Campian possessed. Nor can we admit that it was justifiable to put men to death for believing that a contingency might arise which would absolve them from allegiance to their sovereign; for this is what a recognition of the pope's deposing power—the ostensible cause for which most of them suffered—amounted to. At the same time there was plainly so real and extensive, though perhaps an undefined connexion, between them, and the foreign political intrigues against Elizabeth and her government, that the severity used towards them hardly seems to exceed those limits within which the cold and cruel policy of the world is considered to have free range. A matter of state policy it was exclusively. Neither was the Church mixed up with these intrigues and persecutions during their occurrence, nor had they in their issue and result any influence over her destinies, and we therefore do not feel disposed to follow Mr. Soames through their detail. Instead of doing so, we will revert to some remarks of his in the earlier part of the volume, which bear upon what seems to us a point of direct and unchanging importance to her religious well-being.

The following quotation has reference to the course pursued by the heads of the Church in the Vesture controversy.

"But although there was really no hope of strangling Puritanism at its birth, yet means were not judiciously chosen even for circumscribing its growth. *Reason* demanded a full exposition of the national difficulties in dealing with a *vast mass of prejudice* essentially Romish, and a fair allowance for the inveteracy of such prepossessions. But this *rational* and *liberal* course is little found in arguments against vestural antipathies. It is true that policy is pleaded for retaining the habits, and that violent reflections upon Popery do not originate with reasoners in their favour. The causes, however, which rendered further innovation impolitic are passed over with little or no explanation, and Puritanical violence against Popery is rather encouraged than rebuked. Authority is the main ground alleged for the vestures. The whole difficulty might be laid, with seeming justice, *upon incurable Popish prejudices in the Queen* and her courtiers, which they were determined upon maintaining with a high hand, *among a people becoming daily more enlightened than themselves.*"

Again, in a note to a passage already extracted, Mr. Soames quotes from the injunctions by Queen Elizabeth, 1559, these words:—"whensoever the name of Jesus shall be in any lesson, sermon, or otherwise in the Church pronounced, that due reverence be made of all persons, young and old, with lowness

of courtesie and uncovering of heads of the mankind as thereunto doth necessarily belong, and heretofore hath been accustomed." And from the 18th Canon of 1603 these, "and likewise when in the time of divine service the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, as it hath been accustomed." He then observes,—

"The continuance of this custom seems a charitable and prudent regard for the *great preponderance of national prejudice.*"

Are we then indeed to believe with Mr. Soames, that the true reason, the best apology, the most valid justification of the primitive ceremonies observed in the Anglican ritual, was "a charitable and prudent regard for the great preponderance of national prejudice?" Shall we account it worthy of the great bishops and divines of the Elizabethan age to dispose of such a question by summing up the amount of prejudice on either side, and striking the balance accordingly? Shall we admit that for the sake of things, which they really thought valueless and indifferent, they persisted in a course which harassed men's consciences, which deprived the Church of their services at a time when competent ministers were rarely to be obtained, and which had the effect of ejecting in London alone thirty-seven clergymen, and those in Grindal's opinion the best and ablest? Surely in this as in other questions, where men feel strongly, and act energetically and perseveringly, there must have been some deeper principle, some nobler sentiment, which, however imperfectly brought out into consciousness, or disguised under an accidental colouring, did really direct and actuate their conduct.

Hooker has let drop some pregnant hints on this subject; let us endeavour to pursue it in our own words, so far as those who can hardly speak of it otherwise than theoretically, are able or may venture to speak of it at all. We would observe then as follows:—

While both the visible and invisible worlds are the trial-ground of man, and things both of sense and spirit the instruments of his probation, it is in the close connexion and interdependence of the two that the extreme arduousness of this probation principally lies. Were man a purely rational and contemplative being, or did his spiritual and sensitive life lie in distinct and separate regions, the task might be comparatively easy; not so when it is through the medium of sense that his spirit is to be trained and elevated, and again, when it is by being so employed that his senses are to be refined and spiritualized. And in this very point, in the harmonious training of our entire nature were the ancient systems of philosophy defective; they formed lofty conceptions of the per-

fection to which the soul of man might attain, but his body they slighted as an unworthy and worthless companion, whose purity or defilement was of trivial importance. It was not until it had been ennobled and sanctified by an union with the Divine nature that its true dignity was recognised, and that the rest of the creation was seen to be full of types and shadows of Divinity, and a fit vestibule through which the worshippers might pass on into the celestial courts. It was not until spiritual benefits the most transcendent were committed to her stewardship to be dispensed under the form and covering of material elements, that the Church on earth became fully conscious of the intimate union of these two worlds, or learned to scale the heavens by a stair, the steps of which were sensible objects and similitudes. Then it was that men began to show due reverence to those outward forms which were proved to be so closely and mysteriously connected with interior verities, that Churches became holy as types of the spiritual temple, altars as consecrated by the ineffable Presence, crosses as symbols of our redemption, priests as representatives of the great High Priest, the dead bodies of the martyrs as shrines in which the grace of God had dwelt, and as testimonies of its unconquerable power. And thus grew up an ample and stately system of association between things visible and invisible, and so centuries rolled on, till at last in a dark and turbulent age some minds became conscious that *they* had *themselves* fallen into the error of severing this association, of resting in the outward form, and of ascribing to it that sanctity of which it was only the symbol. This they knew was the case with themselves, they had grounds for fearing it in others, and they concluded that it was an inveterate irremediable evil in the system itself. Now while we recognize the earnestness and sincerity of such minds, while we believe them to have been providential instruments of good, we need not shrink from perceiving in them a certain profane and presumptuous temperament. Their indignation against forms has been excited by a painful consciousness of their own abuse of them. Their grosser minds were content to be arrested and fettered down by the symbol, while more spiritual natures pierced through it, or rather ascended by its aid to the reality. And this is the reason why such natures, refined and elevated as they are, have an affectionate attachment to forms, while they are rejected by those who really stand much more in need of them. Of this however it is hopeless to persuade men who have become possessed with the feeling above described; they view the form and the spirit as two antagonist incompatible principles, which can only flourish upon the ruin and expulsion of each other.

Surely this view of the matter not only more satisfactorily explains the vehement hostility to ceremonies displayed by the Puritan party, but also affords a higher justification of the course pursued by Churchmen than the cold plea of the indifference and lawfulness of such ceremonies, and, therefore, their obligation when enjoined. For ourselves, at least, we wish to take higher ground; and we are ready to concede to those who look with such suspicion on the "imaginative" part of religion (most wrongly so called, if thereby is meant an excitement by means of the senses of feelings which have no foundation in truth, for it is in fact an elevation of the mind by such means to the apprehension of most substantial verities,) that we might be open to their censure—to the censure of placing a needless stumbling block in the path of weaker brethren, did we merely consider it as a matter innocent and indifferent. But we freely profess that we consider it of the greatest moment, as an integral and divinely-ordained portion of religion, which cannot be neglected without grievous detriment; and on this the justification of our solicitude for it rests.

Educated persons may perhaps believe that they can dispense with it, not so those who ought to be the object of our tenderest concern, the poor of Christ. What can be the result to them of the present system of disparaging all symbolical acts, even the slender and constantly decreasing store which remains to us, but to degrade and condemn that visible world in which the poor wholly live, instead of exalting and sanctifying, and making it the avenue to the world invisible? With this unbridged gulf between the two what can befal them but either to remain buried and grovelling in things of sense, or, in their unaided abrupt aspirations after heavenly things, to overreach themselves, and fall back upon unhealthy self-contemplation and excitement? Would that modern religionists could in some degree realize this, and they would be candid enough at least to bear with the earnestness of others if they cannot share in it!

Let it be observed in conclusion, that no censure is here intended or implied upon our own Reformation in this particular, nor is any opinion expressed as to whether each and every part of the ancient ritual that was discarded had become so inextricably linked with error as to render its abolition unavoidable. Such an inquiry is painful, unseemly, and in no wise profitable. All we wish to have acknowledged is the *principle*,—the principle of the *spirituality* of *forms*. If we could hope to persuade people to do this, to bewail the hard necessity which led to their curtailment, and to confess that it was because we had become

too gross and sensual for them, not they too puerile and no longer needful for us; above all if we could persuade them affectionately to cherish and observe those which our own Church still authorises and enjoins, we should have better hopes of the progress of the Gospel amongst us, and of the success of the efforts which may be made to evangelize and reclaim the neglected masses both of our rural and our town population, than we now entertain.

ART. VI.—*The Apostolical Authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews.* By the Rev. Charles Forster, B. D., Rector of Stisted, Essex, &c. J. Duncan, 37, Paternoster Row.

MANY circumstances at once recommend this work to our favorable notice,—the very interesting nature of the enquiry,—the view of the question maintained, which is that which a good man would most wish to be true,—and which has received the sanction of our Church,—the maturity of consideration with which it appears before the public, for it has occupied the author's thoughts, more or less, for five and twenty years,—the value of a critical discernment thus trained to the intricacies of the question,—the minuteness of detail with which the tables of analogy are furnished to the student,—the name of the author himself, so long associated with two other highly esteemed names,—and lastly, the *imprimatur* of the very highest authority, under the sanction of which the work is given to the Church.

The nature of the subject is, we must confess, one which we enter upon not without some scruples at its sacredness, especially in a Review; not merely from the controversial, and, we may add, irreverent, feelings that are apt to insinuate themselves into an argument, in which individual prejudices are too often enlisted; but also, lest in a critical enquiry into the words and expressions of a sacred writer, and feeling too much the interest of a Critic and a Scholar, we forget the awful nature of the subject, and lose the deeper thoughts which become a Christian; a point on which we think Paley not without blame. Enquiries, such as the present, are of course very necessary, and of much use to the Church, but to the enquirer himself, they need no little caution, lest by a thoughtless handling of the dead, anatomizing and scrutinizing the external frame, we fail to remember that what we thus lay bare are no less than parts of that which is the temple of the Holy Ghost. And herein may be seen the great blessing of Church authority, and a Church system, that there are few subjects on which indivi-

dual Christians have any occasion to criticise, or have the privilege of doubting, in sacred matters. If they engage in the minute study, and enter into the distinguishing peculiarities of an inspired writer, it is rather as a devotional and religious exercise, than for the purpose of deciding on matters whereon it is our great blessedness, not to feel and handle as if we needed visible tokens of our Lord's presence, but, though we see not, to believe and worship. In the last age, when men lost the guiding hand of the Church by their want of respect for its authority, it is very evident what an ungracious, not to say unholy temper of mind was the result.

The object and structure of the work before us are both of them of singular interest; their purpose is mainly this, to prove from the internal evidence, by a minute analysis and comparison of words, phrases, and sentiments with those of St. Paul's undoubted Epistles, that there are distinct and clear marks of the same mind and the same hand also in this Epistle.

Evidence of this kind depends, of course, not so much on particular passages, as on the accumulation of all the points of proof, taken collectively, consisting of external testimony and internal marks of identity. And it is necessary to bear this in mind, as the reader may consider many of the points adduced to contain groundless analogies or verbal similitudes of no importance. But the chief value of the work before us consists perhaps in this, that it affords the student an opportunity of judging for himself; it is in great measure composed of tables of parallels that are presented at once to the eye, and formed with a diligence and fulness worthy of the subject.

One of these tables contains "New-Testament words, peculiar to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the undisputed Epistles of St. Paul; with their parallel verbal dependencies." Another, in like manner, is appropriated to "words peculiar to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the undisputed Epistles of St. Paul; found elsewhere, neither in the New Testament, the Septuagint, nor the Apocrypha: with their parallel verbal dependencies." Another table contains "words occasionally occurring elsewhere in the New Testament: but in the manner or the frequency of their occurrence peculiar to" St. Paul's writings. In addition to these tables of mere verbal identity, the subject is also pursued with the same care into the similarities of sentiment and expression, and these likewise arranged in parallel columns, so as to render the enquiry both attractive to the reader and easy. And besides these general leading passages, in which the more direct resemblance is pointed out to the undisputed Epistles of the

Apostle, those peculiarities of his style, which Paley has remarked, are also shewn to exist in this Epistle: such as St. Paul's rapid transitions on account of a word casually introduced, his mode of quotation, and the like. All these tables are arranged under various heads, which evince the closeness with which the investigation has been pursued. In addition to these we have, in the conclusion, the evidence of the external testimony.

This general statement of its contents will afford our readers some insight into the character of this work, and the accuracy and pains with which it has been compiled. The investigation, it will be observed, is chiefly confined to the internal evidence; the external testimony Mr. Forster considers so satisfactory as not to need much further proof, and he introduces it merely as concurring with and substantiating the argument from internal structure.

"The external, or historical branch of the enquiry," he observes, "when cleared only from the learned dust in which it has hitherto lain shrouded, is comparatively simple and plain: though partially brought in question by some few Churches and Fathers, the tradition of the Church, and the voice of antiquity decidedly preponderate in favor of the received title."

It is therefore into the strong-hold, as he considers, of the doubts and difficulties with which the question is beset, that Mr. Forster enters, in thus discussing the subject of language and composition.

"The course," he adds, "pursued in this enquiry was pointed out by the nature of the critical objections, ancient and modern, advanced against the received title of the Epistle; objections which resolve themselves into the real, or imaginary dissimilitude of its style, when compared with that of St. Paul, in his uncontroverted Epistles."—p. 3.

And yet that, in spite of these objections, the Epistle rightly bears the name of St. Paul, assigned to it by our Church, the internal as well as external evidence is such, that we think it a matter perfectly beyond all question. We will therefore consider ourselves excused from entering upon this subject, on account of our looking upon it as a point too clearly decided to need discussion, and from a glad acquiescence in the authority of our Church; and will thus proceed to that other less important consideration fairly open to doubt and enquiry, to which the book before us more intimately refers, and in tracing which its great interest consists.

The question is this, whether, allowing the genuineness of this epistle as St. Paul's, we are to consider this authorship to extend to the diction, as well as the sentiments. For, allowing the former case to be fully established, the latter is still left in doubt.

The earliest tradition on record, and the judgment of many critical scholars down to the present day, (such as Grotius, Michaelis, and others) concur in attributing the penmanship of this epistle to some other hand besides that of the author whose name it at all events correctly bears. Mr. Forster's design is to prove that the penmanship itself is that of the Apostle, but he will excuse us for saying, that on this subject we still arise from his work without this conviction. Having taken up his book with the previously received impression, that, though the *author* is undoubtedly the Apostle, yet the *diction* may be that of another, (we have thought of St. Luke) we still desiderate further evidence to cast such weight into the scale as shall alter that impression. This question is rendered of the less serious importance, by a consideration of those very sacred names to which the language of it has been attributed, viz. St. Luke, St. Clement, or St. Barnabas; nor indeed does the circumstance of this doubt, even with those persons who first suggested it, namely, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, at all detract in their minds from the acknowledged genuineness of this Epistle, inasmuch as, notwithstanding, they unhesitatingly speak of it as St. Paul's, although the latter may in some measure qualify the sense in which he considers it as his.

The sense of these two Fathers, according to the information given us in this treatise, is as follows. Clemens Alexandrinus mentions it as a saying of his master, Pantænus, A. D. 180, "that as the Lord, the Apostle of the Almighty, was sent unto the Hebrews, Paul, in his humility, inasmuch as he was sent unto the Gentiles, inscribes not himself as an Apostle of the Hebrews." This is the first explicit mention on record of the author of this Epistle, and Mr. Forster observes, that Pantænus does "not speak as arguing in defence of the Apostle's claim to the authorship, but as deriving an argument to account for the omission of his name in the address of this epistle, from this claim as an undisputed and indisputable thing." It is soon after, that Clement of Alexandria himself first originates the doubt respecting the *composition* of it, on account of the character of the style. He mentions a tradition that the epistle was St. Paul's, and "that it was written in the Hebrew tongue to the Hebrews, but that St. Luke had, in his zeal, translated it for the Greeks. From which circumstances it has arisen," he observes, "that the style of that Epistle is similar in its complexion to that of the Acts." He further adds, "that St. Paul did not attach his name to this Epistle from prudential reasons, on account of the suspicions which the Hebrews entertained towards himself." Origen, the disciple of Clement, is the next writer who mentions the author

of this Epistle, confirming the tradition that it is St. Paul's Epistle, but carrying on the doubt respecting the *language*. He speaks in approbation of Churches that received it as St. Paul's, for he says, "the ancients have not handed down to us the tradition without good reason." But speaking of it in another place he observes, "that any one who was capable of discerning differences of style, would grant that the diction is of more pure Greek than the Apostle's, who confesses himself rude in speech, but yet that the wonderful sublimity of the sentiments is such, that any one who has attended to the Apostle's writings will confess that they are not inferior to his undoubted Epistles. It is our opinion, therefore," Origen adds, "that the sentiments are the Apostle's, but that the language and its structure (φράσις καὶ σύνθεσις) are both of them from the hand of another, who, as an amanuensis, committed to writing the things that were spoken by the Apostle." This, the composition of the Epistle, he speaks of in another place as ascribed by some to St. Clement of Rome, by others to St. Luke.

Here, therefore, we have the tradition recorded by Clement, and the opinion of Origen. Clement of Alexandria is surely very high authority, and the opinion of "the eagle-eyed" Origen no mean one on a point of critical acuteness and sagacity. In accordance with this we have the opinion of many others on the matter of style. "It differs," says Grotius, "from the character of St. Paul's writings, in which all his Epistles resemble each other." "He would willingly attribute it," he says, "to St. Luke, whose style is good Greek* and flowing, like this Epistle." And again, "the expressions and modes of speaking, peculiar to St. Luke, prove it to be his." Mr. Forster himself mentions with approbation a conjecture of the late Mr. Knox, that St. Paul first wrote the Epistle in Hebrew, and afterwards himself translated it into Greek. Now is it not probable, independently of the weight of traditionary report and a similarity of style, which scholars notice, that St. Luke should have written such a translation, considering his high qualifications for such a task, and the character of his labours as subsidiary to the more active ones of St. Paul? To which may be added some slight degree of improbability that a person should himself translate his own work. In confirmation of this view we find that St. Paul, himself a Hebrew of the Hebrews, did address his countrymen in the Hebrew tongue (Acts, xvii. 11.), and that they "kept the more silence" in consequence, having, as St. Chrysostom remarks on that passage, a kind of veneration for the language. Moreover, it is evident that this Epistle was written to the He-

* ἐστιν ἡ σκιστολὴ συνθέσει τῆς λέξεως ἑλληνικωτέρα, is the expression of Origen; "bene Græca est et florida, ita et sermo Lucæ," that of Grotius.

substance is doubtless St. Paul's, whether dictated orally or written in another language. To which it must be added, that the subjects treated of are those on which St. Luke must have heard St. Paul preaching and expounding continually for many years, to say nothing of private converse. Nor is this supposed similarity of speech in St. Luke a mere gratuitous supposition, for it is a fact well known that St. Luke's style of writing is considered extremely to resemble that of St. Paul; a circumstance which the testimony of St. Chrysostom and others, such as Grotius, as well as our own observation, confirms.

In furtherance of this argument we may observe, that not only does Mr. Forster occasionally extend his verbal parallelisms to St. Luke as one whose style is acknowledged to resemble that of St. Paul; but it is very curious to notice that some of the passages, which Mr. Forster quotes as parallel expressions of St. Paul, are taken from the Acts of the Apostles, and therefore are in fact St. Luke's own version of St. Paul's speeches; and more than one instance adduced is from a speech which we there read St. Paul delivered in Hebrew, so that it is actually in these last instances St. Luke's Greek for the Hebrew of St. Paul, as in the former cases it is his recollection of St. Paul's words. The one would apply to Clement's supposition with regard to this Epistle, the other to that of Origen.

The circumstance moreover of St. Luke's language and expression being considered to resemble those of St. Paul greatly diminishes the weight of parallel usages which are adduced from St. Paul's other Epistles, when the point in question is supposed to be between St. Luke and St. Paul. One remarkable instance of this actual identity of expression in the two occurs in the well-known passages respecting the appointment of the Eucharist, in the Gospel of St. Luke and the First Epistle to the Corinthians, which are almost precisely the same in both, word for word, though they differ from those of the other Evangelists. Now suppose that St. Luke's account of the Eucharist, thus corresponding with the Epistle to the Corinthians, had been found in the Epistle to the Hebrews, there is no passage adduced by Mr. Forster that would appear so fully to decide the case of sameness of hand.

To this it might be added, that although persons in general on reading this Epistle do rightly conclude that it is St. Paul's, it does not follow that this general and right conviction should necessarily extend to the words. The internal moral evidence of the Epistle being St. Paul's is so strong, we are so unconsciously impressed with the conviction that we are reading his sentiments, that for that very reason the common reader is apt to imagine that the style also and words are his, in the same manner that we call

to mind a person's tone of voice, manner, and language, when very forcibly reminded of him: whereas, it may be, as Origen observes, "that a critical discerner of style would not fail to perceive the discrepancy." But in thus considering it St. Luke's penmanship (so to speak) we have all the satisfactory evidence of its being St. Paul's Epistle, and also a full answer to all the objections, ancient and modern, made against the genuineness of this Epistle by those who consider the *style* as more classical than that of the Apostle or identical with that of the Evangelist; and such, we must remember, have existed at all times, from Clement and Origen to Grotius and Michaelis. And Mr. Forster himself allows that this discrepancy of style was at the first observed by himself; and indeed many of the arguments in the work before us would equally hold good if the Epistle should be a translation by St. Luke of St. Paul's Hebrew: as, for instance, to take the following passage.

"This phrase, ὄψομαι ὑμᾶς (Heb. xiii. 23), is," says Mr. Forster, "a peculiarly nice note of St. Paul's hand: for (Acts xx. 25) St. Paul has this very expression, applied, in like manner, to himself—οὐκέτι ὄψεσθε τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ὑμεῖς πάντες. The choice of Timothy, a circumcised fellow-labourer, as the companion of the writer in his purposed visit to the Hebrews, may be noticed in the last place, as in most perfect keeping with all the accompanying marks of St. Paul's pen."—p. 66.

Now both of these observations, it is evident, will equally hold good, if the Epistle should be a translation by St. Luke. Again, that very remarkable observation on the use of the particle τε carried on from Michaelis does not make the argument to preponderate in favour of St. Paul's Greek.

"In cases where a native Greek," says Michaelis, "would have introduced, as the connexion required, perhaps several particles, the writers of the New Testament are obliged to supply their place with the single conjunction καὶ, which they repeat as often as the Hebrew writers their ו præfixum." "As applied to the Hebrew writers," continues Mr. Forster, "this observation is so just, that the kindred and classic copulative τε does not occur, in a single instance, throughout the Septuagint version of the Old Testament. To the writers of the New Testament, also, the remark so correctly applies, that, excepting the writings of St. Luke, of St. Paul, and of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, throughout the remainder of that sacred volume the single copulative καὶ is varied in not more than eight instances. On the other hand, in the more classic style of the Acts of the Apostles, the conjunction τε gives variety to the composition in very numerous examples; although, throughout the Gospel of the same author, it occurs in five only. In the Epistle to the Hebrews also, it must in candour be owned, we meet no fewer than twenty examples of this conjunction; while throughout twelve of St. Paul's Epistles, it can be discovered in no more than seven instances."—p. 19.

But against the full conclusiveness of this argument Mr. Forster well remarks that in a thirteenth Epistle, that to the Romans, "the conjunction τε occurs in not fewer than seventeen examples;" which is certainly a curious fact, not only in testimony of the similarity of St. Paul's style with that of St. Luke, but also in corroboration (it must be allowed) of Mr. Forster's argument that St. Paul does vary his usual style when addressing particular persons. But this is not of course a point that detracts in any great degree from the argument of the *composition* being St. Luke's.

Nor need the affectionate Christian be reluctant to admit such a supposition, if the prevailing weight of tradition, supported by critical judgment, should require it. The contemplation of St. Luke and St. Paul associated and, as it were, combined together in this Epistle, imparts to it a very peculiar and touching interest. The circumstances we know of "the beloved physician," the companion and faithful attendant of the great Apostle, when all others had forsaken him;—one so intimately allied to him from the close fellowship of mutual sufferings, and far more from their participation in that high cause for which those sufferings were undergone, so unite them together in our reverential sympathies and regard as would have rendered the combined memorial of them most highly valuable. As we are wont, throughout the Gospel of St. Luke, to reflect that it may have been communicated to him by the Apostle, who himself may have received it by immediate revelation from God; as St. Luke mentions their associated toils and the speeches of St. Paul, with a fidelity that conveys all the characteristic diversities which mark the teaching of that great Apostle; to have passed from St. Paul's own letters to one who should combine the memory of the two, would have been, if the circumstance had been fully authenticated, no unpleasing thought. Nor could we have imagined the fidelity of the original to have been diminished, when conveyed to us by an inspired Evangelist.

Such are the reflections that occur to us on considering this side of the question, on the supposition that the Greek may be that of one more versed in classical writing than St. Paul, and that early tradition is favourable to such an opinion. And with regard to the passages from St. Peter, Clement of Rome, and others of real or supposed allusion to this Epistle in the book before us, they of course do not affect this view of the case, though of course they are of great weight in a matter of deeper importance, as proving the Epistle to be of early Catholic reception, or to justify the conclusion of its genuineness as St. Paul's. But however, these arguments we have stated in favour of the

composition being supposed to be that of the Evangelist do not carry with them full conviction; they are merely sufficient to keep us in that state of doubt which is full often the lot of humanity, though from impatience at its restraints we would eagerly close with any conclusion. And such a state of doubt is perhaps in all such matters good for our probation. When considered with regard to our intellectual faculties, as well as those more directly moral and spiritual, our lot is to find no rest for the sole of our feet. We ought therefore in one case as well as the other rather to seek for repose and confidence in that high thought, which Origen's words respecting this question may convey to us—τίς δὲ ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς Θεός οἶδεν: in the thought that in the paternal bosom of the Almighty all things rest; and that out of His own fulness He imparts of knowledge, and all other gifts, as seemeth to Him best: if He gives, it is good to receive from Him; if He withholds, it is good to receive not; if in a matter of practice He allows us to know, let us thankfully use the gift; if He withdraws the knowledge, let us acquiesce in this our ignorance, and thankfully receive even that also.

When inclined however to acquiesce in the conclusion to which the foregoing remarks would lead, we cannot close our eyes against some circumstances which appear to countenance the other supposition. It must indeed be observed that the train of sentiment and expression, so peculiarly that of the great Apostle, which pervades the Epistle to the Hebrews, is such as sometimes to extend even to minuter modes of speech, and that in such a manner as to support in some degree the opinion of Mr. Forster, that the Greek also must be none other than the Apostle's. It must be allowed that there are some characteristic traits of thought which it is difficult to conceive could have been transferred to any other language out of that in which they were first written. It may also be said, with some appearance of truth, that there is a freedom and freshness about this Epistle which savors more of an original than of a translation. The very peculiarities of St. Paul arise for the most part from the overflowing fulness of spontaneous writing, and could not be well conveyed into another writer's words. Carried on in the exuberant and sublime treatment of Christian doctrine, he appears forcibly to check himself, as it were, in order to give those short characteristic practical exhortations at the close of his Epistles, which, let it be observed, as he does in all his other Epistles, so does he in this also.

The traits of thought peculiar to St. Paul, which we allude to as pervading this Epistle, may be instanced in things of the following kind. When he says "*pray for us,*" here indeed we have a request which is made by none other of the inspired writers, but always

by himself; but this is not all—when he subjoins "*for we trust we have a good conscience,*" &c. (Heb. xiii. 18), this speaking of his own good conscience carries on this peculiarity into that almost unearthly trait in this Apostle, by which he speaks of his own example without diminishing by a reflex act his own humility. This singular absence of selfishness, we might almost say going out of self, contains in it a principle singularly sublime, which runs through St. Paul's writings in such a manner as to be quite characteristic. St. John indeed speaks of himself as "the beloved disciple," and Moses has recorded of himself that he was "very meek above all men;" these are remarkable traits of a confirmed humility, beyond the reach of ordinary men, in which these eminent saints followed Him, who said—"Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly." But what we speak of in St. Paul occurs with a frequency and peculiarity which renders it entirely his own, as where he says in the Acts—"serving the Lord with all humility of mind, and with many tears"—(xx. 19); or to the Corinthians—"Be ye followers of me, as I also am of Christ."—(1 Cor. xi. 1.)

Another very beautiful instance of character is that of supposing others by sympathy to be made partakers of his own sufferings and the blessings attached to them; thus he says to the Philippians—"inasmuch as in my bonds, &c. ye are all partakers of my grace."—(i. 7.) The passage is difficult to understand, viz. how they are partakers of his grace, till we find a key to it in that to the Hebrews in this expression—"*partly when ye became partakers with those who were so used, for ye sympathized with me in my bonds.*"—(x. 34.) He seems casually to intimate that in afflictions for Christ's sake there was lodged some inherent spiritual blessing, of which others also might be made partakers by sympathizing in those afflictions. To which he also alludes in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (i. 7)—"as ye are partakers of the sufferings, so also of the consolation:" and that this had some secret connection with the mystery of the cross, he implies in expressions such as—"*if so be that we suffer with him;* that we may be also glorified together."

Now when these characteristics of St. Paul affect the very language of the Epistle, it is in such points as the following,—when a new argument and train of reasoning is introduced in consequence of the accidental occurrence of a word; which, it may be remembered, is one of Archdeacon Paley's proofs of the hand of St. Paul, and of which Mr. Forster affords a good instance at the expression "house" in the third verse of the third chapter of the Hebrews, where the argument takes its rise from, and turns on, that word. This peculiarity is of frequent occurrence in his other

Epistles. Another point is the mode of heaping one expression upon another, in an exceedingly eloquent and sublime manner, extending to a long chain of thought: of which two instances may be mentioned—that of the Heavenly Jerusalem (xii. 22), and that of the sufferings of the Saints of old (xi. 37, &c.) Compare these with St. Paul's account of his own troubles in the 2 Cor. vi. 5, &c. And it may be further observed that this figure occurs on whatever subject the Apostle is most full of in writing the particular Epistle, as in the instances just mentioned; in writing to the Hebrews, it is on the subject of the saints of old, and of the Heavenly Jerusalem as contrasted to the earthly: and, in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, of his own sufferings, from which he had been so signally delivered beyond hope, when writing that Epistle. Another peculiarity is the rapid parenthetical transition from one thought to another that occurs, and followed by a return to the first; such is the passage on the rest of the people of God (ch. iv.), and the mention of Melchisedec (ch. v.): and such instances are quite familiar to us in his undoubted Epistles. And all these points of style, let it be observed, are but the results and indications of a certain temperament and character very sublime and rapid in thought, which character was peculiarly that of the great Apostle, and so much so as to be entirely his own. Two other marks of St. Paul's style may be mentioned; one of these is the dwelling upon a word and repeating it with various changes, of which there are many instances in this Epistle. One good instance of this is mentioned by Mr. Forster, in the repetition of the word "*chastening*" (Heb. xii. 5), as many as six times in as many successive verses. And the other consists in passages where there is much left to be supplied by the reader; arguments where one of the premises, and that an important one, is suppressed, but which is readily granted when perceived.

In considering these questions the tables which Mr. Forster has furnished will afford valuable assistance to the student; inasmuch as they at once introduce the coincidences to the eye. We must confess, however, that we consider the above involuntary indications of style a stronger proof of genuineness than mere verbal coincidences. But still it may be questioned how far these will go to prove the Greek to be St. Paul's, or that they are not his peculiarities transferred from another language. It is obvious how strongly his speeches in the Acts do partake of St. Paul's character, though given by St. Luke. At the same time it must be allowed that some of these indications of St. Paul's spirit and hand affect in some degree the very composition itself and language, so as to make it perhaps difficult to account for them, unless the writing is his own. One of these that struck us in Mr.

Forster's parallelisms is the following: in the Hebrews we read—"be not carried about (περιφέρεσθε) with strange doctrines" (xiii. 9); in the Ephesians—"being carried about (περιφερόμενοι) with every wind of doctrine" (iv. 14); of which Mr. Forster observes—"the figure '*wind* of doctrine' *expressed* in Ephesians, is clearly *understood* in Hebrews: the variation strongly marks the same writer, filling up, in one place, what he left to be filled up, by his readers, in another." A second instance is such an expression as this—ἅ ἐστι σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων—Col. ii. 17; and σκιαν τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν—Heb. x. 1. Now if any weight is to be attributed to such points, and we are to consider it as St. Paul's, it may be asked in confirmation of the same, whether the different complexion of the style may not have arisen from the more set and studied character of the Epistle, and whether the mere absence of St. Paul's name may not have given rise to all the doubts, considering the tendency in human nature to doubt and propagate doubts, especially where ingenuity can be shown in doing so? Whereas this very absence of the name is, of itself, an evidence on the other side, as having a peculiar propriety on this occasion to account for it. We have seen that Pantænus mentions the reason of it to have been, that St. Paul, out of humility, did not write himself the Apostle to the Hebrews, that title being pre-eminently that of our Saviour; and it is observable that he calls Him "the Apostle" in this Epistle (iii. 1). We have also observed that Clement of Alexandria mentions the absence of his name to have been from prudential reasons in writing to the Jews. But the care of the Apostle in his other Epistles* to declare his commission from God, his mission not being of the ordinary kind, would account for his dropping even his name in writing to those to whom his mission did not so properly extend. To them the value of the Epistle consisted in the contents of it chiefly or entirely, and not, as in the others, in the apostolical authority by which the precepts were enforced towards themselves. With respect to the diversity of style might be also added, as a mode of accounting for it, St. Paul's powerful adaptation of himself to circumstances, extending not only to matter, but language also: his knowledge of various tongues, Hebrew, Syriac and Greek, and his evident familiarity with classical writers? This circumstance Mr. Forster has well observed; in adopting the admissions of Michaelis on this subject, he adds,

* E. g. διὰ θελήματος Θεοῦ, to the Corinthians, Ephesians and Timothy: to the Galatians, οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. See also at greater length to the Romans. And in all his Epistles, except that to Philemon, which was of a private, not ministerial character, it is very observable how St. Paul always declares his commission from God.

"From the general cast of this Apostle's style, instead of the foregoing objections an argument may be derived to show, that the rotundity of the periods in the Epistle to the Hebrews is a strong circumstance *in favour* of his being the author. Michaelis and others have justly remarked, that St. Paul, in his unquestioned productions, has contrived to blend the opposite characters of the Greek and of the Hebraic idioms. But, if he was thus equal to the delicate and most difficult task of preserving, amidst the peculiarities of phrase, and the laconic structure, of an oriental dialect, a considerable share of the roundness of Grecian composition, . . . what else could we anticipate, from such a master of styles, where, as in the Epistle to the Hebrews (from whatever motive), he thought fit to lay aside rather the idiom of his nation, than a natural and proportionate increase of conformity to the construction and rotundity of the Grecian period?"

Still after all, although the *matter* is undoubtedly St. Paul's, the *language* must be considered, to say the least, as highly questionable. It might be that St. Paul, who usually wrote by an amanuensis, on this occasion made use of St. Luke as such, and that the Evangelist in preserving the identity of the Apostle's expression imparted also something of the complexion of his own style, which would be agreeable to the supposition of Origen. Or he might have done so in some manner as a translator, which would be according to the tradition which Clement records. He appears to have been with him probably at this time, and it is observable that all the names connected with this Epistle, Luke, Barnabas, and Clement, were all St. Paul's companions. As long as not only the Catholic reception, but also the genuineness of the Epistle is allowed, this question of itself may be considered one of curious inquiry to the scholar, rather than one of any very great importance; but so far as it furnishes us with traits of the Apostle's own character, it is indeed highly interesting. Mr. Forster's book frequently supplies us with incidents of this kind, and on many occasions, where we do not acquiesce in the verbal analogies, as affording any complete conviction with regard to sameness of hand, the mind of St. Paul and his sentiments in the Epistle are beyond all dispute. And although the work before us is chiefly confined to identity and similarity of language, it has this effect, that on many occasions where we were unconsciously aware that we were reading the production of St. Paul, by his exact words being thus brought out into the light, and ranged in parallel columns, we have analysed and unfolded the very expressions in which the resemblance to the other Apostolic writings consisted.

A very remarkable instance of the case above alluded to, *i. e.* of verbal coincidences furnishing us with traits of character, may be mentioned in what Mr. Forster calls "*Key-Texts.*" Our

author mentions that in each of St. Paul's unquestioned Epistles the same or similar expressions are apt to recur at the beginning, middle, and end of the Epistle; that these words are on the prominent topic on which the Epistle is written, so that in fact they supply a key to the subject of that letter; that these are found in the Hebrews as well as the other Epistles.

Now these appear to us slight indications which are seen on the surface of a very peculiar, deep, and pervading point of character in the Great Apostle; inasmuch as they signify that each Epistle has its own appropriate subject, tone, and spirit. This we think to be certainly the case, and moreover that such can be proved to coincide with the state of the persons to whom it was written, so as to prove in each case a peculiar adaptation, and therefore in all collectively a remarkable correspondence. This appears to have been the great characteristic of St. Paul: it is the occurrence in real life of something like what is considered the highest proof of genius in poets, that of preserving their own strong identity of character, and at the same time throwing themselves into the feelings, condition, and state of others. Or rather should we not reverently speak of it in a higher manner, as the work of that Holy Spirit by whom St. Paul spake, and who thus spiritualizing and hallowing his own natural powers made them meet for His own great purposes?—as our blessed Lord, when He spoke by the Prophets, or in His own Person, when He came on earth, revealed Himself according to the capacities of each to receive Him, and varied His bearing and countenance and speech according to the persons He addressed. It is this remarkable circumstance in St. Paul which will account for that παῤῥησία, so often alluded to in the Acts, and in the Epistles, either as indicating the true boldness of an inspired teacher, or expressed as the object of his prayers; which nevertheless must have been co-existent with a certain holy reserve which the ancients attributed to the Apostles. Thus when St. Paul says to the Ephesian Elders "I kept back nothing of what was expedient for you," St. Chrysostom says, "He here expresses the free character of his teaching, but adds 'of what was expedient,' for there were some things it were not right to teach them. To utter every thing would have been folly." Thus it was that they combined in their teaching a certain freedom and boldness with a kind of reserve, qualities which appear at first sight to be opposed to, if not contradictory to each other. They declared the truth fully and fearlessly to all, yet in such a manner as was best suited to the tempers and circumstances of each.

This habit of St. Paul of going out of himself into the feelings of others has the effect of giving to each of his Epistles a strongly

marked and distinctive character, and such as in each curiously harmonizes with what we know of the people to whom they were written. It is almost like difference of character in individuals, or different expressions of the same countenance, such as a person unconsciously has in addressing different persons. Now this appears as strongly marked in the Hebrews as in the other Epistles, a peculiar adaptation to the people addressed, both as coinciding with their position in itself and relatively to the Apostle. Our space will only allow us to give an outline of what we mean. First of all we have some notices of this distinctness and applicability of St. Paul's teaching in the Acts; to the rude Lycaonians he preaches natural religion, of "the living God who had not left Himself without witness, in doing them good, and giving them rain and fruitful seasons," (ch. 14); to the licentious Felix, "temperance and judgment to come;" to the Jews, he spoke at large, drawing all his arguments from their own History and Prophets, (xiii. 16); and "mightily convinced them, and that publicly, shewing from the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ," (xviii. 28); or as St. Luke mentions his mode of teaching the same persons at Rome, that "he expounded and testified the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus, both out of the law of Moses and out of the Prophets, from morning till evening," (xxxiii. 29). So that the account of his teaching his countrymen in the Acts exactly corresponds with the tenor of his Epistle to the Hebrews. Whereas on the contrary his address to the Athenians consists of appeals derived from their own poets, from natural religion, and arguments derived from and turned against their own idolatry, (xvii. 23). And his speech before Agrippa (ch. xxvi.) partakes of the same admirable adaptation and suitableness, so as to derive from the occasion and the person addressed, its own peculiar complexion and matter.

As this is a point of view in which the subject has not been treated, we may perhaps be excused for entering into it a little more at length, although it can only be to give a mere specimen or outline of the inquiry which it opens to us, for it is one that should be supported by copious and numerous extracts from each Epistle. Mr. Forster's argument is founded on a supposed harmony and similarity between this and other Epistles; ours on its very discrepancy and diversity, as indicating in this very circumstance a marked harmony and agreement with St. Paul's character.

Let us take, for instance, the Epistle to the Ephesians. The characteristic of this Epistle is Divine and Heavenly *Wisdom;* into this all the thoughts are continually arising and tending: this may be seen the more strongly by comparing it with that to the

Colossians, as both were written from Rome at the same time, and they are remarkable for similarity of thought and expression; but it may be seen how the same sentiments in that to the Ephesians ever turn to Divine Wisdom. This is the subject with which it opens, this the object of his prayers for them, that God may give them "the Spirit of Wisdom and Revelation in the Knowledge of Him: the eyes of their understanding being enlightened." Similar as it is to the Epistle to the Colossians, it differs in thus ever turning to the mysteries of God. Observe again, the particular precepts: these are alike in both, and in the same order; but in that to the Ephesians is introduced the Sacramental mystery of Marriage, as representing the Union betwixt Christ and His Church. And again, where the particular precepts have been alike, there is introduced to the Ephesians that figurative and sublime passage respecting the whole armour of God, mystically explaining the arms of the Warrior of the Old Testament. Hence the great sublimity of this Epistle, of which S. Chrysostom says, "it is replete with exceeding lofty conceptions; here he sets forth such things as he has scarcely given utterance to elsewhere."—"Equalling the sublimity of the maker," says Grotius, "by powers more sublime than any human tongue hath ever attained to." And the key-text to this Epistle, Mr. Forster observes, is the word "*mystery*."

Now, let the character of this Epistle be compared with the information we can gain of that people, and it will be found exactly to correspond. St. Paul says to the Corinthians, that this "*wisdom*" is not for babes in Christ, but only for the perfect. And our Saviour says, that "it was given to His disciples, to know the mysteries of the kingdom, but not to others." And the account we have of the Ephesians is such, that of all St. Paul's converts, we should conclude they had most attained to this Christian perfectness, which is meet to receive mysteries. We have Apollos preparing them, "mighty in the Scriptures." We have St. Paul's long stay for three years, "where a great and effectual door was opened," and where "the word of God grew mightily and prevailed" (Acts xix. 20); we have St. Paul's affectionate taking leave of the Elders, and his own account of the long and great pains he had bestowed upon them; and the high testimony in the Revelations to "their works, and labour, and patience," remembered before God. We have afterwards, the exhortations of St. Ignatius for "their continuance in purity;" and as St. Paul had called them "fellow-citizens with the Saints," Ignatius terms them "fellow-mystics of Holy Paul." If the Apostle indeed speaks of "many adversaries" there, and foretells "grievous

wolves," and sends Timothy to preserve them from heresies, we know from the Revelations, "that they could not bear them which were evil, and had tried the false Apostles and found them wanting." And Ignatius says of their false teachers, that "they had suffered them not." It is stated, moreover, on the authority of Irenæus, that St. John wrote his Gospel, so remarkable for this wisdom, at Ephesus, and at their request. In the interpolated Ignatius there are still higher appellations given them, as "they who were taught wisdom (σοφισθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος) by the Spirit," and the like. None of St. Paul's converts were surely more worthy of this higher wisdom.

In the Epistle to the Galatians again, so contrasted in its spirit with the above, we shall find that there is the same adaptation to the persons addressed. It is natural to suppose, from the very position, lying beyond even the half-barbarous Lycaonia, (where they had received the Apostle as a god), that these must have been a more rude and unlearned people than any other converts of St. Paul.* Hence the character of this is *admonition* as to simple and ignorant persons. No allusion to wisdom and knowledge, but especially the use of allegory, which is found so attractive to such persons. Simple and strong statement and plain command, "Behold, I Paul declare unto you, that if ye be circumcised, &c." and "I testify again to every man who is circumcised." Plain narrative, to convince them of St. Paul's independence as an inspired Apostle. No account of the greatness of Love, or of the mysteries of the Spirit, but reference to palpable fruits; "the works of the flesh are the following—of which I tell you again, as I told you before." And the sufferings of Christ vividly pourtrayed to them before their eyes. Of the same character are expressions such as, "O simple Galatians, who hath *bewitched* you?" and "are ye so simple?"—Add also that tender expostulation, "My little children, of whom I travail in birth again;" and accounting for this affectionate transition, "for I would change my voice, as if with you, for I am at a loss what to think of you." And ending with injunctions as to simple persons or children, written in his own hand, in large characters—"ἴδετε πηλίκοις γράμμασιν,"—of which words St. Cyprian† says, "Paul with a strong and loud voice proclaims, 'But far be it from me to glory,'" &c.

To take another Epistle into the comparison, that to the Philip-

* Passages from Socrates and Sozomen might be adduced in confirmation of the above. This district, says a recent writer on the Arians (p. 18), was distinguished "by a seriousness of manners partaking neither of the ferocity of the Thracian, nor the frivolity of the Oriental."

† Paulus forti ac sublimi voce proclamat, mihi autem absit gloriari," &c.—*Cyprian de hab. Virg.* p. 311.

pians; the peculiar character of it might be exemplified throughout by expressions which imply a *quiet confidence* and repose, such as arises from an established friendship. There is less of intensity in it than in other Epistles. It differs in these respects even from that to the neighbouring city of the Thessalonians, which is so full of *affectionate anxiety*. But it is an anxiety and an affection in the Epistle to the Thessalonians, of an attachment lately formed amidst common sufferings, accompanied with the fear lest their forlorn condition should become a stumbling block to them. "Being affectionately desirous of you," he says, "we were willing to have imparted unto you, not the Gospel of God only, but our own souls. For ye remember, brethren, our labour and travail: for labouring night and day, because we would not be chargeable unto any of you, we preached unto you the Gospel of God," and "being taken from you for a short time in presence, not in heart, we endeavoured the more abundantly to see your face with great desire." And the reason is because they were his "hope and crown in the day of judgment," so that from anxious apprehension he could "contain himself no longer, but sent Timothy" unto them; "that no man should be moved by these afflictions." "Night and day praying exceedingly that we might see your face and perfect that which is lacking in your faith." Now all this is in a different tone to that quiet confidence of confirmed friendship expressed to his beloved converts at Philippi: He "thanks God at every remembrance of them;" he "has them in his heart in all his afflictions, as partakers of the same grace with him." He tells them for their mutual comfort, that his bonds had been a furtherance to their common faith, and intimates in the openness of friendly confidence, his own desire, which was "to depart and to be with Christ, which was far, very far better:" and the good gift of God to them that they were allowed to suffer for Christ's sake. The same friendly and affectionate interest is expressed in such words as "Rejoice always, and again I say, rejoice."—"Be careful for nothing."—"My dearly beloved, and longed for—my dearly beloved." So also his mention of Timothy, that he was to him ἰσόψυχον, how they knew he was to him "as a son to a father," and he had sent Epaphroditus to them, not as Timothy to the Thessalonians, in doubt of their steadfastness, but to relieve their anxiety in his behalf.

Now, though we do not know much of their history, in relation to St. Paul, we have enough to prove the existence of this intimacy in the mere fact that the Apostle had received support from them, not only at Rome, but at Thessalonica, and probably at Corinth. This he declined accepting from others. At Thessa-

lonica he had "laboured night and day not to be a burden to them." He had also been at Philippi, more than once, at the writing of this Epistle, and all mention of his stay there partakes of this quiet character, where we have the interesting account of their going to the place of prayer and sitting down by the river side. There being no synagogue there, may also partly account for his receiving means of support from them, as not having "to cut off occasion from those who sought occasion." (2 Cor. c. xi.)

In like manner, in all the Epistles might be shown the same remarkable correspondence with the circumstances under which they were written, and the persons addressed. The eloquent diffusiveness, the overflowing fulness of heart, and almost Divine aboundings of affection in the second Epistle to the Corinthians; the earnest Christian love and anxious desire of unanimity and purity in the first, have in both cases this characteristic accordance with the occasions. Of the first it might be easily shewn, that the Christian Love, which breathes throughout that Epistle, was the only remedy for their disorders, their divisions, their abuses of spiritual gifts, their idolatrous feasts. The Second Epistle to the Corinthians can scarce be better spoken of than in George Herbert's words, "How full of affections! never was there such care of a flock expressed, save in the Great Shepherd of the fold, who first shed tears over Jerusalem, and afterwards blood." So characteristic of St. Paul, so replete with those memorable passages of eloquence familiar to our ears, as from the abundance of a full heart, it yet derives a singular interest from the circumstances under which it was written, and the feelings occasioned by which breathe and burn throughout every part of it. Just escaped from Ephesus in imminent danger of life, filled with apprehensions for the Church at Corinth, disappointed at not meeting their messenger, having severely rebuked them "with anguish of heart and many tears," (and nothing more opens the heart to charity than rebuking for conscience sake), oppressed with "fightings without, and fears within," he is suddenly relieved of all his distress by the coming of Titus. Written at such a moment of release, his letter partakes throughout of those words—"Great is my boldness of speech towards you,—great is my glorying of you,—I am filled with comfort,—I am exceeding joyful in all our tribulation." Very many passages might be quoted of singular interest in this light; how does their repentance account for these overflowing expressions of affection; "And I will very gladly spend and be spent for you, though the more abundantly I love you, the less I be loved;" how like the feelings of one just rescued from distress is the depth of those words, "For our light affliction, which

is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory!"

Nor is this adaptation and correspondence less observable in the Epistle to the Romans. As the Apostle is in this writing at rather an early period of his own conversion, and to that abandoned city, to converts from Heathens, lost to all sense of good (as we know too well from profane works), and from Jews more than ever Judaical, to the returning prodigal and complaining elder brother; we might have anticipated that the good tidings of the remission of sins and free forgiveness to both, and the necessity of *obedience* (the very key-text to this Epistle) would be the fruitful subjects of the Apostle's eloquence. The Heathen crimes, the Jewish self-righteousness, the creation labouring in pain, the weakness of the unregenerate man, the slavish nature of sin, the false morality which has its end here; and, set against these, the good Spirit labouring with us, the power of the love of Christ, the extensive goodness of God's providence, natural and revealed, the abounding of Divine help according to the sense of sin, the spirituality of God's law, earnest appeals to a holy life, the Apostle's anxiety for his own brethren, the Jews—all these topics derive an intense interest and depth of meaning from a consideration of the persons to whom they were addressed. Being written to strict Jews, this Epistle has something in common with that to the Hebrews. Being written to men of understanding and piety, it has something in common with that to the Ephesians. Similar to that to the Galatians, in that the Apostle has the same error in view, it differs in this, that the same things which in the other are stated with simple assertion and narrative, are in this supported with great force of argument.

The distinctive habit of each Epistle may be seen again in those to Timothy and Titus, though both of them his fellow-labourers, and both Epistles on particulars of Church Discipline. Those to Timothy are marked by strong marks of confirmed friendship, as to one whom he tells the Philippians was ἰσόψυχος. The short unconnected sentences in these Epistles are like the words of a superior, revered and loved, speaking to his disciple, and not seconding, nor prefacing his injunctions with any remarks:—"Lay hands suddenly on no man:—neither be partaker of other men's sins:—keep thyself pure.—Drink no longer water. Some men's sins are open beforehand." The Second to Timothy may also be contrasted with the Second to the Corinthians, short and emphatic in the sentences, as of one strung to meet his last trial.

In the Epistles, moreover, which appear to have been written last in point of time, which those to Timothy and Titus probably were, there is not only a difference of tone when compared with

each other, according to the persons written to, but also such as to distinguish them from the earlier letters. There will be found in them these pervading characteristics—that the apprehensions and warnings do not allude to direct Jewish opposition, either openly or secretly exerted, so much as to unsoundness in the faith. There is less hope and confidence expressed in them: and constant admonitions against something else being laid stress upon more than practical holiness. And as the prevailing sentiment of the Apostle's mind is often indicated by the recurrence of the same word, as that of "*riches*" as applied to the Wisdom, or Glory, or Goodness of God, in the letters to the Ephesians and to the Romans, which seems to imply that the unsearchable riches of God was the predominant feeling of his mind in writing: so it is curious to observe how often the expression "*soundness*" and that of "*good works*," occur in these last Epistles. The time was coming when they would not bear sound doctrine, ὑγιαινούσης διδασκαλίας (2 Tim. iv. 3). The same word ὑγιαίνουσα, or ὑγιής, sound, is repeated five times in the Epistle to Titus in the course of sixteen verses. The words καλὰ ἔργα, good works, occur three or four times in a few verses. And the expression "the faithful saying," is often found in the same.—"A good conscience," and "a pure heart," and "following after righteousness," and to be "rich in good works," and "faith that is sound," "wholesome words," "unfeigned faith," in opposition to "vain babblings," (mentioned more than once,) and "unlearned questions," but on the contrary, the necessity of constantly affirming that they who have believed should carefully "maintain good works." All these give a peculiar complexion to these letters, as if the Apostle already saw the corruptions and perversions of those truths which he had taught against Judaism, and the necessity of St. James's appeal.

All these are indications of a plastic energy and elasticity of mind, throwing itself into the mould of circumstances beyond all example, so as to have rendered his Epistles "weighty and powerful" to the persons addrest beyond all present conception. And the point which we maintain is, that there is the very same peculiarity of adaptation in the Epistle to the Hebrews: so that if the whole of his Epistles were thus drawn out and shown at length, it would be a most remarkable addition to any parallelisms of words and sentiments;—not as harmonizing with each other, but with the occasion, so as, from their very dissimilarity, to prove identity, as being the work of one who threw himself by a singular Divine charity into the feelings of others, so that their condition and circumstances serve to color his own mind, and that mind withal one of such transparency that his deepest sentiments are lucidly displayed in every Epistle. So that if there are few pas-

sages in St. John or St. Peter's writings that could be inserted in those of St. Paul without betraying their discrepancy, so in like manner we think that the sentiments and tone in one Epistle of St. Paul could scarcely be transferred to another, without evincing some degree of unsuitableness. The very absence of the name is an instance of this kind, as the very omission in this Epistle alone has a suitableness and propriety for the reasons which we have stated before, and which apply to no other. But take the prominent features of this Epistle, the tone and line of argument that characterize it, and compare both the matter and manner with the occasion and persons. First of all, the Divinity of our Lord is the prevailing subject, as breaking out through the veil of his flesh, and pervading throughout not only His own person but as in the transfiguration on the Mount, diffusing a supernatural lustre throughout His clothing, more than human art could have wrought. Which illumination indeed of His clothing Origen figuratively applies to the Gospels, as being the human clothing irradiated throughout by His Divinity, and not this only, but embracing Moses and Elias also, the Law and the Prophets, with the effulgence of His own presence, so that they appear earthly no longer, but partake of his glory. And observe, moreover, it is not the divinity of our Lord, as spoken of in other places, as evinced by His works and miracles, nor by the greatness of the Salvation wrought for us; but as foretold by the Prophets, as evinced by all the Jewish ritual, as filling up throughout the whole of the Old Testament, explaining the typical ceremonies, hallowing the festivals, fulfilling the promises, explaining the history, giving force to the examples, and life to the precepts, in short, as being throughout, the end of the law, as life to the otherwise inanimate limbs, as the body to the shadows which pourtray it. So fulfilling all the ceremonial and the moral law, that not one jot or tittle throughout should fail of its entire accomplishment: as the true Priest, the true Sacrifice, the true Mediator and Intercessor. By His own true Priesthood giving dignity to the priesthood going before, and grace to that which was to follow: as the true Sacrifice, giving a meaning to those sacrifices which preceded Him, and hallowing those that were to follow, whether as commemorative of His own oblation of Himself once offered, or as filling up that which is behind of His sufferings;—as the one true Mediator, explaining the mediation of God's servants of old, and affording even something of intercessory grace and virtue to the prayers of others, and His own Christian priesthood; and faith in whom, as the Son of God, is the key to the old dispensation as well as the new. Agreeable to this, (the account of Christ glorified filling all things before and after with His own inherent

majesty and grace) is the observation of Mr. Forster, who states than an expression, which occurs so often as to afford the key to this Epistle, is that of Jesus Christ "sitting at the right hand of God."

Now that this was the teaching peculiarly adapted for the Hebrews we know from this, that it was that which our blessed Saviour adopted, teaching them in distinction from others His own Divinity, as shown by the Old Testament; indeed this very text spoken of by Mr. Forster is the one pointed out by our Lord Himself in the Prophets, (St. Matt. xxii. 43). And we also know that it was St. Paul's own mode of teaching the Hebrews, (see Acts, xiii. 17; xvii. 2-8, 11; xviii. 28; xxvi. 22; xxviii. 23.) "showing from the Scriptures that Jesus is Christ." This also explains why quotations from the Old Testament should be more numerous in this than in any other Epistle of St. Paul's. And this suitableness of the matter is also conveyed in a tone of thought and of feeling towards his countrymen peculiarly St. Paul's, not the overflowings of affection as to the Corinthians, for how could he so speak to the Hebrews at Jerusalem, a Church moreover planted by another? Not that familiar friendship which he breathes to the Philippians, for what circumstances were there to occasion such a close intimacy as he had formed with that small Church? Not simple statement as to the Galatians, and narrative, but instead such a mode of speaking as his own position and theirs, his own mode of addressing them at all times, and the affectionate and anxious desire he usually expresses for them, the same combination of earnest fear and sanguine hope which might have been expected.

Another characteristic of this treatise to the Hebrews is its awful severity,—the reason assigned for its rejection by the Latin Church; of which the same may be observed as of the former, that the Jews, who knew the Law, were thus treated by our Saviour, in distinction from the Gentiles. We may observe this on many occasions recorded, and in the parables. St. Luke's Gospel, written for the Gentiles, is marked by its compassionate character. We may notice the same also in St. Paul in his Epistles to the Romans and to the Galatians. And particularly in distinction from this Epistle we may notice in that to the Thessalonians, who had just been raised from heathen corruptions, the gentle and simple manner in which St. Paul announces the great truths of Revelation, such as the Eternal Judgment. To those who had been already instructed in the Law his tone is different, and partakes more strongly of warning.

There is another great distinguishing trait in this Epistle. St. Paul has been considered the great teacher of Mysteries. He seems always (so to speak) perfectly full of the mysterious depth

of type, analogy, and moral instruction contained in the letter of the Old Testament. But this knowledge is not, as by a mere scholar, thrown out indiscriminately, but restrained by that inseparable accompaniment of all really earnest religious exhortation, a certain reserve adapting its communications to the persons addressed. In this Epistle, on every point touched on in the Old Testament, the Apostle appears replete with Divine knowledge, which he is on the verge of unfolding, but checks himself with the apprehension that they are not meet to receive it, "having need of milk and not of strong meat." And even in his mode of withholding it, there opens on us another trait of St. Paul, viz. his mixed feeling of disappointment and of earnest hope. For he appears, excepting perhaps in his last-written Epistles, to have been more sanguine respecting the stedfastness of Christians than those who had personally attended our Lord in the days of His flesh. But on this subject, of the mysteriousness of Scripture, he seems in this, as in all his Epistles, so impressed as if ever walking on holy ground, as if, where others saw nothing but things natural, he was conscious of the Angels ascending and descending. Moreover it is observable that here, when touching upon mysteries, he ever runs into that peculiar adaptation which marks this Epistle. To the Ephesians it is upon the mystery of marriage, and of the arms of the warrior that he expatiates; to the Galatians in plain allegory of the figures of Sarah and Hagar: but in the Hebrews, with the same marked propriety, it is Esau who found he had lost his birthright when it was too late, the Mount Sinai and Mount Sion, the earthly and the heavenly Jerusalem. Here he is at once on the full depth of that subject to which he so often indistinctly alludes in other places, that the "Law was the schoolmaster to bring them unto Christ"—and but "the shadow of good things to come." He sees nothing but the true Temple breaking through the clouds that enveloped it on the rising of the sun: or like the Prophet opening the eyes of his servant and showing him "the mountain full of horses and chariots of fire;"—or as if the clouds which are to attend our Saviour's appearance were already discerned to be bands of angels attending Him. On this subject indeed Mr. Forster has himself touched, in a manner that quite accords with our own theory, and in words that we cannot forbear transcribing.

"That attention to propriety," he observes, "which varies the expression of the same thought, as difference of circumstances may demand, is, perhaps, among the surest indications of the hand of St. Paul. To the Gentile Churches of Ephesus and Colosse, the Apostle's statement of 'the connection of things on earth with things in heaven,' while emphatic is brief, while sublime is mysterious; a mode of statement which

well accords with the state and circumstances of Christians, as yet but newly conversant with things unseen. The fulness and circumstantiality, on the other hand, with which the passage from Hebrews expands the common sentiment, lifting up, as it were, 'the everlasting gates,' and opening to view the whole hierarchy of Heaven, is precisely the manner which the analogy of his teaching would lead us to anticipate from that St. Paul, who had been himself caught up ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ, and had seen with mortal eye the heavenly economy, here so vividly described, when addressing himself to those Hebrews, his brethren, at once, in the flesh and in the spirit, whose ancestors had held, oftentimes, familiar conference with the inhabitants of that better world; and who from the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and the traditions of the Fathers, and from similar occurrences even in their own times, were themselves familiarized, not with the being and ministration only, but with the orders also and denominations of the celestial hierarchy."—p. 369.

Here Mr. Forster has shortly expressed his agreement with the view we have maintained, but we have the more dwelt on this internal evidence of character and turns of thought as it is that field of the inquiry which he has not so fully entered upon. And it may serve to show that if there is a diversity in the tone and sentiments of this Epistle when compared with the others, this is so far from being an argument against its genuineness, that it is rather a confirmation of it, inasmuch as in the first place it is the same kind of diversity which exists between all the Epistles when compared with each other; and that, secondly, in this diversity there is a correspondence to the persons addressed and to the relative position of the writer, which may be traced in the other Epistles as a characteristic of this Great Apostle.

Now this variety, sublimity, and depth, which appears in St. Paul's Epistles, should lead us to feel something of "the mystery of Godliness," of the greatness of those things which angels desire to look into; should create such a sense of awful reverence on a subject so infinitely beyond our reach, as that of Christianity, as to make us cautious how we form any peculiar system of our own, around any single doctrine which our shallow and short-sighted views may mould from any expression in any one Epistle. If any part of the Gospel is to be taken as the centre of a new system of religion suited for these latter days, surely it is rather the Epistle to the Hebrews, if we may judge from the analogy of our Lord's teaching or that of His Apostle. One cannot but conclude that the awful declarations of this Epistle, to those who have higher gifts and knowledge, would be the tone suited for us, if any peculiar one is to be exclusively adopted. But we have not to do this, nor to depart from the analogy of the faith, nor to bind the infinite to any finite scheme of our own; we have been born again into the largeness and fulness of this Christian inheritance,

the kingdom of Heaven, which neither space nor time can comprehend. If we would look to our Church, and our acknowledged duty, we should not be tempted to do this, to tie down our thoughts to earth and earthly conceptions of things heavenly; we are baptized not unto this or that peculiar notion, but into the awful Name of the ever-blessed Trinity. And this belief which we undertake at our baptism is in this doctrine of the Trinity, as then understood and unfolded by the Creed. It was this faith in that vastness and incomprehensible sublimity which defies all system, which filled St. Paul's mind, from the fulness of which he adopted and enforced his arguments as the occasion required. As we are baptized with the words of promise "that we shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified," so was it always St. Paul's custom to "preach Christ crucified." But his faith in its height and depth and breadth was surely none other than that which tradition has explained to us by the Creed. He did not choose the Atonement of our Lord as the one point of belief he deemed sufficient, as some now do; nor His example as others; nor the necessity of the guidance of His Spirit; nor His speedy coming to judgment, as another party would. But rather, believing in Christ as God, he considered all respecting Him as of infinite importance, and did not venture to select and systematize. Out of the largeness of wisdom and knowledge given unto him he may select now one principle and then another, in answer to various forms of error. But his teaching in all its fulness is no other than an enforcing of that faith into which we are baptized, as explained by the Apostles' Creed; that faith once for all delivered unto the Saints, by which we are in duty bound to be thankful unto God as our Maker; to put our trust in Him as our Saviour; to be guided by Him as our Sanctifier; to look to Him as our Law-giver; to expect him as our Judge; to propitiate Him as our Advocate; to believe in His Cross by being dead to the world; in His burial by being already buried with Him in baptism; to have faith in His Resurrection by being risen with Him to newness of life; in His Ascension by having our affections with Him in Heaven, where "Christ is entered into the holy places..... to appear in the presence of God for us."—(Heb. ix. 24.) Around this last doctrine, as a centre, is formed the Epistle to the Hebrews; from this, as the fountain head, flow its awful admonitions and sublime annunciations; around this, as the seat of life, all the parts of the Old and New Testament are moulded into form and lineament: all the written word, if we may venture so to speak, becomes the garment which enfolds the awful Person of our Lord, as manifested to human eyes; all type, all examples, and all precepts therein become like

the fringes of His raiment, irradiated and illuminated by His Divine presence, and full of virtue.

And if this doctrine may be considered the chief subject of this Epistle, in like manner other doctrines may be the leading principles that are more fully developed in others. It is from this vastness of the Faith, as expounded by the Creed, that the Apostle writes: this is the store-house from whence he brings forth things new and old, in rich abundance, as the occasion requires. The best gifts of the Father of Lights partake of the unbounded nature of His own infinity: and such inquiries as the present may open to us some little of His fulness; if accompanied with that meek spirit which cannot but inherit His blessing. To have thoughts engaged on such a subject is fragrant and refreshing: we breathe a purer air while we linger on the topic; we know not and cannot know half what surrounds us, but we feel that "it is good to be here."

But refreshing, interesting, and edifying as these inquiries are, it is only so as long as they are conducted under the guidance and control of Church authority. Without those beacon lights which, as time goes on, mark the limits wherever our inquiry may safely expatiate, we are at once abroad on the sea of doubt. The bold and speculative spirit, which such unrestrained discussions tend to foster, leads the inquirer as far from truth as it does from natural piety. But, under the Church's parental restraints, thus to harmonize, to compare, and to contrast expressions and passages of Holy Writ is in every portion of the inspired volume a study rich in unfolding treasures of Divine Wisdom, infinitely varied and teeming with what is "profitable for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." Where difficulties abound, the solving of those difficulties are the steps to truth—ἡ γὰρ λύσις τῆς ἀπορίας εὕρεσίς ἐστι. When reverence and piety keep in their protection the outposts of our Christian territory, its occupants are at liberty to search for the treasures beneath the surface, and the abundance which is thereupon, with variety of hill and vale, and fruit, good for food and pleasant to the eyes. But when the Philistine and the Canaanite, the brood of that old heathen spirit of Liberty, the free-thinker, and anti-catholic, are admitted to share the Church's inheritance, all these benefits are lost in self-defence. Thus has it been to us in the age that is past; in the Old Testament the infinite depth of type and prophecy with which it abounds were forgotten, and the fulfilment of prophecy in remarkable instances was appealed to as a triumphant proof of the inspiration of Holy Scripture. The richness and variety which attend the expressions and actions of our Lord in the Gospels were harmonized and compared to prove that the Scripture re-

cords might be true, and the existence of a Saviour; and the Epistles of St. Paul somewhat too rudely handled to prove, as a matter of highest congratulation (not to the Church but) to the Christian world, that St. Paul wrote those Epistles. Those who should have been praying in the Temple were upon the outer battlements, building and defending the walls. And yet receiving this Epistle, which we all do, as unquestionably canonical, it has nevertheless been truly observed, that its authority as such, and its claim to be so received, (undeniable as it is,) from Catholic antiquity and tradition, is not equal to that for certain Church doctrines, such as that of Episcopacy. And of these latter also it may be observed, that while others are engaged in disputations concerning them, or have altogether forgotten them, "to the meek are mysteries revealed," and the obedient "know the doctrine." Nor is it at all inconsistent with the analogy of the divine dealings that many circumstances, of great edification and importance, should be left without any palpable or constraining evidence, in order that the humble may come to the enjoyment of those things which are withholden from others: and indeed a power of perceiving the depth of Scripture, patient acquiescence in its difficulties till God shall unfold them, to which we may add recognition of authoritative Church teaching as a divine mode of dealing with mankind,—these are all the necessary results of a reverential mind. Deeply impressed with the awful truth of God's presence in the volume of Scripture, and in the Church, where he saw before but the shapeless stone, he feels "Surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not?" "How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God." We do not attribute such awakening consciousness as now prevails of the holiness of the ground on which we stand to individual sagacity, but to Him in whose hands are times and seasons and the hearts of men. Let any chapter of Holy Writ be read, at various times of God's visitation, under what is called the excitement of passing events of great moment: and it will be seen that on each of these different occasions different passages in the same chapter come out and stand forth, as in fiery characters, in strong and pregnant meaning; so is it now in the Church; new lights and shades from Heaven are passing over the earthly landscape, and we start at the sight and contemplation of objects, which we have been familiar with from childhood, but never seem to have observed till now.

ART. VII.—1. *The Second Report of the New British and Foreign Temperance Society.* London: J. Pasco. 1838.

2. *Intemperance the Idolatry of Britain: addressed particularly to the Christian Church.* By W. R. Baker. London: J. Pasco. 1839.

IT has been often and justly observed, that the manifold attributes of the Church have in these later times been wrested from her, and severally claimed by the various self-founded communities that usurp her earthly place and functions. Her crown has been broken to pieces, and every jewel made the boast and pretended title of some one of her many rivals. The Papist exclusively arrogates her unity; the Presbyterian and the Independent respectively assert the primitive character of their communions on the plea of their ministerial and their congregational liberty; the Methodist vaunts his discipline; the Quaker his spirituality; and so on through the motley series. There is not one of our thousand sects but pompously displays some fragment of the Church's once undivided prerogative. The result, as we have lived to witness it, was not unaptly typified by one of those frequent scenes of Puritan outrage, when the profane rabble pillaging our cathedrals, demolished the many-toned yet harmonious organ, and each man taking a pipe, marched through the streets in solemn mockery, every one braying forth incessantly his one tuneless note, heedless of the general discord.

But the principle of independent agencies is now brought still nearer home, even *within* the sanctuary. That wonderful discovery of modern times, the subdivision of labour, which promises such indefinite improvement in at least all mechanical arts and sciences, is now applied to the Church, not without showy results, nor yet, as we think, without great hurt to the Church's integrity. The several offices of the Church are all usurped by self constituted bodies, friendly to her, perhaps, yet not at one with her. Distinct societies, some of them including aliens from the communion of saints, oversee our colonial churches, spread the Scriptures, and choose other books for Christians, preach to the heathen, teach at home, provide for the sick and needy, and govern the nation; for recent events have made the political state a society such as we have described.

But a new set of prodigies is now rising up from the gloomy region of the west. The old world has divided the characteristics and offices of the Church: the new world is teaching us to subdivide the moral virtues. As if it was the work of man to perfect separate virtues; as if Christianity, like a watch or a pin,

ought to pass through a hundred hands, each of which did its own part best, by caring and knowing nothing about the other parts, or for the whole. A kind of *monomania*, a disproportionate and insane devotion to single objects has seized the Church. One part of the virtue of temperance, viz. moderation in strong drink, having been slovenly looked after, as it was thought, and got out of condition, while it remained an ordinary item of Christian duty, has been raised from its ancient rank as a department of one of the cardinal virtues, set above the two tables of the Law, and the faith and precepts of the Gospel, and constituted a perpetual commission, with power to enrol members, demand pledges, make laws, and exercise all the functions of royalty all over the world to the end of time.

The society thus formed, embraces men of any or no religion. It recognizes no religious or moral difference but temperance. A deliberate breach of this one virtue or fundamental law of the society, of course excludes. We beg the reader's pardon; one other offence excludes, and only one. It appears from the following rule of the society, whose report lies before us, that a member may be a Deist; but if any one *professes* himself a Churchman, he is *liable* to exclusion:—"No party politics, nor any sectarian peculiarities in religion to be introduced into the tracts, lectures, or any of the speeches at the public meetings; any individual so offending, after due admonition, shall no longer be considered a member of this society."

It will of course occur to every one, that such a society is a Church, with one law, one virtue, and one bond, but still a Church: nor do the "friends of the temperance cause" shrink from this conclusion. They have simultaneous meetings all over the world; they announce their cause as being "Peace on earth, good will towards all men;"* they have solemn festivals, which they substitute for the Church's holiest commemorations; delegates from all countries; united prayer for their common purpose, addressed of course to none but the God of Nature; processions not to St. Paul's, it will easily be imagined, but to Kennington Common, as they would rather run the risk of being confounded with Chartists than with Churchmen; they have weekly or fortnightly meetings "for reading (not the Bible, but) the publications of the society, and giving short addresses, with singing (temperance hymns) and prayer."† We have often more than suspected that some religionists had not only a very mistaken and inadequate, but also a very naked and theadbare, notion of the Gospel; so that it would be no great transition for them to transfer all the associations with which it was surrounded in their

* Banner at the last grand "Demonstration." † Report, pp. 65, 66, &c.

minds, to something very different. We are therefore not surprised to find these people talk of sending out their "temperance missionaries," "scattering the *seed of total abstinence* wherever they have opportunity."* They believe there to be a special power in the society, which they call "Temperance influence;"† and a special illumination, which Mr. Beardsall, in a letter to the Temperance Intelligencer calls "the temperance light." They declare to us that "the flame of total abstinence is kindled in their bosom." p. 15. Their converts are described as "*clothed* and sitting in their right mind." They "trust also that the salutary system of total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks, except for medicinal purposes, may be borne upon the wings of faith and prayer of all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth."‡ But a Bingham correspondent supplies the highest flight of this sort:

"God has done great things for us in the Vale of Belvoir since the *tee-total horn of salvation* was first sounded about fourteen months ago, many miserable drunkards have heard the sound, and are now enjoying liberty from the galling yoke of intemperance. Prophets arose and predicted the downfall and end of the system in twelve months. Praise the Lord, the cause is His, and he has given it his blessing. The *tee-total chariot* is still moving on; the banner flying on it is inscribed "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, good-will towards man." *The ark of safety* from the desolating floods of intemperance is still open and afloat, carrying a goodly number of staunch tee-totallers."§

The more discreet "advocates of this good cause" are alive to this danger. The Rev. W. Cornwall ventures a word of caution. "There is reason to fear," he says, "lest in some instances their zeal may lead them to speak as if they wished to substitute tee-totalism for the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour. This would do the cause ineffable injury, &c."‖ The Rev. J. D. Wawn, in his letter to Earl Stanhope, does not appear to see *this* danger, which we confess seems to us more than danger, as he says, "he *only* sees 'one danger, the temptation to a species of self-righteousness in themselves, and a kind of arrogance towards those who do not go the whole length of tee-totalism;" "this," he adds, "will be corrected by watchfulness and prayer to Almighty God, on the part of each member."¶ Thus, we cannot help observing, do people choose unauthorised ways and means, and think to correct their tendency by prayer. The Divine blessing is specially promised to the Militant Church, not to "the armour and weapons of the temperance army."** Who would have thought a few years ago to see these people suffer "the doctrine of tem-

* Report, p. 25. † Do. p. 34. ‡ Do. p. 68.
§ Do. p. 62. ‖ Do. p. 26. ¶ Do. p. 25.
** Do. p. 70.

perance" to slip all at once, at the first temptation, into the place of the Gospel, with such unconscious facility. It is only in character with this delusion, that as they seem to think tee-totalism is a *new* Gospel, they expect the same earthly immortality for its founders and propagators as has been vouchsafed to them who ministered at the foundation of the first. Of Mary it is written, "As long as this Gospel shall be preached, &c.;" and the Report before us confidently predicts that "as long as tee-totalism is known in Berkhampstead, the name of Whittaker will not be forgotten."—(p. 13.)

The temperance cause, as our readers are probably aware, has already undergone one important transition, and is now apparently on the point of another, in the direction of consistency, *i. e.* of further absurdity. It was found in two or three years that a rival Church for the practice of a Christian virtue, which *temperance* is, was not effectual. The character of the new institution was strictly *legal*, designed for minds with no power of self-controul, who must therefore be treated as slaves; and as might be expected, the pledge was observed in letter, not in spirit. It bound the taker to abstain from spirits only; a prohibition for which of course something may be said, as spirits are so artificial a production, and so unlike any thing we read of in the Bible, that it might with some *show* of justice be excluded from the list of God's good creatures which we are permitted to enjoy. Though for our part we would rather be left to our own discretion on that point. But the first pledge was soon found to be of little use. There is an ancient saying, that if you kill the father you must kill the son also; in like manner, if you *forbid* spirits you must forbid all strong drink. People with half their limbs shackled, will make all the more use of the half at liberty. Thus the takers of the first pledge rewarded the fidelity with which they abstained from spirits, with a proportionate indulgence in forbidden drinks. We chance by the way to know an unfortunate instance, proving how universal restrictions must be if they are to answer their purpose at all. Before temperance societies were in vogue, a man foreswore grog, which was his besetment: in an hour of temptation he persuaded his conscience, with the help of a friend, that brandy was not grog: he drank it raw, and continued to do so. Bye and bye he reflected that if he had not broken the letter, he had broken the spirit of his vow, and returned to grog, of which he shortly died. The takers of the first pledge soon found that the world was full of snares to their virtue, and the cellar, the cupboard, and the table were leagued against them. Wines they heard were half brandy, and the smallest small beer contained, though in ever so latent and sub-

dued a state, that awful abstraction, alcohol, the idol they had repudiated.

One sore scandal early impeded the Moderation Societies. Their professional advocates were of course exposed to all the peculiar temptations incident to their wandering mode of life; and were alternately goaded and puffed up by their one restriction. The result was, that some of them demonstrated their zeal against ardent spirits by a liberal use of fermented liquor. One of them was interrupted in the midst of his public harangue by a zealous tee-totaller, who exclaimed, "I think the meeting ought to be informed that the gentleman who is now speaking has to my certain knowledge had sixteen glasses of ale this very morning."

There was another circumstance also that went strongly against the first temperance pledge. Spirits in England are the luxury of one *comparatively* small class, farmers and small tradesmen; and the class above were soon admonished of the unfairness of binding a set of poor fellows from a tumbler of brandy and water after a hard morning's work, while they might themselves drink half a bottle of wine at a sitting, and nobody call them to account. This certainly looked like laying heavy burdens on other men's shoulders, but not touching them with one of their fingers. But "Father Horne," a missionary, "communicating intelligence on the temperance question" at St. Kitt's, expresses this objection with greater felicity of language than we can pretend to, when "he declared his prejudices against those temperance advocates who decried spirits and '*guzzled wine and porter.*'"—p. 42.

Hence arose "total abstinence," or as it is now called tee-totalism. Concerning the derivation of this classical term there have been sundry controversies, on which we think it sufficient to remark that the word is an Americanism, a fact which, in our opinion, supersedes all philological enquiry. If it has the misfortune to want an assignable parentage it makes up for the defect of birth by its personal merits; being so happily expressive of the thing it represents, that if it cannot be traced to other origin we should be disposed to conjecture that it was born directly from that thing itself without any intermediate steps. The tee-totalist abhors "the intoxicating agent" alcohol in every shape; nay, the rigorous professor asks whether pudding, or jelly, or custard, has any wine in it; and is even debarred from preserves by the present sinful practice of covering them in the jar with a piece of paper steeped in brandy in order to prevent them from moulding. Nay, there are some whom the direst necessity will not tempt to touch the forbidden liquids. A gentleman saved

his wife, when she was apparently in the last struggles of death, by pouring brandy down her throat; "ah," interrupted a lady of this creed, when she heard the story, "could he not have given her lavender?" which, however, as well as eau de cologne, and other such elegant restoratives, share with vulgar gin and beer the sin of alcohol. But it will not surprise those who are conversant with the weak points of human nature, to be informed that casuistry has been found to invade even this awful illimitable pledge. *Some* tee-totallers are liberal enough to reflect that while they have eschewed alcohol as a *substance*, they are not the slaves of words, and need not stickle at mere *nominal qualities*. So while they abominate cherry brandy, they acquiesce in those simple productions of nature brandy cherries.

It is almost too shocking to be told, in the midst of these follies, that even the Holy Eucharist has been reformed on total Abstinence Principles. Mr. Beardsell of Manchester could last year number twenty-five "Christian Churches" which had "banished from the Lord's table that beverage which inebriates," and which he was supplying with something which he had devised, and called emphatically "the fruit of the vine." Truly "all things are new in the temperance dispensation."

We cannot however pass over one glaring inconsistency in these zealous renouncers and denouncers of intoxicating agents. They eat ordinary bread, one universal ingredient of which in England is yeast, the product of fermentation. They thus partake of the sin of small beer, and feed on the vices of those whom they pretend themselves anxious to convert. We think therefore it was but a fair revenge and proper piece of discipline which the brewers of a certain town wished to exact, when they sent the crier round with notice that no tee-totallist baker should have any barm from them.

There is at present no small controversy as to the respective merits of the two pledges. If we may be allowed to hold the balance between such mighty powers, we are disposed to give our judgment as follows:—that a pharisaical method, such as we conceive these societies to be, is found to be more successful in enforcing on its members a Jewish virtue, viz. total abstinence, than a Christian grace, viz. temperance; but that while the *temperance* societies, *i. e.* those which adopt the "Moderation pledge," appear to have some good effect on those who are not members by setting them an example of a Christian grace, the tee-totallers, on the contrary, seem to increase drunkenness in their neighbourhood by caricaturing that grace. Temperance societies do not seem to last, as societies, but do some little good. Tee-totalism does indeed keep its members to their pledge, but, as a means of

diminishing the vice generally, defeats its own purpose. This illustrates what we believe to be a law of Providence, that under the shadow of the Church, the more any anti-Christian society perseveres in pursuit of its peculiar object, the more anti-Christian it must become.

The *last* report of the British and Foreign Temperance Society, which advocates temperance only, states that within a short time there has been a diminution of ninety-nine public-houses and twenty-three beer shops in the metropolis, which is the strong-hold of that society; while in Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds, the great rendezvous of the tee-totallers, they have increased. On the other hand the report before us is full of accounts of "Moderation Societies," which have died natural deaths or languished very low. The two societies never seem to come in contact without the improved version carrying the day both in argument and in actual success. The sketches of individual conversion however with which the report abounds, reminds us too much of the successive doses of No. 1 and No. 2 of a well known quack medicine to be received as philosophical evidence.

But the temperance cause, which is manifestly a progressive system, is now quaking on the eve of another revolution. Its chief apostles and prophets are not satisfied with the place they have procured for their one virtue, as "the great commandment of the law," man's primary obligation. They will not only testify and convert, but are now for compelling the world to accept their creed. It is not enough to give up temperance, properly so called, one self, and abstain entirely; we are now required to prohibit temperance in others; to deny them the opportunity of being moderate and of denying themselves according to their own measures of sobriety. The New British and Foreign Temperance Society, at their last annual meeting, adopted what is generally termed the "American pledge"—a pledge which not only enjoins personal abstinence, but which precludes its members from providing intoxicating drinks as an article of entertainment for their friends, or furnishing them to persons in their employment, excepting under medical advice. Alas for Lords Stanhope and Bexley, and their hospitable boards! What is a peer without wine on his table! Earl Stanhope however declines the "American pledge," and is now the head of a third bond of union, to be called "The British and Foreign Society for the Suppression of Intemperance." Truly we need not a Nestor's age to outlive three generations of such societies. We are glad to see British feeling enough in that nobleman to resist that transatlantic rage for mutual interference and dictation which will do nothing, good,

bad, or indifferent, without compelling others to do the same; and which we are informed goes so far in New York as to lead to combinations of operatives for the purpose, not of raising the education of their own class to an equality with that of the higher, but of pulling down the knowledge and accomplishments of the higher to a level with themselves.

But passing by that new development of the temperance principle, "the American pledge," we will proceed to consider temperance societies in the general, with such special reference to tee-totalism as is due to its superior consistency and success. Christianity teaches *all* virtues, or, so to speak, *all* motives; making *all* the school of faith. Some virtues are rendered easy by constitution or circumstances, and cease comparatively to be trials of faith. A yoke which galls one person may be unfelt by another. Therefore Christianity levies an equal duty from all our powers and appetites. It does not call louder for outward than for inward religion; for religious than for moral observances. It has no *one* ceremonial test of obedience. Every virtue also requires the help of its brethren; it is not good that it should be alone; it loses grace by solitude. In motives again there is a vast ascending scale. Some are next to compulsory, like the first link from vegetable to animal life; some are selfish, some social, some religious. The faithful soul rises from lower motives to higher, from strength to strength, by gradations too manifold and various to be here enumerated. All these virtues and motives are, as we have said, a divinely provided means and ways for the growth of the believing temper. Tee-totalism singles out *one* caricature of *one* virtue, and enforces it by *one* motive—the bond of a united profession. If it encourages any other motive it is that of ostentation, or "seeming unto men to fast." It spoils one motive and throws into the shade all the others.

Nothing can be more unfair than to impose on all mankind one kind of self-denial as the test of Christian devotedness; to apply the same measure to harvest labourers, coal porters, and glass blowers, as to literary gentlemen and young ladies. Every one has his own temptation; and if this Procrustean rule is universally introduced, some people will be puffed up by seeming to overcome what is no real temptation to them; and some will suffer the serious injury of having the stimulus of public opinion, and (what is of more consequence) their own attention, withdrawn from what is their real temptation, which often is in its own nature too likely to be unsuspected or utterly unnoticed. Some men's infirmity lies in the direction of eating, and some men's towards drinking. *E. g.* the clergy are said to be somewhat differently constituted from their "dissenting brethren" in this re-

spect. There is a story of a visitation and a conference chancing to meet on the same day and at the same inn. It occurred to some one philosophically inclined, that this would be a favourable opportunity of ascertaining the dietetic differences of the two classes, and he accordingly examined the waiter on the subject. His answer was, "Why, Sir, it was a very hot day, and the clergy drank a good deal of wine to be sure; as for the preachers, they drank very little wine, but it would have done your heart good to see how much meat they eat." We do not vouch for the story, but supposing the impression on which it is founded to be true, then we maintain that if the preachers stint the clergy of their *liquids*, the latter have every right to retaliate on the *solid* comforts of life. Again, bed is a sore temptation to most people who are not obliged to get up; a warm fire, especially to solitary and sedentary people, is almost as dangerous; doing nothing at all is very pleasant to some people and rather irksome to others. Would it be fair to excommunicate all mankind who would not bind themselves to sleep on straw mattrasses, rise for prayers at midnight, and be at their work by four, or never to go near a fire, or to do a certain quantity of task work every day? On the other hand, a person who sees all things by the light of the temperance pledge, is likely to allow himself in many unstigmatized indulgences. A London paper, describing with some humour the last "demonstration of Tee-totallers," says that at the Horns Tavern "water in large cans was gratuitously distributed about the room, and drunk by many with an avidity that shewed their adherence to the covenant to which they had subscribed." Now it is no wonder that these poor creatures who had been exposed to a burning sun for nine hours, and paraded through the dusty streets all round the triple metropolis, should be rather thirsty: but we must protest against drinking water with *avidity* being a proof of temperance, as temperance in water is as necessary a virtue as temperance in stronger drink. Has not a nation been punished for desiring water too eagerly? Not to mention several well known examples of heroism displayed in refusing water though in the direst pangs of thirst, did not Gideon make it the test of temperance and fortitude in the wearied soldier that he should drink even of the running stream sparingly and slowly, by handfuls? We fear it will generally be found that giving way too much to thirst, though with ever so harmless a liquid, leads in time to a more dangerous craving.

Mr. Baker informs us (p. 147), on the authority of Edgeworth, "that Dr. Darwin was a determined enemy to what he called '*vinous potation.*' He believed that almost all the distempers of the higher class of people arise from drinking, in some form or

other, too much vinous spirit." We can inform Mr. Baker, on we believe as good authority, that the Doctor was not therefore in all senses temperate, nor yet without qualification a "*water-drinker.*" He made both a practice and a principle of giving way to appetite in the quality as well as in the quantity of his food; and sometimes, to the dismay of the company, would even empty the cream-jug of its contents.

The tee-totallers make much of Dr. Johnson's confession that he could abstain more easily than he could refrain. "The simple motto ABSTAIN," say they, "cuts short the whole system of temptation." But is abstinence, *therefore*, the higher virtue, or the better mental discipline of the two? What becomes of the golden mean which the wise of all ages have recommended? Sudden feats once for all are perhaps easier than continued exertion, and excision than control. Yet the higher and more secret duties, the subduing of the *mind*, habits of prayer and resignation, all require *perseverance*. Our hands become weary, and are ready to sink but for other aid. Therefore temperance, *i. e.* moderation, in all its trials, is the fittest exercise for the soul. In fact, they who debar themselves from the opportunity of acquiring this grace in *outward* things, are too often found at last wanting in *spiritual* self-control. Vows, and the fear of men, though they may enslave the hands will never discipline the soul. It is easier to abstain from strong drinks than from idle thoughts. Moreover, it is chiefly by our experience of failure in our attempts at outward temperance that we learn humility and a sense of our weakness. Let us hear what an ancient Father says on these subjects.

"Placed, then, amid these temptations, I strive daily against concupiscence in eating and drinking. For it is not of such nature that I can settle on cutting it off once for all, and never touching it afterward, as I could of concubinage. *The bridle of the throat then is to be held attempered between slackness and stiffness.* And who is he, O Lord, who is not somewhit transported beyond the limits of necessity? whoever he is he is a great one; let him make Thy Name great. But I am not such, for 'I am a sinful man.' Yet do I too magnify Thy Name; and 'He maketh intercession to Thee' for my sins, who 'hath overcome the world;' numbering me among the 'weak members of His body;' because 'thine eyes have seen' that of Him which is 'imperfect, and in Thy book shall all be written."*

One dangerous feature in these societies is, that they are strictly *voluntary;* matters of pure choice. They are works of supererogation in this at least, that they enjoin something additional to the precepts of the Gospel. If any thing is will-worship,

* Library of the Fathers, vol. i. St. Augustine's Confessions, p. 209.

they are; for though they seem to be extraordinary self-devotion, they are still not Christian "ways," but "the devices of our own hearts." We are prepared to shew, on the contrary, that there are no genuine virtues quite voluntary. Duties are made up of choice and obligation. The work is given us to do, and there is plenty so given. If we go about looking for work, or undertake any not given us, we are sure to leave *our task* undone. Laws, governors, parents, brothers, neighbours, a Church, a creed, a worship, are all provided for us; a mould is furnished us for every grace; certain opportunities are allowed, and certain conditions fixed for the satisfying every good desire. Now it is enough for us that *it is so.* We need not ask why it should be so,—why we should not be absolutely at large to choose our own duties and virtues. It may be for ends beyond the scope of our present intelligence. Yet there are *obvious* uses in such a law of Providence. Men are thus led to be humble though great, obedient though heroic, patient though bold, servants though masters, docile though teachers, passive instruments though active agents. But these new societies, which are in no sense "our bounden duty and service," encourage the feeling, and are founded on the maxim, that we may practise what seeming virtues, to what extremes, and in what ways *we please.* They set us adrift on the harbourless ocean of *choice;* and cannot but tend to make our faith also optional.

We are already members of a temperance society divinely founded. It has a pledge, a public profession and rules; it has authority to warn, to punish, and, if need be, to exclude. Why need we belong to another? Why need we make one for ourselves? If any complain that the Church does not act as such, let them act as members of such, and in due time, perhaps, she will be such, as well in efficiency as in design and spiritual power. Reformers who do so will have the certainty that they are acting on a Divine foundation, and with the promise of special aid, which to weak and fallible men should be a great comfort and encouragement.

There are, it is true, some precedents for temperance societies; but some of them do not apply, and others should not be followed. The Jewish law contained several such precepts, "Touch not, taste not, handle not," but they have been abrogated, and their spirit declared inconsistent with the law of liberty. Jonadab, the son of Rechab, founded his way of life by virtue of his patriarchal authority over his descendants, a right in those times universally acknowledged, and divinely authorized; which right, moreover, he would probably not have had to that extent, if he had been a member of the Jewish dispensation, or

of any way of life divinely authorized. The Mosaic and the Christian polity limits, or rather defines many natural rights, such as the very great power of the father over the son, which we often see in profane history. The Essenes are another seeming precedent; but they are certainly not sanctioned, perhaps are censured, in the New Testament. Mahommedanism is the nearest case in point, and has certainly had great success in propagating the doctrine of "Total Abstinence;" but it is not an example for Christians to follow, whether we look to the origin, the character, or the moral results of the system. It has purchased one virtue with many vices. Spite however of the previous improbability that any who called themselves Christians should borrow ought from the Arabian antichrist, we cannot forbear throwing out a hint of the possibility of the temperance doctrine having been filtered through Socinianism from the Koran. Is it an attempt at comprehension? There has always been in certain quarters a sympathetic yearning towards Mahommedan Deism. We have read of a negociation made by Socinians, in the reign of Charles II., with an ambassador of the emperor of Morocco, with a view to a regular communion between the two creeds. In a kind of Unitarian Utopia,* printed about fifty years ago, one of the laws is "once in every three months let some part of the Alcoran of Mahomet be read, and let the minister make such commentaries thereon as he thinks proper." And a living authoress has kindly published, for the benefit of our Indian fellow subjects, a sort of harmony of the Unitarian, Mahommedan, and Hindoo creeds. Dr. Channing, in his Address on Temperance, says, "A *new* bond must unite all the scattered portions of men," and that there must be "a *new* comprehension of the brotherhood of the human race;" and though he says Christianity is the mighty power which is to do all this, it is clear he only designs to use that power as an instrument, a source of mental stimulus to be resorted to when the work flags, and does not intend to be bound to its antiquated ways and means. We are not aware that the tee-totallers adduce the severe rules of the monastic orders, and we conclude them to be rather shy of that branch of the family of abstinents, therefore we need not here express our judgment on them. We say, then, on this review of all the assignable precedents for tee-totalism, that a new rule of living, excluding one of nature's chief gifts, is as contrary to precedent as it is to Christianity, and to common sense. It has neither reason nor authority to impose a new burden. We will also take the liberty of questioning whether it be consistent with the spirit of our political constitution, or that

* Noticed in Quarterly Review, Oct. 1820, p. 574.

of any other nation, to permit the public administration of sacramental vows, without authority granted from the state.

A word by the way to Mr. Archdeacon Brown; if at least the gentleman of that name and title, who is an annual subscriber to the New British and Foreign Temperance Society, is also the author of a recent charge against the restoration of catholic practices. We should like to know how he would defend Tee-totalism in terms that would exclude fasting. That ordinance may be described as constant temperance in meat and drink, and occasional abstinence with prayer. In Scripture it is several times said, either in the way of precept or prophecy, that Christians should fast. Whereas, so far from any entire prohibition of wine, our Blessed Lord drank wine, created wine for a festive occasion when the guests had had some already, and commanded wine sacramentally. We also find the forbidding of meats, and we may conclude of drinks, denounced as a token of antichrist. Which of these practices, then, has most right to be considered a mere *human* tradition? A work published a few years since* argues, with more consistency than the archdeacon, against both flesh and strong drink. The former scruple is generally accompanied in this age with religious scepticism or worse; and we confess that we think all departures from Scripture, or improvements upon it, such as the total abstinence doctrines, are likely enough to lead that way. The authoress, however, whom we refer to does not discard the Bible, though some people will think she deals with it rather roughly. Her first text is, "But flesh, with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat." She then proceeds to the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill:" on which she asks somewhat in the spirit of a modern school of textuaries, "Who dare limit the precept to the killing of human beings, when God has said, 'Ye shall neither add to the law, nor diminish aught from it?'" Lastly, she comes down to that precept of the Christian church, to abstain from "blood and things strangled," which she considers a compendium of her twofold doctrine; explaining blood (by Ezek. xxxix. 19), to mean wine, and things strangled to mean all animals that have died a violent death, whether by the hand of man or otherwise.

Mr. Tweddell adopted the principle of abstaining from "flesh meat and fermented liquor," to the former of which he thought he had no right but that of the strongest. The liberal reviewer

* Vegetable Cookery; with an Introduction, recommending Abstinence from Animal Food and Intoxicating Liquors. By a Lady. Effingham Wilson. Fourth edition, 1833. The authoress dates her preface, Salford, 1829. It is remarkable that "Manchester has the honour of being the birth-place" of Total Abstinence Societies, as Mr. Baker informs. Note Q, p. 209.

of his "Remains" objects to these practices without distinction, as being too like a religion of self-denial and mortification; a bowing before "a god of sacrifice—an idol of the cloister." If we are to compare total abstinence and fasting by the standard of expediency, we believe both the preacher and the physician will agree that more souls and more bodies also are ruined by surfeiting than by drunkenness.

The Psalmist says that wine is given "*to make glad* the heart of man;" but this gracious indulgence is made void by the new temperance tradition, which declares "medical purposes or a religious ordinance" to be the only allowable reason for drinking the fruit of the vine. Now it is well known that groundless prohibitions tend ultimately to greater licence; and we should not be surprised to find a school of temperance casuistry, allowing a wider range to the one plea of medicine, than ordinary church people do to their law of liberty. The tee-totaller locks the cellar-door against thirst, weariness, flagging spirits, social mirth, &c., and gives the key to conscience, with a strict charge not to open it except absolute health requires. But who can secure conscience from corruption? Will any two men's consciences speak alike? In the first place, it would not be difficult to show that no two persons agree in their notion of health. There are in fact many different kinds of health. There is a robust health "which may be felt," a consciousness of health and high spirits, which is *really* a very ticklish condition, often the prelude of serious disease; there is a kind of health fully sufficient for all practical purposes, though without the pleasurable sensations of an over excited state. Many a man keeps on at his desk or at the plough for months or years after more self-indulgent tempers would have given in, though his head or his limbs never cease to ache, and he rises daily from his bed more wearied than when he laid down. Again there are spirits who *feel* themselves equal to work, when they are not, and who *do* work, though their work is killing them; and there are not a few who will always underrate their powers of exertion. To take another view of the subject,—What may be considered illness? Is an extreme indisposition to work a disease? What shall we say of melancholy, indecision, or cowardice? The Duke of Wellington, we have read, once recommended a dose of salts in what appeared to him a case of the latter; but we believe the more usual remedy is ardent spirits. Falstaff thought sobriety itself a disease—a kind of mental and physical incultivation. "Hereof comes it," he says, after enlarging on the medicinal virtues of sack, "that Prince Henry is so valiant; for the cold blood he did naturally inherit of his father, he hath, like lean, steril, and bare land, ma-

nured, husbanded, and tilled, with excellent endeavour of drinking good, and good store of fertile sherries; that he is become very hot and valiant. If I had a thousand sons, the first human principle I would teach them should be, to forswear thin potations, and addict themselves to sack." Taking into account all these various pleas for stimulus, we are not sure but that even the total abstinence pledge will make more business for the court of conscience than it will get through easily or creditably. The tee-totallers are aware of the difficulty, and suggest medical prescriptions for the guidance of infirm consciences. But who is to choose the medical adviser? Not to speak of the facility with which medical certificates are too often granted, it is well known there is as great a diversity of opinion and practice among medical men as to the use of wine, &c., as there is amongst religious teachers on the corresponding subject of mental stimulants. Let any schoolmaster or tutor compare the private instructions, under professional advice, which he receives about his tender charges. One mother intreats that her poor dear boy, though to all appearance as strong as a horse, may have meat twice a day, and brown stout *ad libitum*; another, that her's may drink nothing but water. We have heard on good authority a case of a mother bringing up the younger son to no profession, under the persuasion that as he drinks the pure element, he must soon be the survivor of the elder brother, who shews however no other sign of premature decay, except that he forswears thin potations. In another house we have seen four little maidens, ranging from three to seven, sitting at dinner under the eyes of an anxious mother, each with a wine-glass full of porter before her. So long as a man may choose his doctor, he may choose his diet. As for the doctors themselves, we should not be surprised to hear of a pretty free circulation of "accommodation bills" for their mutual convenience.

Nothing is more abused than the plea of health, except perhaps the political plea of expediency. One man cannot sleep soundly without two or three glasses of brandy and water at bed-time; another, as early as noon, finds nature sink within him, unless a mutton-chop comes to its assistance; another cannot get on without a daily siesta; some ladies cannot last from year to year without an annual visit to some watering-place; and we have known others who in the country would scarce touch the naked earth, quite renovated by a fortnight's gadding from shop to shop, from morning to night, over the hard and sultry pavement of London. Sometimes rest, sometimes excitement, is tired nature's great restorative. Again, we all of us live a system of correctives. One part of our diet requires another. Change one, we must

change all, which illustrates the absurdity of singling out one particular part of our whole way of life, as if *it only* required a vigorous controul. The sportsman is obliged to hunt and shoot in order to keep down the gout, corpulence, low spirits, and other maladies of a full habit and an easy life. He comes home in the evening very hungry, and is half-famished before dinner is announced: but he has scarcely driven away exhaustion before he finds himself on the verge of excess. The copious meal he has swallowed having done him good service, now in its turn calls for help, and must not be left in the lurch. He cannot digest all he eats, unless he drinks proportionately: or if he happens to be of a thirsty nature, he is obliged to force his eating up to a certain mark in order that he may carry his quantum of wine. He chooses claret as his staple, because its lightness allows of quantity without danger. But a bottle or too of such stuff lies very cold on the stomach without a little Curaçoa, or some wine nearly as fiery, which in its turn entails the sedative of some strong coffee. After all this how one sleeps! But sleep, so long and deep, though so necessary, leaves a cloud on body and mind, which must be dissipated again with gun or hounds; and to prepare for exertions thus indispensable, the patient (all is done for health's sake) must begin the day with laying in a good foundation at breakfast or luncheon. Thus does the day return to itself.

The Churchman who continues to drink strong liquor occasionally on ordinary principles, may fairly consider himself aggrieved by the tea-totaller who drinks as much or more, and that perhaps not occasionally but continually, on the strength of a slip of paper in his pocket signed by "his medical friend." The tee-totaller is thus both virtuous and comfortable; he obtains all the glory of abstinence without any sacrifice,—the credit of good resolutions without the trouble of keeping them. He is at least no Jesuit; or, contrary to the practice of that order, he avows his pledge, but hides his obedience to it. In this way one man may say, "I am a tee-totaller," just as another says, "I am a freemason," though he shows no outward sign thereof; thinking, we suppose, that the better part of abstinence is discretion. Irrational projectors are rather apt to dispense themselves, if nobody else, from a rigorous observance of their system. Robert Owen once went about persuading gentlemen and ladies brought up in the lap of ease, to throw away their broad-cloth, satins, and linen, and to substitute immediately his notion of the perfect costume, which is—nothing whatever in addition to nature's covering, but a linsey-woolsey shirt not reaching quite to the elbows, nor yet quite to the knees, and so loosely made as to allow a free play of

air round the surface of the whole body. So far, however, from the modern Lycurgus setting the fashion himself, we have seen him enter a lecture-room after a walk of a few hundred yards, and when he had divested himself of hat, gloves, cloak, and great-coat, still appear burdened with all the redundancies of our modern in-door habits. His excuse was a very good one; but unfortunately not less applicable to all civilised people. His mother, little aware that her child was to be the renovator of mankind, had not early habituated his physical frame to the one sufficient-for-all-practical-purposes piece of apparel: and he was sorry to say he could not get over his own wife's prejudices enough to make his infant children early confessors of philosophic simplicity.

We think all these medical prescriptions ought to be countersigned by Lord Stanhope, or whoever succeeds him in the vacant chair, otherwise it is to be apprehended there will be many Robert Owen style of tee-totallers: but even then we cannot but fear that Exeter Hall dispensations will be as accessible and common as those from the Vatican. We have heard a project of "spiritual fasting" propounded, as more than equivalent to the carnal ordinance commonly understood by the term; a "repentance in new silk and old sack," as an above-quoted worthy says; and we know of a tipsy Methodist carrier who apologized for the obviously incompetent state in which he called for parcels, by saying that he was "drunk in the flesh, but not in the spirit." The invalid lists of the temperance societies remind us of these nice distinctions. After seeing your companion comforting the body pretty much like other people, you are surprised to hear that he is "an ardent friend of the cause of total abstinence," and has taken the pledge.

They profess to drink strong liquor medicinally; but let them be consistent. We appeal to common sense, to one of the earliest and most deep-rooted instincts of human nature, whether *all* medicine is not disagreeable. From this premiss we may fairly draw the conclusion, that if people take strong drink medicinally, they are bound to make it disagreeable. Good wine, it is said, needs no bush, and wholesome wine needs no pleasantness. Its flavour is as accidental and separable a quality as its colour: and there are various ways of detaching or impairing it, without hurting the medicinal virtues of the liquor. Many drugs may be mixed with it, which are very active on the palate, but neutral on the stomach; nay the very contact or neighbourhood of some offensive substances will be enough to make wine no longer a luxury. Bark will both improve the tonic powers of port, and make it considerably less seductive to the lips. It was stated in

the House of Commons a little time since, that an assistant poor law commissioner had recommended the workhouse keeper of the Bourne union in Lincolnshire to put something nauseous into the wine administered to the sick poor, in order to induce them to drink less of it, and on a refusal being given, had remarked that it had been tried elsewhere with great success. We commend this suggestion to our tee-totalist friends, with the observation, that we think people who confess they cannot be temperate by themselves on ordinary Christian motives, but require to be bound by a public pledge, do not deserve to have discipline made sweeter to them, than to persons whose only alleged crime is poverty. There is one deficiency in the worthy commissioner's advice which we happen to be able to supply from private sources. He does not mention what particular nauseous ingredient he thinks best adapted to convert wine into *bonâ fide* medicine. The following is a good family receipt for this purpose. Put a spoonful of salt into a wine glass of port, and pour it on a pewter-plate, so as to be equally diffused over the surface; do this over night, and let it stand till the morning; when you will have an excellent strengthening medicine, not likely to tempt the patient into dangerous excesses. We are informed this has been tried on children "with great success." For the suggestion of a milder beverage, suited to the more ordinary use of a sick tee-totaller, we are indebted to Mr. Jellinger Symons, a hand-loom commissioner and anti-corn law writer, who has lately made a tour on the continent, and who, while other travellers were wasting their time on the cathedrals, paintings, and such frivolities, employed himself more profitably in peeping into the pantries and porridge-pots of the poor. He made some interesting discoveries; among which he thus describes what he calls "brown beer," the chief drink of the third class of Belgian artisans, viz. the cotton weavers and factory workmen:—"The beer is particularly nasty; but, I believe, wholly free from coculus indicus, &c. &c.—pure malt, hops, water, and salt, ill-proportioned and execrably boiled." Now this strikes us as being exactly the sort of beverage wanted for our present purpose. If tee-totallers will confine themselves to wine barked, or corked, or salted, or pewtered, or otherwise rendered nauseous, and to Mr. Symon's "particularly nasty" brown beer, we will allow them the credit of drinking wine and fermented liquor medicinally.

Under what genus of celebrities are we to class a temperance festival, or a tee-total tea party? Is it a feast, a fast, or a day of abstinence? Is it a feast on abstinence principles, as its celebrators would have it, or a fast (from strong drink) on festive principles? That it is not a fast or a day of abstinence in the

common acceptation of the term will appear from the following bill of fare. On Christmas-day, 1837, 1400 persons assembled in the Corn Exchange, at Preston, and illustrated "the doctrines of temperance," or "total abstinence," we cannot make out which, by sitting down to

"700 lbs. of currant bread, 364 lbs. of common bread, 130 lbs. of lump sugar, 60 lbs. of brown sugar, 81 quarts of cream, 30 lbs. of coffee, 10 lbs. of tea, 50 lbs. of butter, 84 dozen of oranges, 800 lbs. of apples, &c. &c."—p. 19.

Nor is there less difficulty in describing these temperance festivals, than in assigning their proper rank and character. But we will attempt to introduce our reader to one of them. Let the day be neither bright and cheerful, as it ought to be on a wedding day, a coming of age, or a coronation, nor yet dark and lowering as at the crisis of a lover's or a nation's fate; but let all nature wear a tint of that sober drab in which some one shrewdly said a quaker would have clothed the creation if he had had the making of it. A little before noon numerous parties in trim array, containing not a few of the religious community just referred to, are seen converging towards some public building, or the meadow of the sleek and prosperous linen draper, the head of the Wesleyan interest, and the builder of its synagogue, at our little town. The neighbouring baronet, our would-be representative, or the resident banker, his would-be friend, is expected to preside. The latter is that sort of person who is really at home no where but in the back parlour of his bank, but who, though a member and "admirer of our venerable establishment," is more at home in a medley of Jews, Turks, and heretics, like that on the present occasion, than in the presence of good churchmen. He shortly appears, informs the expectant throng that Sir Philip Flummery is engaged on urgent business, and with easy grace himself advances to the post of honour, acknowledging without embarrassment the greetings of the smiling files. Smiles, if smiles they be, are all the quakers give, as they neither doff their hats nor bow their heads like Christians, nor wag their tails like dogs; so their countenances are slightly stirred with complacency, whether towards any outward object, or reflectively towards their proper selves, it is not for mortal eye to decide. All gather round the solid materials on which they are going to feast, fast, or abstain, whatever it is to be called. But this crisis reminds us of the meek young curate, who to be sure has looked very small, and been rather in the back ground all this time. He is but too conscious that this is not *his* day, and that, as Homer says, the gods are about to give glory to the enemy. He, and his veteran Baptist rival flushed with a recent church-rate triumph, confront one

another to the right and the left of the chairman. There are two, by the bye, of our town's *magnates*, who might have been expected to enjoy such an assemblage, but are missing. The civil head, or deacon of the Baptists, and the ecclesiastical head of the Wesleyans are this day content to shun the public gaze; for the former is by profession a producer, and the latter by practice a consumer of the prohibited article; ale being his week-day refreshment, and alcohol, in a less diluted shape, the necessary preparation for his sabbath exercises, and restorative after them.* But we must return to our company, whom we left on the point of proving their zeal for the cause of total abstinence. A pause like the awful silence before a battle is made;—and a grace must be said by somebody. The eyes of the trio at the top of the table meet: the chairman impartially divides his patronizing glances between the two rivals, preparing like fortune to assist the bold and to give his final nod to the one who comes forward to claim it. The Baptist is however too sure of ultimate victory to presume, so the curate is suffered to break silence, and feebly prolongs a grace to dissenting dimensions; on which the other with a deep and sonorous *Amen*, like a gamester sweeps the board, and marks the occasion for his own. An immense and rapid disappearance of tea and cake and other miscellaneous viands, soon testifies the sincerity of the general devotion to total abstinence principles. Speeches follow, and "conversation on temperance subjects;" the sad consequences of fairs, christenings, and Christmas; the insults and still more serious detriment suffered by the present parties from their drunken friends, neighbours, servants, and masters; the number of times their slumbers have been disturbed by midnight revelry, by mirthful strains echoed through the silent streets, and other like persecutions. The breakfast concluded, the chairman early announces that he is engaged to dine ten miles off with "his friend," and bows himself out of the room; the whole multitude, above all the Quakers old and young, gazing with no small admiration on a man who is going to dine with a baronet. The curate now feels himself left in the lurch. All eyes are turned in silence towards him expecting some sign, and he has none to give. After a few awkward attempts at temperance conversation, he makes a confused and disorderly retreat, well aware how close the enemy will press his rear; and before with quick steps he has got clear of the field of action, he hears the sonorous tones of certain voices, better known than loved, in unfettered debate or in the full flow of eloquence.

The extreme dulness of these occasions suggests the necessity of some relief. For, after all, the statistics of drinking, returns of

* Rep. p. 12. Mr. Baker, 155, 156.

public houses, excise duties on spirits, malt and hops, &c. the topics most enlarged on are but insipid and juiceless food, especially for the youthful fancy. A little variety is sometimes obtained by the introduction of an itinerant reformed drunkard. Blacksmiths and shoemakers are preferred for this purpose; not only on account of their well known addiction to strong drink, but for the usual loudness of their voices and grotesqueness of their action. The latter quality blacksmiths inherit from Vulcan, the former they acquire by constant competition with their hammers. The "reformed drunkard," by far the most important personage in the temperance drama, whose great charm is that he illustrates reformation without repentance, and change for the better without any compensating pains, exhibits with suitable gestures and songs a representation of his former and his present self. With this object he thunders out bacchanalian strains, till those of the audience in whom the vulgarity of modern fashions has not yet triumphed over the modesty of nature, hardly know which way to look. The orator always concludes with calling attention to his own full fed and well clad person as an undeniable proof that the system works well, as far at least as he is concerned. We are not sure there is not in this latter argument something of that spirit of pious frauds, which makes good people prove the deluge from the appearance of marine shells on the tops of mountains. That the orator is in good case is obvious, and that the system produces some beneficial results is not disputed, at least by the persons addressed: but there is a wilful suppression of a peculiar circumstance, which prevents the aforesaid obvious fact from being a necessary proof of the general law alleged; viz. the circumstance that the speaker has a comfortable allowance for board, lodging, and travelling expenses, which it requires some ability as well as reformation to earn. None but distinguished drunkards can become distinguished reformed drunkards. They require also, in order to success, one particular kind of physical eloquence, which the greatest sobriety will not always confer;—the visible rhetoric, not of a good life, but of good looks. They must be "fine florid specimens of water-drinking." (Rep. p. 42.) It is needless to remark that if this exhibition is to be really attractive, really a relief to the general monotony of the day, it must be so by rendering vice ludicrous, and so, by divesting it somewhat of its disgusting character. Yet it is to this class of speakers, far more than to temperance newspapers, books, and reports, that teetotalism feels itself indebted for its present proud position in the religious world. In its choice of instruments, it is obvious from the following extract that "fingers were made before forks," is its favourite maxim.

"Fully aware as are your committee of the importance of bringing the immense power of the press to bear on the public mind, and to diffuse correct information through every corner of the land, they are, if possible, still more deeply convinced of the necessity for sustaining the efforts of enlightened, zealous, talented, and pious advocates of the cause. It is by the thrilling and powerful appeals, the moving, though unpolished oratory of advocates of nature's own making, or rather raised up by Divine providence for this end, that the cause chiefly owes its present state of success."—p. 24.

Women are occasionally procured to take this part in the performance. (Rep. p. 18.) We really think that both in point of taste and morality, there is but little to choose between such scenes, and the Lacedemonian method of inculcating on their free-born youth the disgusting consequences of excess.

Sometimes science is made to contribute a more harmless diversion. At one meeting described to us a side-door near the orchestra opened, and two quarts of ale were introduced, to all appearance for the refreshment of the poor fellows who had been exhausting their lungs for hours in a hot day and a crowded room in this cheerless dispiriting cause. A manifest shudder passed through the assembly at the sight of the forbidden liquor. They were however soon re-assured, and greatly edified by seeing the ale subjected to a chemical analysis, in order to show how large a *pudding* the ingredients would have made under temperance management. Now the gentlemen of science have it so entirely their own way in their own department, that we will not venture to dispute the fact that ale is chemically the same as pudding; in like manner as diamonds are nothing but charcoal, and sugar and old rags are almost convertible terms. But though ale and pudding have the same chemical origin, it by no means follows that they should excite the same sensation on the palate and other senses, and produce the same result on the physical system; if experience happens to teach us the contrary. The weary traveller will never find his thirst quenched, and his fainting heart at once invigorated by a light dumpling, however his reason may assure him that the spongy mass embodies all the virtues of a glass of ale. The argument reminds one of Horne Tooke's theory, that words, whatever their current force may happen to be, must of necessity have no other meanings than what their derivations may determine for them, and are mere functions of their roots. London's thirsty populace insisted on having "bread with the gin *in* it," as was advertized by some bakers, when a company was formed for the purpose of disengaging this valuable product. But the knowledge that they were eating gin, has not been found to diminish their desire to drink it also. Occult qualities are hard to believe, but still harder to taste.

"The bread's very mild," said a coachman on the north road to his companion on the box, apologizing with a jest for the innocence of the refreshment he was taking. But it would have been hard to persuade him that the dry mouthful was really "mild ale." Again, what if people should get hold of the argument by the wrong end, and reason that as ale contains the same nourishment as bread, they may as well take that nourishment in the more agreeable shape of the two?—a conclusion towards which many are indeed much helped by observing, how landlords, tapsters, and such gentry seem to thrive on their drink.

Besides the above exhibitions descriptive of the outward consequences of the vice, drawings and anatomical preparations are sometimes hung round the room illustrating its internal depredations on the physical system: and after horror has been sufficiently excited by stories of self-combustion from the use of spirits; of the very blood drawn from the veins of the drunkard, and the very water in the vessels of his brain, igniting when a candle was brought near, the trembling hearers are warned that not even small beer itself is secure from the danger of sudden conflagration; as what they suppose to be a gas-light illumining the features of the lecturer, is, in fact fed by alcohol, as it escapes from beer, which has been ingeniously substituted. We need scarcely observe that the last argument applies with equal force to all food whatever, especially that of an unctuous description. Let people who read or work much by candle-light beware of salad-oil, fat mutton, and bread and butter. As a set-off however on the other side, we beg to remind the water-drinker himself, that even his own favourite beverage contains a gas highly inflammatory and explosive.

Another expedient generally resorted to on these occasions is a procession of "ministers of all denominations," reformed drunkards, ladies two and two, many, as the papers inform us, elegantly dressed and of interesting appearance; perhaps a gigantic loaf, or tea-kettle, and banners and music; as the custom now is for people to sound a trumpet before them, not only when they give alms, but also when they fast or abstain. The numbers in the London procession last Whitsuntide, and the length of its circuit, was such as to excite in the Lord Mayor no small apprehension for the public peace: nay, they hardly obtained leave and protection for their display, till it occurred to municipal wisdom that the mighty elements of social disorder might perhaps be subdued by a just counterbalance, and the wilder genius of Chartism be damped by contact with the order and sobriety of the "Temperance army." We cannot help transcribing from the columns of *The Times*, its well-drawn picture of the arrival of

the procession containing several thousands on foot, and one hundred and sixty carriages, every member adorned with Temperance insignia, at their chief place of destination:—

"The larger body, however, went on to Kennington Common, where in the course of a few minutes one of the most extraordinary scenes ever witnessed presented itself. In the first place, at the furthermost end of the Common a meeting of the Chartists was being held. It had been at one time understood that the Chartists had expressed an intention of withdrawing as soon as the temperance party made their appearance. That result, however, was not realized; the Chartists maintained their position, taking no other notice of the new-comers than that of casting an eye of contempt at those who appeared disinclined to enter into what they deemed to be the higher considerations of existence. Six or seven vans belonging to the Teetotallers having been placed on different parts of the common, a mob gathered round each, when they were addressed by some of the delegates. So ardent were these parties in the cause, that all appeared anxious to impress their opinions on the multitude; and it was not an uncommon thing to find four persons holding forth at the same moment from the same van. One would speak from the head, one from the tail, and one from each of the sides of a single vehicle. It was not, then, much to be wondered at that the applauses which were bestowed upon an individual orator occasionally came somewhat inappropriately as applicable to particular parts of the speeches of the other three speakers. Now and then, too, a burst of cheering would be raised around the van of the Teetotallers which was the nearest to the Chartists at the very instant that the latter were addressing their audience in the most violent and intemperate language. In a few moments a teetotal debater would be interrupted in a pathetic passage, or in the middle of a quotation from Scripture, with an uproarious mark of approbation from their political neighbours, which had been drawn forth by an unusually powerful exhortation to the people to assert and to obtain their rights. Altogether the effect was as strange as it was ludicrous."

We shall neither do justice to the merits of the Teetotallers, nor to the absurdity of the scene, without the following further extract:—

"The whole of the procession and proceedings, the behaviour of all connected with the society, their appearance and good order, spoke very favourable for their principle and practice, and contrasted very strongly with the conduct of the wretched rabble of Chartists assembled on Kennington Common, and the absurd and disgusting displays of that class of wandering polemics, somewhat irreverently called 'Devil-dodgers,' who were ranting at the same place."

Strong drink with these reformers is the one great evil; the world, the flesh, and the devil. Mankind, they seem to think, would stand some chance of goodness if you could only keep them from the beer barrel. They view every thing in its relation

to liquor. With them, as with the Teian bard, the whole universe is bibulous; earth, trees, sea, sun and moon, do nothing but imbibe. Every man is plotting how he may extract liquor from the rest of the creation. They discover that all criminals, in a word, all bad people, have been given to drink; so they conclude that alcohol is, as it were, the sap and juice of all crime, the very *virus* of human nature. Though it is obvious they might draw the same conclusion concerning any other universal concomitant of crime. The moral world appears to them, what the farmer in a clay country tells you of his soil, "a very wet country, Sir;" or a sort of Bedford level, in which your warfare with the elements resolves itself into perpetual draining; the more you drain, the better your crops are sure to be; and you live in continual hope of summers which make *your* fortune, though they burn up to tinder your neighbour on the chalk, and blow into the heavens whole fields on sandy soils, with all the seed and husbandry spent upon them. To judge from their writings they eye with jealousy all institutions, the oldest and most sacred, as being only so many pretences of drinking. Joy and sorrow, health and sickness, strength and weakness, wealth and poverty, freedom and service, solitude and society, occupation and leisure, learning and ignorance, and every other phase of human existence, in their view, only lead to intoxication. If three men are seen together in the streets, alas! they are going to get drunk. The current of human affairs with these people is either vinous or fermented. A poor fellow loses his heart, and becomes love sick; of course, he drinks to cure his melancholy; he bribes the lady and her friends with strong drink, and succeeds, and is immediately intoxicated with delight and fermented liquor. They marry, and are all drunk together, including the ringers. The happy couple first indulge their thirst in a domestic way: bye and bye the husband goes abroad in quest of companions, with whom he contracts a social habit of drinking, leaving his wife with few resources at home, where she soon falls into a solitary ditto; they have a child, to which, as well as to the mother, gin is sure to be applied in various ways, both internally and externally; the christening is celebrated in the same way as the wedding; the infant is "nursed on the principles of intemperance," which means in tee-total phraseology that the mother takes a little porter at her meals; it grows up a stunted, ricketty, thirsty, mortal, both physically and mentally prone to drink.

It is a natural result of this view that moral goodness, with the writers before us, seems to run only in one direction. They graduate on the same scale as the drunkard, ascending only in the same line that he descends. The sailor could think of no other wish than "more rum;" so these people can devise no higher

virtue than "less drink." The only improvement they could make upon temperance, was total abstinence, a kind of below-zero temperance: like those miserable Indian devotees, who, when they aspire to transcendent piety, can only compass it by increasing the number of limbs they expose to torture, or by inserting still nearer the vitals the hook by which they suspend themselves. Thus, with the school under consideration, all natural affections, all religious instincts, all devout resolves and pure aspirations, all human virtues are to be developed on this one topic; or, so to speak, played on this one string,—the all pervading duty of abstaining oneself, and checking the use of drink in others.

How quick does one error succeed another, and error confute itself! The wandering world is reduced at last, not to a confession (for it is too proud for that) but to a contradiction of its error. For generations we have heard all things true, and honest, and pure, and lovely, and of good report, all virtue and all praise decried under the name of morality, as having no place or concern in our salvation. "Morality" has been the reproach of the Church, the most formidable obstacle in the way of "the Gospel." For twenty long years have ourselves heard Sunday after Sunday, elaborate descriptions of human excellence adorned with every virtue and grace within the compass of the preacher's feeling or ethical perceptions, love and honour, and moderation and purity, and prayers and alms, and every seeming devotion,—raised to the highest pitch of humanity, and seemingly made ripe for the meed of praise, only to be knocked down at last with the summary sentence that such was not the Gospel—nay, such an one was farther from the Gospel than the open drunkard or any other scandalous offender. At length however, "A change came o'er the spirit of the scene." Peace was made with one broken fragment of morality. One virtue, though in a distorted and exaggerated form, was no longer denounced, nay was recommended, and that warmly. There was evidently a strong re-action. A placard on the church door, a notice from the reading desk, and a sermon from the pulpit, all at once announced that tee-totalism was now become the religious mode, the primary duty of Christians, the surest means of saving one's own or others' souls.

In like manner the primitive way of introducing the faith of Christ to heathens, viz. reasoning first "of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come," has been for ages out of fashion. Wesleyan, Baptist, and Moravian missionaries have in their wisdom held up first of all their new version of the Cross. But now all at once it is discovered that the doctrines of tee-totalism must precede even the Gospel, and "Total abstinence is the handmaid of true religion." The following are extracts from the correspondence.

"Copy of a letter from George Felix Gottlieb, Secretary to the Penang Temperance Society, to Edward C. Delavan, Esq.—

"*Penang, 20th April*, 1837.

"My dear Sir,—You may be sure I was not a little pleased at finding your ideas so nearly corresponding with my own, as to the Temperance reform preparing the way among the heathen nations for the Gospel. We have frequent proof at this place of the strong counteracting effect of intemperance. A missionary here was asked the question a short time since, by a person employed by him to teach native children in one of his schools: whether "*that man* (pointing at a drunken sailor) *was a Christian?*" It is not at all an uncommon thing (when ships are in the harbour that are manned with Europeans) to see the sailors lying along on the sides of the roads and ditches quite drunk. Now in my opinion these men do more injury to the cause of Christ in one hour than a missionary (under ordinary circumstances) does good in a month."—p. 36.

"The connexion between the tee-total principle and repentance and conversion to God, we have frequently seen. A remarkable instance occurred recently in St. Kitt's. A young man, who many years ago was lovely, modest, and apparently pious, began to drink *a little*, and it ended in *much*, and consequently brought woe upon his family. A collection of Temperance tracts in one volume, which I had sent to that island with others, to be circulated, fell into his hands. He read it, and trembled, and resolved in God's name to touch no more! He began to seek God again. After some time he became sick, from much exposure at sea, and was very ill. I visited him in his sickness; Mr. Horne also repeatedly. He is recovering, and said to Mr. H. on the day of our Meeting, 'Oh! Sir, I wish I could come out, and in the face of the congregation, sign the pledge of total abstinence!' His gratitude for the book and the system is unbounded. His soul is now resting on Christ. Is not this a brand plucked out of the burning? May this *benevolent*, this *blessed* system, spread to the ends of the earth!"—p. 42.

"*Tealby, April* 4, 1838.

"It is a mighty machine, capable, under God, of accomplishing glorious ends! We long to see the whole world enlisted under its banner. We are gradually progressing: every week adds from four to six to our numbers; there are a few of the nature of the swine, after being washed, they return again to their wallowing in the mire. Our meetings are all commenced and concluded with singing and prayer. May the Lord, whose work it is to moralize as well as evangelize, use this means to bring to peace and comfort the besotted people of England, and raise them far above the gulph of drunkenness."—p. 74.

"*Market Rasen, May*, 1838.

"Great have been the benefits which total abstinence has brought to this place. A great revival of religion has taken place, and many on every hand have enjoyed the blessings it has brought with it. We have bright prospects before us, which stimulate us to go forward in this good cause."—p. 72.

"*Dover Auxiliary.*

"Under these circumstances the society feel confident they will be enabled to continue to progress in promulgating some of the grandest principles of social, domestic, and national morals."—p. 65.

It is perhaps superfluous to say that the Gospel to which the total abstinence doctrines lead, is generally too much alloyed with self-will, ostentatious profession, and party spirit, to find a home in the Church. The Report summing up the religious harvest already collected by total abstinence principles, says, (p. 19), "Multitudes have been brought within the sound of the Gospel, and hundreds have been added to the Christian Church *in its various sections.*" Indeed on all doctrinal points the Total Abstinence Society fervently hopes for "*an enlarged feeling of liberality,*" (p. 71). So also exclaims Mr. Baker (p. 156) while commenting on the rigorous but disregarded rules of John Wesley;—"Alas! how much easier it is to assent to *dogmas*, than to practise the Christian virtue of self denial."

But there is another mode in which "the temperance doctrine" is viewed by its advocates, which we have not yet touched upon. We mentioned above that some appear to think it the Gospel, or a Gospel itself; and some think it a necessary antecedent to the Gospel. There remains another opinion, viz. that it is a necessary *consequent* or completion of the Gospel. Mr. Collins, who published a tract on "the harmony which exists between the Gospel and Temperance Societies," says, that though the Gospel may produce a change of mind, the insatiable cravings of the drunkard will still remain, and can only be cured by temperance societies.

It seems to be a condition of the present state of things, that the Church, if Church it may be called, which consists of a myriad of discordant agencies, should be always undoing with one hand what she does with the other; and, as though in a quagmire, sink deeper the more she struggles to rise. She has no basis or fulcrum, and therefore cannot escape the plague of a perpetual re-action; she cannot gain without equivalent loss, or advance forwards without leaving some limb still farther in the rear. The good results of many meritorious exertions for the present and eternal welfare of mankind, which have been made of late years, are undeniable: the concomitance, not to say the consequence, of still greater evils is unhappily more so. Thus England and the United States are at the present moment the greatest proselyters, and at the same time the greatest corrupters of the heathen. The same ship takes out Bibles and missionaries in the cabin; and rum, gunpowder, idols manufactured at Birmingham, and every thing pernicious and abominable, in the hold: while, in point of suc-

cess, we suspect the missionary report would cut a very sorry figure by the side of the supercargo's ledger. Thus do we embrace the nations of the earth with one hand, and smite them under the fifth rib with the other. The United States is the very nursery of Temperance Societies, which are becoming part and parcel of the law of the land, several of the States having forbidden the sale of spirits: meanwhile the Union is systematically destroying with rum the whole of the Aborigines.* Cotemporaneous with Temperance Societies in England, an awfully wicked trade has been carried on, to an unexampled extent, by our countrymen in India, in smuggling opium into China.—A Christian nation corrupting a heathen one, against the religion, against the positive laws, the severest penalties, and the most strenuous endeavours of the latter! In the year 1836, 3,500,000*l.* worth of this stupifying deadly drug were forced into China by fraud and violence, by bribery, and by the assistance of the lowest order of the natives. To take another example of what we mean—Does not this age flatter itself it has laboured more in the cause of religion and morality than any previous era of the Church? Witness churches building at the rate of hundreds a year: meeting-houses in perhaps an equal proportion: a million and a half in our Sunday and day-schools, &c. &c. But exactly synchronic with these vast exertions, there has been such an increase of *all vice*, as the most old-fashioned and bigoted opposer of modern ways and means, in the last generation, would never have ventured to predict. Ten years ago, it was a matter of *discussion*, whether there was such an increase; now it is a matter of sight, of positive evidence, and universal anxiety. This country now spends a hundred times as much in intoxicating liquors as in propagating the Gospel. Beer-shops have outstripped schools, and gin-palaces churches, till a dissenter (as we presume Mr. Baker to be) calls drunkenness *the idolatry*, i. e. *the false religion* of Britain. Even

* We really think the temperance cause has some reason to protest against the views,—1. of a Euthanasia; 2. of the intentions of Providence, contained in the following extract:—

"Sir John Ross, in the Narrative of his Second Voyage, p. 257, thus speaks of the Esquimaux:—'our brandy was as odious to them as our pudding; and *they have yet, therefore, to acquire* the taste which has, in ruining the morals, hastened the extermination of their American neighbours to the southward. If, however, these tribes *must* finally disappear, as seems their *fate*, it is at least BETTER that they should DIE GRADUALLY BY THE FORCE OF RUM, than that they should be exterminated by the fire and sword of the Spanish conquest. Since there is at least some pleasure, such as it is, in the mean time, while there is also *a voluntary, if slow suicide* in exchange for murder and misery. Is it not the fate of the savage and the uncivilised on this earth to give way to the more cunning and the better informed, to knowledge and civilization? It is the order of the world, *and the right one*; nor will all the lamentations of a mawkish philanthropy, with its more absurd or censurable efforts, avail one jot, against an order of things *as wise* as it is *assuredly established!!*' N.B. Sir J. Ross was sent out at the expense and under the patronage of Mr. *Sheriff Booth*, Distiller."—Rep. p. 12.

where discipline is attempted, it seems to fail before this base temptation; it "rots to nothing at the next great thaw." Mr. Ridley, of Hambledon, said, we believe, that the introduction of beer-shops had undone in two years all the good he had done in twenty-five.

The "London Temperance Intelligencer," No. 15, gives the following illustration of the moral powerlessness of the school systems of this day.

"A respectable teacher of a Sabbath school near London, made enquiry relative to the character of the first one hundred children admitted to the school. The character of only sixty-five could be ascertained, but of these thirty-eight had become confirmed drunkards! five had been transported! one had been the cause of his mother's death at a public house! Of the others several had been occasionally drunk. Only two had joined a Christian society."

Mr. Slaney proved from certain parliamentary returns, &c. which he read at a recent meeting of the British Association, that the amount of crime has nearly doubled in the course of twelve years, and the quantity of spirits consumed has trebled in twenty years.

One lesson we ought to learn from the dreadful statements contained in the Reports before us, which, though exaggerated in some points, are, we believe, in the main, true—viz. humility. We compare ourselves with certain by-gone ages, and somewhat unfairly, we compare *our intentions* with *their performances*; our hopes with their disappointments. Notwithstanding their high pretensions, whose very height was a reason of their many failures, we throw into the scale against them all the exceptions, anomalies, miscarriages, degeneracies, languishings, and slumberings of their systems, and every flaw and blot we can discover. Whereas fairness suggests that we should compare design with design, results with results. For the future then, when we compare the *actual* religion of the nineteenth century with the actual religion of any other ages, whether the 14th or the 15th, we should bear in mind, amongst other things, the appallingly rapid increase of the sin of drunkenness, disclosed and proved by the Report before us.

Can a worse case be made out against the last century, than against the present? Was the Church really then more inefficient than now? Surely the dead bones of a true prophet had more virtue in them than the living system.

Again, what mockery do all these results throw on the confident calculations of worldly wisdom. Locke, in his Second Letter on Toleration, p. 360, mentions, that in his time, licences to sell ale could not be granted to any but members of the Church of England, who were obliged, therefore, to receive the sacra-

ment in her communion. Doubtless, the politicians of that day smiled at those who were bold enough to predict, that dispensing with this qualification would make public houses a greater evil, and increase drunkenness. But who now can assert the contrary of that prediction, if it was ever ventured? A few years since, no public-house could be licensed (and beer-shops there were none) without the leave of the clergyman. *Now*, he is out of the question. A new publican has given his house-warming, or a license "to be drunk on the premises" is stuck over a cottage door, before the unhappy clergyman has heard a word about the matter. We ask,—Are things better for it? Let the Report before us answer the question.

Now we are far from upholding the dangerous rule that results are always a fair test of systems. But, when any party atta any truth or institution professing to be of any Divine right and authority, on the very ground of its apparent failure, and sets up itself instead, on the ground of its own success; we think we may reasonably require it to show, at least, more success than the system it dethrones; and we think that the failures, which might be only stumbling blocks in the way of legitimacy, are absolutely fatal to the claims of a usurpation. We ask then, who has not heard of the morality of Scotland, the one sovereign equivalent for the self-will and waywardness of her religious economy? But on the impartial testimony of the books before us we are informed that "great as the need of temperance is in England itself, the necessity for reform is even more manifest in Scotland." The consumption of spirits, as far as can be ascertained from parliamentary returns, is in that country considerably more than twice as much for each person as in England, and is much more than even in Ireland. Dr. Gordon says that he found while studying at Edinburgh, that in all the bodies he had occasion to open, "there was, more or less, some affection of the liver; and I account for it," he says, "from the fact, that these moral and religious people were in the habit of drinking a small quantity of spirits every day."—(Mr. Baker, p. 145.) The parliamentary "Report on Drunkenness," says (p. 143), "In Scotland, where they drink about three times the quantity of spirit that is consumed in England, the number of insane persons is about three to one, as compared with the number in England." But "Mr. Gowans affirms, as the result of his extensive observation, that ale and porter are producing more intemperance in Edinburgh than even ardent spirits." (Rep. p. 66.) Who, again, has not heard the oft-told tale of the wonders John Wesley achieved; the barbarous districts he humanized, Wales, the collieries, Cornwall, and many other a dreary region. Yet, strange to say, while a thriving sect of shopkeepers are raising 200,000*l.*

to celebrate the centenary of Methodism, the moral geography of those districts, whereon Wesley's fame, and the pretensions of his society are mainly founded, continues the same as before Wesley ploughed the soil. In all these places, the Methodists themselves proclaim that Tee-totalism is absolutely necessary to revive the people—to revive that class for whose special use Methodism was founded, and to bring them over to a rational listening state of mind. The charm of Methodism is therefore extinct. Its trumpet no longer wakes the echoes, now that its master's voice is asleep. The system has worked for a century, and what is the result? A population, born and bred in that system, is now, by the showing of Methodists themselves, lapsing through drunkenness, into utter irreligion, and even barbarism: and nothing now can save them, but a mere social bond—Tee-totalism.

"WALES.—The prosperity of the societies in this country is truly astonishing. The alteration for the better, in a civil and religious point of view, is so very eminent to a resident in Wales, that if he has any remains of Christian feeling in him, he is ready to exclaim, 'This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.' It is stated in 'The Friend,' that six hundred ministers have signed the pledge in North Wales alone. Great revivals of religion have commenced in some of the churches, and there is a continual increase of their members.

"It is computed that about one hundred thousand persons have signed the pledge in Wales. But a few years since, and the whole of that principality seemed sunk in incurable bondage under the *cwrw dda*, or strong ale, of which they were so proud."—Rep. p. 28.

People who either in life or learning have outlived a few generations of ephemeral schemes, are apt at last, when any new and flourishing project is forced upon their notice, to ask the question, How will it wear? There is great difference in wearing. Some kinds of building and of apparel wear very ill, as people with short purses know to their cost. Some friendships wear very ill, because their bond is transient. The church has worn 1800 years; and some of her rivals, to do them justice, have worn very respectably; one of them twelve, several of them three centuries, though with an obvious decay. Now we ask, how will temperance societies wear? Will they be still vigorous when they have ceased to be fresh? Will they rise again and again as new as ever from the grave of neglect, denial, contempt, and oblivion? Will they survive secret casuistry and open renunciation? When after a few short years the Gospel and the temperance cause appear to the sensual equally dull, hacknied, and worn out, will the latter be still, as its advocates say it now is, the stronger agent of the two? Or will it, as we think, be numbered among the spurious motives and deceitful stimulants, which excite, eventually to harden, the heart of man?

ART. VIII.—*Lectures on the Establishment and Extension of National Churches. Delivered in London from April 25th to May 12th*, 1838. By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. and LL.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Edinburgh, and Corresponding Member of the Royal Institute of France. Glasgow: Collins. London: Hamilton & Adams. 8vo. pp. 182.

IT is above a year since the newspapers informed us that the cause of national Establishments was deriving a great accession of strength from the Lectures delivered by Dr. Chalmers in London. For some days he divided the attention of the London world with the Zoological Gardens and Exeter Hall; and after the requisite number of pirated copies had been circulated and disclaimed during their delivery, Messrs. Hamilton and Adams extended the benefit of his lucubrations to the more rustic parts of our land. All this, if it were allowed to pass away with the other amusements of a London spring, might be well enough. A London May without its excitements would resemble, we presume, one in the country without leaves and flowers; and we have no right to deprive the citizens of their spring. But when we see a disposition in the minds of many professed Churchmen to adopt the argument of these Lectures as their vantage-ground in defending the English Church, it becomes our duty to inquire into the fitness and wisdom of such a course.

That the ground is one hitherto unoccupied by English Churchmen we need not say. There had been no need to bring a Presbyterian professor from beyond the borders, if, in defence of our Church, he had only to tell us what we might read in Hooker or Beveridge, in Stillingfleet or Hammond. Of this Dr. Chalmers was well aware. He knew that he was inviting the English Church to take up a new position, and rest her defence on new grounds. In a passage with which most of our readers must be familiar, he anticipates visions of glory for the time "when the Church of England," not merely her injudicious children, but the Church herself, "shall have come down from all that is transcendental or mysterious in her pretensions," "when the true element of her legitimacy shall come to be better understood." Yet so sanguine was he in the issue of his summons that he speaks generally, not only in his own name, but in that of the Church of England. "*We* speak not of the sin of schism."—(p. 172.) "*We* must willingly concede of sectaries we could name, that they are one with *us* in all which is vital, and only differ from *us* in certain minute and insignificant peculiarities." The lecturer plainly has entered into a partnership with the Church which he so obligingly defends. It is, *Ego et Rex meus*, I and the Church of England;

I and the bench of bishops; I and the episcopal clergy; all of us are in full theological agreement with "a very large majority of the non-conformists throughout England, who in *our* apprehension are so near in theology to the Establishment, that *for ourselves, we* cannot make out a principle in any of the differences on which they continue to stand without its pale." "*We* cannot deny the pure and effective ministration of Baptists, and Congregationalists, and Presbyterians, and many other sectaries, all varying circumstantially from the Church of England and each other; yet all in essence and effect teaching the same Christianity."—(p. 133.) And so, gentlemen, having shaken hands all round, let us sit down and try if we cannot devise a theory which will bring Churchmen and Quakers, Baptists and Presbyterians, Methodists and Independents, into the same unanimity and harmony as regards Establishments, which already so happily prevails in their doctrinal views.

It is this problem which Dr. Chalmers solves in the Lectures before us; and we now proceed to give a digest of his argument as clearly and honestly as we can.

And first, the axiom of the Tully in this new Tusculan, is the great truth, that religion is the main cure for all evils, moral, social, and political, and that by making our countrymen truly religious, we shall best provide for happiness, both individual and public. The governing power of the nation therefore, is bound in policy and conscience, to do all that it can towards making the people religious. The best way of effecting this object is to divide the whole land into small sections, each of which shall contain at most about 1000 inhabitants, and to station in each of them a religious teacher, for whose maintenance the state must provide, (as it does for that of judges, policemen, and others,) and who is to bargain, on his part, that he will furnish religious instruction to all within that district. But here the lecturer is met with an objection drawn from political economy. This establishment, it seems, is inconsistent with the principle of free trade. Religious teachers are "dealers in religion," and the state should give no bonus on any kind of wares, but leave the price and supply of candles and Christianity to be regulated by the degree of wish which each man may feel for light, whether natural or spiritual. To this objection Dr. Chalmers replies (in his Second Lecture), that it is perfectly true that religious teachers are "dealers in those things which are necessary to godliness," supplying religion at a "market-price." But he argues that we cannot apply to religion the principles of free trade, because irreligious men have no sense of their need, and therefore no longing for its supply; nothing analogous to that hunger which renders it needless for government to interfere in order to tempt them to

purchase bread. In the Third Lecture he proceeds to show that those who in Scotland are called Voluntaries, and who object to permanent endowments, and to grants of public money, do nevertheless abandon the principle of free trade in religion, by advocating missionary and home missionary societies: a proceeding which implies that religious instruction may properly be provided for one man at the expense of another. But a more serious question remains behind. "The state, you tell us, is bound to provide that all the people be taught religion. But, *what religion?* The true or the false? Which of all the many forms which exist around us? Who is to decide, and on what principles?" The answer of Dr. Chalmers is developed in his last three Lectures, and is as follows.—The state must select, on its own responsibility and its own judgment, some body of religious teachers, to whom it must commit the religious care of the whole people: and having made the selection, it must, as it shall see reason, either maintain the establishment of that body, or transfer it to another. And the principle of its choice must be; that on the grounds of religious truth, it must prefer Protestantism to Popery, and Evangelical Protestantism to Socinianism. Beyond this, it matters not which section of Evangelical Protestantism it prefers, for all are equally in the right. Between Quakerism and the Church, the Baptists and the Wesleyans, the Presbyterians and the Independents, there is no real difference at all, but only a distinction on "the *nugæ triviales,* if not the *nugæ difficiles,* of doctrine and government, the caprices and whimsical peculiarities, in which, in this land of perfect toleration, men have chosen to besport themselves."—(p. 174.)

But it is urged, if there be no difference between the sects of Evangelical Protestants, why should the state prefer one above the others? Why make an exclusive establishment of one? Because, says Dr. Chalmers, as Paley had said before, unless you do so, you cannot partition the whole land, and provide that every man shall have his pastor appointed by the state; you cannot make one village Presbyterian, and another Episcopalian, and a third Baptist. The state selects and keeps to one denomination only, because otherwise we could not have a territorial establishment. "What does, or what ought, to move a government in the adoption of such an economy, is not, that it may prefer one Church or one order of clergymen above another, but that it may possess itself of a good and efficient organ."—(p. 168.) And granting "as we do most cordially," of "four, five, or six denominations that mainly and substantially speaking, they are all of them right; the government after having done what is theologically right in rejecting Popery, would still be theologically right

in transferring the endowment of the national Church to any one of these denominations. And if theologically right in fixing upon some one, then, on another ground, that is, for the sake of the territorial principle, with all its mighty benefits to the population, it would be fiscally or economically right in keeping by that one." —(p. 175.)

The practical conclusion is plain enough. In England Dr. Chalmers supposes the state to have established the Episcopalian denomination of Evangelical Protestantism; in Scotland the Presbyterian; and, having done so, she must adhere, for the sake of the territorial system, to the choice she has made; while, at the same time, she must not establish Popery in Ireland, because, although fiscally right, such a step would be theologically wrong. It cannot certainly be denied that the Professor's system fits in admirably to the existing state of things, and reconciles with considerable ease many startling inconsistencies.

But, in truth, this is but a suspicious quality in any ecclesiastical system. It belongs rather to an apology for existing abuses than to a manly statement of high and Christian principles. Grant the infallibility of the Pope, and the whole stream of Roman doctrine flows on placid and undisturbed. Yet this fact has never appeared to Protestants a sufficient proof that the Pope is infallible. Let us proceed then to apply to the theory of Dr. Chalmers some of the tests by which he would willingly admit that the claim of Papal infallibility must be tried.

And first, wherever the Gospel has been planted, something of a Church establishment (in his sense of the word) has been set up. Now have they been actually constructed on his principle? Dr. Chalmers tells us that they have. The first instance of such a public act, he informs us, was in the reign of Constantine, in which was "the first example of a government having made selection of a faith to be by them signalized and supported as the national religion."—(p. 111.) This he did (p. 15) "by making a territorial distribution of the ministers of Christ over his kingdoms and provinces; and assigning a territorial revenue for the labourers of this extensive vineyard, enabled each to set himself down in his own little vicinity;" and accordingly the Church is described as "entering on her now larger field" with orisons of gratitude to God. For these historical statements the lecturer, as in duty bound, gives us a reference, and it cannot be denied that the authority to which he refers fully bears him out. He refers us to *Sermon xv. vol. xi. of the New and Uniform Edition of Dr. Chalmers's Works.* The passage is clear, and to the point; nor is the lecturer to blame in giving no reference to any more ancient authority, because, we fear, it would have been difficult to find any. Strange as it may seem, an act so public; so

momentous, so novel a movement of the ruling power, which must have effected nothing less than a revolution in every village of the whole civilized world, is alluded to, so far as we are aware, by no writer more ancient than an Edinburgh Professor in the nineteenth century; and, stranger still, the omission is made by historians, not secular but ecclesiastical, among others by a contemporary bishop, the Emperor's intimate friend, and who warns us* to expect in his life of his sovereign, not an account of his wars and victories, or of his policy and laws, but of his relations to the Church and of his religious and Christian deeds. Eusebius certainly was not aware of the treaty between Constantine and the Catholic clergy, that they "accepted" at his hands "a national provision, and undertook, in return, for the Christian education of the people."—(p. 125.)

In real truth this, like many other modern notions, is so strange to the ancient temper of mind, that nothing can be found about it one way or the other. We might as well be required to believe that Constantine founded a mechanics' institute, and that Eusebius and Athanasius occupied the chairs of phrenology and animal magnetism. By the charge of her Lord, the Church was bound from the beginning to preach the Gospel unto every creature. From the beginning she did so. From the beginning she made use of this world's wealth as one of her instruments; according to Dr. Chalmers's own definition, she had always been established. This he admits somewhat inconsistently (page 51). "Constantine," he says, "with his great national endowment but followed in the track of those private and particular endowments, which sometimes temporary, sometimes perpetual, had multiplied beyond all reckoning during the preceding ages of Christianity." Rich men had always given liberally of their riches; the Emperor, who was richer than they, gave probably still more, but except in amount we have no hint of any difference between his offerings and theirs. But, what is more remarkable, neither of them were primarily intended to extend Christian education; neither of them were what we may call utilitarian. Custom has rendered the idea of a minister of God almost inseparable in our minds from that of a religious teacher, and offerings to the Church we cannot but regard as intended to promote religious instruction. The current of men's thoughts ran in old times in another direction. The Church, both Catholic and material, was then chiefly regarded as the temple of the living God; and although by His mercy the sons of men were honoured to dwell therein, and gather up the crumbs under His table, yet it was for Him, not for them that the assem-

* Euseb. Vit. Const. i. 11.

bly was gathered, and the building erected. Men remembered that Apostles had given themselves continually to prayer, no less than to the ministry of the word—that among the elders whom St. Paul pronounced worthy of double honour, some only laboured in the word and doctrine. And while within the Church the idea of a priest was by no means inseparable from that of a teacher; without its pale, there was, no doubt, no connection at all between the two: for all religions had had their priests, and none of them had ever been instructors of the people. When a heathen therefore, fearing the God of the Christians, made concessions to them, or a convert poured his wealth into the treasury of the Church, the offering was not for the education of the people, although this was incidentally a result, but for the honour and service of God. Thus the persecutor Galerius, publishing a toleration of the Christians, and permitting them to rebuild their Churches, adds,* "Wherefore they are bound in return to beseech their own God for the security of us, and of the republic, and of themselves, that both the commonwealth may flourish, and they may dwell fearlessly in their own habitation." And when Constantine became a convert, he did more for the Church, but in precisely the same spirit. Of the education of the people he says nothing; but in directing that the Church lands which had been seized in the persecution should be restored, he promises to remunerate those who had purchased or obtained grants of them; adding, "that so the Divine favour towards us which we have often experienced already, may remain for ever unshaken.†" In writing to Cæcilian, Bishop of Carthage, to announce a grant of money which he was to distribute, he states it to be "for certain ministers of the legitimate and Holy Catholic Religion,"‡ not for instructors of the people; and accordingly his bounty was not to the clergy only, but to the other religious classes, as widows and virgins.§ What could be more natural than all this? The Emperors had long expended their wealth in the maintenance of rites unholy and profane; and when a more excellent way was made known, was it strange that they should delight to offer it for the worship of that Lord Whom they had so long persecuted? The same spirit showed itself in the magnificence of the churches erected at this era—they were not built by one who calculated how he might most cheaply provide instruction for his subjects, but by one desirous of honouring with his treasure the God of the Christians. Nor could he be actuated by any other feeling in the

* Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. Lib. viii. 17.
† Euseb. Lib. x. 5. ‡ Lib. x. 6.
§ Theodor. Lib. i. 11.

honour which he paid to the servants of God, not paring down sees to create others, in the spirit of modern commissioners, but delighting to honour those who on earth were the representatives of Christ. It was not that the Church was taken into the service of the empire, as Dr. Chalmers imagines, but the Church had, by patient suffering, conquered the world, and the captive land "threw wide her gates," and poured forth before the people of the Lord "her jewels and her gold." They who had lately been compelled to hide themselves in dens and caves of the earth, for fear of the sword of persecution, were now honoured guests in kings' palaces, and, in the judgment of a contemporary, "the event surpassed all words. Guards and soldiers with naked swords kept watch around the palace gate; but the men of God passed through the midst of them without fear, and entered the heart of the palace. There some sat down at the Emperor's table, and the rest all around him. It looked like an image of the very kingdom of Christ, and was altogether more like a dream than a reality."*

Such appeared to eye-witnesses the events which have assumed, to the eyes of Dr. Chalmers, the form of a compact between the Emperor and the clergy, whereby the latter engaged to educate the people on condition of receiving a secure maintenance from the state. The effect, of course, would be to extend the Church; but it can hardly be thought that this was the avowed object; and if the sincerity of the Emperor be doubted, his conduct will only more plainly indicate the state of feeling prevalent in his times.

It is worthy of remark again, that none of the Christian Fathers in the age succeeding that of Constantine, appear to have recognised his reign as in any peculiar sense an era in Church history, except so far as he stopped the persecutions. The era of Athanasius indeed, and of Arius, of the Donatists of Africa, and of the Nicene Council, these are distinctly marked by the Fathers of the fifth century, and *among* among the agents in these events frequent reference is made to Constantine; but as having opened to the Church a new field of labour, as having established her, or consigned his whole people to her care, it will not be found, we believe, that he is once referred to for very many centuries. The fact is, that both with Papists and with certain Protestants, it has too long been the custom to father upon Constantine any imaginary performance in the Church; very much as the English countryman supposes every ancient earth-work to have been the camp of Julius Cæsar.

With regard to the second period to which Dr. Chalmers refers, it is enough to say, that the Church of England has never acknow-

* Eusebius, Vita Con. Lib. iii. 15.

ledged the fact which he assumes, that one denomination, viz., the Catholic Church, was then deprived of its establishment, and another, that is one of the forms of Evangelical Protestantism, substituted for it. We defend the Reformation only on the ground that it left in possession the same Church which it found, but a Church reformed, instead of a Church corrupted. In Scotland indeed this was not the case; but, strange to say, so far from bearing out Dr. Chalmers's conclusion, the Scotch establishment is a most remarkable violation of it. In the year 1689, when the Scotch establishment arose, it arose by an act of the legislature, depriving of its property what Dr. Chalmers calls one denomination of Evangelical Protestantism, and substituting another, in direct violation of the principle laid down at length in his Sixth Lecture.

But those who are inclined to maintain the theory of Dr. Chalmers will probably reply, that it matters little whether or not any such compact as he supposes was ever actually made between any civil government, and any established Church. They may probably regard it rather as developing the principles on which Church and State ought to enter into relation, just as many authors refer to the original compact between the civil governor and his subjects, not supposing any such compact to have been actually made, but only as illustrating their view of the theory and principles of government. That Dr. Chalmers himself takes this view of his theory, at least as far as relates to England, seems probable, from his invitation to the English Church to abandon her mysterious and transcendental pretensions. Certainly if she had already made such a compact as he imagines, and had undertaken the care of her people as a charge from the state, in return for a competent maintenance, and "has entered into its service," it is difficult to imagine anything mysterious or transcendental which could be left for her to renounce. Let us then consider the advantage and disadvantage which we may expect, should she be persuaded to follow the counsel of her Presbyterian patron.

The advantages must certainly be of a political order: "she will be recognised," says Dr. Chalmers, "as the great standard and rallying post for all those who would unite their efforts in that mighty cause, the object of which is to send throughout our families, in more plentiful supply, those waters of life which can alone avail for the healing of the nation" (page 179). In other words, all those who wish well to the nation will then support the Establishment; there will be left no assailable point in our defences; the objects of our assailants will become hopeless, the task of our defenders easy. To maintain the establishment of the Catholic Church in England may be difficult or impossible, but what can

be easier than to show that "the state having taken one denomination of Evangelical Protestantism into its service, ought to abide by the selection which it has made?"

Let us see how we should be strengthened in the contest against Popery, which is at present our most formidable political antagonist. Here the case is plain enough. So certain and obvious will be our superiority, that Dr. Chalmers tells us "the question between Popery and Protestantism is one to be rightly entertained and rightly decided also, in any assembly of well-educated Englishmen;" and that "not in respect of policy, but in respect of absolute truth and of sacred obligation. In this nation, of all others, there is none with the ordinary schooling of a gentleman who could not thoroughly inform himself by the reading of a few weeks on this great question."—pp. 117, 119. Happy nation wherein the giant Popery is so easily laid down. What matter that the Papists are said to be increasing? What matter that Dr. Wiseman lectures as loud and as long as Dr. Chalmers? What matter that Jesuit colleges are springing up like weeds in a rank soil? What matter that learned theologians are labouring on each side of the controversy? All this is, after all, but child's play; there is no need of fear, no need of exertion, for the question is decided. All that Sir Robert Inglis need answer in parliament, all that Dr. Turton need send forth from the Cambridge press, is that the opinions of their opponents are so futile that "any well-educated Englishman" is competent to examine and refute them.

If well-educated Englishmen should by chance arise and reply that the facts are otherwise, that in point of fact they *do not* find the points in controversy so simple and elementary, our answer is plain, *tant pis pour les faits.* The matter is ruled and cannot be opened, *credo quia impossibile.* And surely of all men the Papists have least right to object to such an argument, when, instead of subtle reasonings or dusty folios, we refer them at once to a bull delivered by Dr. Chalmers, *sub annulo piscatoris.* Certainly if this did not content them, we should find it difficult to furnish any other answer.

Let us next see how strong we shall be in any attack from Protestant sectaries. It might seem indeed that when we have occupied our new position, we could have nothing to fear from any other section of Evangelical Protestantism. Still this is an insufficient security because the citadel might happen to be stormed before we have settled what Evangelical Protestantism really is. Let us look around us. Are the Swedenborgians Evangelical Protestants? Are the Methodists, with their doctrine of perfection and the not uncommon denial among them of

the Sonship of the Eternal Word? Are the Baptists, with their almost universal denial of the doctrine of original sin? Are the Independents, of whom no man living pretends to know what they do hold and what they do not? or to ask a more practical question; when we plead to all these bodies that according to the principles of Dr. Chalmers, the State having selected one form of Evangelical Protestantism is bound to abide by its choice, how shall we convince them of our own right to be considered Evangelical? Is our doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration Evangelical? or the doctrine of Absolution? or that of the Holy Communion? (Those of Schism and the Apostolical Succession we suppose before abandoned as terms of entry into the Chalmerian establishment.) Is it not plain that we should lose all the benefit of our sacrifices while we maintained any specific doctrines at all? Can that be an Evangelical Church which destroys more souls than it saves; as we learn from Dr. Pye Smith and Mr. Binney? Nay we have some fear whether even Dr. Chalmers will stand by us; for we find that a great meeting of the Scotch Establishment at Glasgow lately decided enthusiastically, that "Presbytery alone rests on the authority of Scripture;" and with all his patronizing notice of the English Church there are ominous words in page 28, where, speaking of "the established Churches" of England and Scotland, he kindly informs us that "we require perhaps a very little change in our service-books" (words which cannot apply to the Scotch Establishment, as that which does not exist cannot require change), so that this very little change which *we* so unconsciously require, would probably include an alteration of our services for Baptism, the Holy Communion, Burial, Visitation of the Sick, Ordination—together with a considerable list of *et cætera's*. The sum and substance then of our gain in adopting Dr. Chalmers's line of argument is this, that after having abandoned our claim as an Apostolical Church, we should have to prove to our adversaries that we are Evangelical Protestants; and supposing this point established, should then at last after much labour and danger arrive at the high and palmy condition in which the Scotch Establishment is at this moment reposing. We should have to contend with the "voluntaries," and to keep moreover our place as the servants of state in opposition to all rivals.

It is strange indeed that this last point does not seem to have occurred to Dr. Chalmers. It is true that a territorial system could not be established unless some one community were entrusted with the care of each village and district. But it is quite untrue that on his principles that community need be the same all over the country. Indeed the case of Scotland furnishes an instance in point. If no principle is violated by the establishment of

Presbyterianism north of the border, while the Church is in possession to the south, then certainly it would violate no principle to erect a Wesleyan establishment in Cornwall, retaining that which now exists in Devonshire and Dorsetshire. We do not feel bound to defend either one arrangement or the other; but on the principles of Dr. Chalmers we are at a loss to frame any valid argument against the establishment of Methodism in any county or city where it may chance to outnumber the Church. We are to prefer one form of Evangelical Protestantism to another solely because without such a preference we cannot have a territorial division, but it is plain that every advantage of that division is best secured if the parishes when divided are assigned to that teacher whose ministry will be received and prized by the largest proportion of the population. By this arrangement we secure the presence of one whose duty it shall be to seek for all those who might otherwise be without religion, while the chance of his obtaining influence is increased by the popularity of the denomination to which he belongs. The doctrines of the new establishment would soon be more various than the languages of the Trojan host.

This then seems the only political advantage which the Church would derive from the adoption of the principles now recommended to her; she would have to contend against enemies more numerous and more powerful, and would be prepared for the fight by laying aside her armour: but beyond all this, to speak truly, it appears to us that she would have nothing left that is worth contending for. The framework of endowments and parishes form but the outward shell; the very husk which envelopes the rich treasure within. Fatal were the madness which should abandon the very life itself for the sake of its outward instruments. There is one great principle involved in the whole system of Dr. Chalmers, of which we have not yet spoken, but which is after all its deadliest evil. That system recognizes no spiritual gift at all from GOD to man except the sacred volume. All other things it regards as mere human instruments for bringing this one gift of GOD to bear upon His creatures. Such instruments are schools, printing-presses, churches, societies, booksellers, ministers, public meetings, universities and the like; all are useful in their place, each may be dispensed with and laid aside when out of date. St. Paul had the inspired books upon parchment-rolls, we have them in duodecimo volumes; both are right in their time and place, one ought not to be extolled at the cost of the other. So too St. Paul had but one Church everywhere, we have evangelical Protestantism divided into its thousand denominations; but, as before, he was right and we are

right; the machinery may be changed, but so long as the Bible remains the same, it matters not how the machinery may be modified. We are aware that the excellent man whose work has occasioned our remarks would not admit this representation of his doctrine. He would say that the object is not merely to multiply Bibles, but to diffuse more widely the meaning and doctrines of the Bible. He would tell us, that it is not the material volume alone which he values, but its spirit and meaning; the truth of God's Holy Word. From our hearts we believe him, and that to promote this truth, he would sacrifice himself and all that he has. Would that he may see it to be his first duty to sacrifice thereto his ecclesiastical theories!—theories we verily believe which, if they prevailed, would soon banish that truth altogether from our land; for if it be indifferent to which out of a multitude of sects a man or a nation shall join themselves, if all be indeed right; it can only be because there is no one doctrine which is really and inherently *true*. It is no answer to tell us that in all important matters these sects speak the same language, for who shall assure us that it is so? In plain fact we have no assurance at all beyond the author's assertion. "Ego dico," is Dr. Chalmers's proof. Evangelical Protestantism is but a name, an abstraction, a shadow, it is nowhere, it is nothing. Far better were it to be zealously affected in favour of any one of these forms of doctrine; to be zealous Presbyterians, or zealous Baptists, or zealous Independents, than to reason ourselves into a belief that it matters not which we are. If no doctrine be really and indeed false, it is only because none of them is really true; and if Dr. Chalmers can persuade men of this, as regards the sects whom he groups together as Evangelical Protestants, they will not be slow to carry out his principle, and apply it even to those things which he regards as fundamental. "So true we find it by experience of all ages in the Church of GOD, that the teacher's error is the people's punishment, harder and heavier by so much to bear as he is in worth and regard greater that mispersuadeth them."

But are we asked on what authority do we claim to know the one truth with a certainty greater than that of Dr. Chalmers, when on his own authority he assures us that it is found in all important matters in every one of the conflicting sects? We answer as he did of old, who confuted the wisdom of the disputer of this world, only by repeating his creed;—we answer, *I believe in one Catholic and Apostolic Church:* and it is because the society to which he belongs has laid aside this article of the faith, that our author has involved himself in so many difficulties. His object was to devise a theory which should reconcile the national establishment of Christianity not only with the existence of

numerous sects, but with the acknowledgement of these sects, by the establishment, as independent Christian Churches, each as much a true Church as the others. That this is really no exaggeration of his meaning is plain, for he tells us that the government having provided for the establishment of any one of these denominations has done enough, "having taken *a* Scriptural Church into its service" (page 175); each of them plainly is recognised as a Scriptural Church. Now, if it be true that God has founded any one Church, and that these societies are not indeed Churches; then it follows that the problem which Dr. Chalmers unknowingly labours to solve is none other than this, to reconcile the religious prosperity of a nation with an habitual systematic breach by that nation of one of the Divine laws. Is it wonderful that he has failed? His undertaking is as hopeless as that of a physician who should frame a system for preserving men in perfect health while living in habitual intemperance. God has not more closely united sickness to intemperance than He has linked confusion and every evil work to a state of schism. That which God hath joined man cannot put asunder. For ourselves therefore, we confess that this alone would appear to us a valid refutation of the theory before us even were there no other, that according to that theory the existence of a great national sin would be no national evil. So far does our author carry this principle that he expressly says twice over (page 172 and 179), "we do not speak of the sin of schism in the abstract." Surely it becomes him as a Christian to speak of that sin not lightly or as a small evil, seeing that it is denounced plainly and awfully in the written word of God. But his system is too much for him, and in order to preserve it he is compelled of necessity to declare his toleration of that which God has pronounced to be intolerable.

But we, whom God has blessed with the whole teaching of His truth, both with the Bible and the Church, we dare not for any political motives resign a part of the boon—we dare not sacrifice one any more than the other. Here is a fundamental difference in principle between Dr. Chalmers and ourselves; believing, as he does, that there are in our land Scriptural Churches innumerable, all of which he would probably admit to have been founded by some individual or body of men, he cannot regard any Church as more than a human instrument devised by good men for good purposes; blessed by God, but still a mere human piece of machinery. This is to depart from the article of the Creed already mentioned. Churches become no more to Dr. Chalmers than religious societies to ourselves. Instead of the Bride of the Lamb, the mystic home wherein He dwells and walks whom the very Heaven and Heaven of Heavens cannot contain, the Church in

the estimation even of able and good and holy men, is nothing more than a mere assembly of men combined for the purpose of serving God, meeting together to hear His word; and regulating their union by such rules as appear to them most accordant thereto.

And hence it follows that Dr. Chalmers cannot know the blessedness which the ministers of the English Church feel in tracing their right to the ministry immediately to an Apostolical commission. He tells us that he regards all the Evangelical sects as equally Apostolical; and those who deny the claim he designates as "domineering Churchmen who arrogate a mystic superiority *to themselves.*" Alas! how little do men often understand of the real feelings and motives of those whom they censure! It is the consciousness of personal unworthiness which leads a minister of Christ most prominently to put forward his divine commission. He claims to be heard; is it strange, is it domineering, if he adds, "Hear me, although unworthy, because I come to you sent by those who have received express commission from God to send forth labourers into His vineyard." On what other title could he rest his claim? Shall he say, "Hear me for I am your minister?" This may be a valid appeal to those who have voluntarily joined themselves to any religious society, but what force would it have when addressed to those of whom Dr. Chalmers chiefly speaks, the outcasts from all religious societies, the ignorant, the neglected, the obdurate? Shall he say, "Hear me for I am holier than thou?" Surely his very claim would prove its own refutation. What is it then upon which Dr. Chalmers would have him ground his pretensions? He tells us that neither he nor the ministers of the English Church have any more Apostolical authority than those independent teachers, who avowedly rest their claim to be ministers on the choice of their congregations voluntarily recognising their ministry. On what authority would he have us appeal to men and demand their submission? *On the authority of the State.* He tells us that it is by virtue of a compact with the government that the ministers of an establishment undertake the care of the whole population. Before they were established, they were the ministers only of such as willingly recognised them; when established they assume the care of all within their several districts. He tells us that in the established Church of Ireland, for instance, in the last century,

"There was a mistaken policy, maintained and avowed even by their best clergymen, in the form of an honest though grievously mistaken principle—as if they went beyond their legitimate province if they at all meddled with the Catholic (*i. e.* Romish) population."—p. 127.

And what is his inference? Does he accuse them of neglecting the vineyard of the Lord? Does he deem them false to their

high calling as Christian ministers; as forgetful of His words who bade His Apostles preach the Gospel unto every creature? by no means: he only blames them for not having

"Done what they might or what they ought for the cultivation of *the vineyard made over by the State* to their care; and which in return for their maintenance they should by this time have put into right order and now been keeping in order."—p. 125.

Well may Dr. Chalmers call upon the Church of England to abandon "her mysterious and transcendental pretensions." From the day that any clergyman adopts his theory, he must come to his parishioners at large as one who derives his claim to be a minister at all, only from the choice of one out of ten thousand Churches of human origin and authority; as one who claims to be heard *by them* only as sent to them with a commission from the State! And can it really be that at this moment when Popery is labouring to advance her cause on every side of us; can it be that the English clergy are urged at this very moment by a sincere friend to adopt a course so suicidal? So it is: and that friend, with all his great and acknowledged ability, with all his disinterested zeal, believes that he is doing us good service; because, alas! having never experienced it, he knows not what it is to be the bearer of an Apostolical commission; to stand forth, not as the minister of an Evangelical Protestant denomination, but as the priest of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church. But shall we in the hour of battle change our panoply of gold for a covering of rags? shall we prepare ourselves to meet those who advance with high although unfounded claim of a divine commission by laying aside that which we do really possess and ranging ourselves as the servants of the State?

ἦ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος, Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες.

Great would be the exultation at Rome, loud the exclamations of Stoneyhurst and Maynooth, at such an act of infatuation.

And even if the result were sure to be otherwise; if we could allure back the wanderers from our communion, if we could ensure a political victory for the Establishment, we dare not do it at the cost of so many essential parts of that truth, wherewith we have been charged not by man but by God. Even could it be shown that by holding fast our present claims we ensure the confiscation of the property of the English Church and the downfal of the happiness of England (could this be shown, as it never can), we dare not change our course. It were a great evil that England should defile herself with another national sacrilege, a great evil that she should forfeit her national prosperity; but it were a much greater evil that we should prefer even our country to Him

who has said—"Whoso loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me;" to His Church, and to His truth. It were a greater evil to her no less than to ourselves: for however great may be her guilt, there remains a hope while the Church, her holy guest, stands still in the midst of her with her white robes unstained before the altar of her God, to intercede, according to her vocation, even for her enemies. But who can express the misery of that nation whose light is become darkness—of that people among whom the Church of God herself has come under the awful denunciation, "Cursed is the man that trusteth in man and maketh flesh his arm, and in his heart departeth from the Lord."

Dr. Chalmers indeed maintains that the Church may accept the terms which he proposes without any sacrifice of her purity. She may "enter into the service of the state," she may "receive the vineyard from the state," she may "abandon all mysterious and transcendental pretensions," without losing any of her purity. Far from us be the thought! Wealth indeed in itself is dangerous to the Church, but she needs it as an instrument to be employed for the good of the people; and moreover, when the hearts of Churchmen are warmed aright to love and honour her for the sake of her Lord, if they have it they cannot refrain from offering it to her use. Thus it is that the Church, which often flourishes most in the hour of poverty, cannot long continue to flourish without becoming rich. This is the Lord's appointment, and riches thus acquired, although not insensible of their dangerous quality, the Church has ever thankfully accepted. But endowments acquired as Dr. Chalmers recommends, by a sacrifice of some of her principles, would be but the forty pieces of silver given to the disciple as the price of his treason to his Lord. "I, if I yet please men, am not the servant of Christ." If any Church be taken into the service of the state, she has become false to her Lord; she is no true servant of Christ; she is married to another.

Nor is this any hypothesis of our own. If our readers would know the effect which the system of Dr. Chalmers is calculated to produce even upon the highest minds, they need not look far—they need only go to the lectures before us. The author of those lectures is a man of high and cultivated intellectual powers; he is a man of undoubted piety and sincerity, of a spirit altogether elevated above selfish and interested motives; he is therefore no fair specimen of the natural tendency of his principles and of their practical working on the minds of ordinary men. And yet he is himself a proof that a man cannot cease to recognise the blessed doctrine of the Catholic Church—that he cannot cease to

see Christ present in mystery in His Church, and begin to regard it only as a piece of human machinery, without going on to lean upon man, even in things which he will himself admit to be purely spiritual, without subjecting to the human intellect that which is confessedly divine. Let our readers observe that the words which we are about to quote from Dr. Chalmers express no transient opinion—they were not inconsiderately spoken—they were not even hastily written, but they have been published by him repeatedly as his solemn and deliberate opinion. First, they formed part of a sermon, then that sermon was published, and lastly, they are quoted, so high is the author's sense of their importance, in a note to the volume before us.

"While we cannot but lament the deadly mischief, which the second-rate philosophy of infidels has done to the inferior spirits of our world; *we feel it almost a proud thing for Christianity* that all the giants and the men of might of other days, the Newtons, the Boyles, the Lockes, and the Bacons of high England, have worshipped so profoundly at its shrine.* But chief of these is our great Sir Isaac."—(Note, p. 121.)

A proud thing, be it observed, not for our nation, or for our national Church, or for our national religion; but for Christianity, for the faith of Christ, that Sir Isaac Newton worshipped at its shrine! It is the deliberate, the often-reiterated judgment of Dr. Chalmers, that the Creator of the world became flesh and lived and laboured and died in order to found a religion; and yet that for the faith so founded it is a proud thing to have been received by one of the sinners whom He came to redeem from everlasting misery; only because that miserable sinner happened to be somewhat superior to his fellows in intellectual powers. If we had met with such a statement in Gibbon or Voltaire, we should have turned from it as a most revolting blasphemy. Finding it where we do, shall we not heartily pray God to defend the English Church from the prevalence of views, which when adopted by the mind of Thomas Chalmers, can lead him to declare it a proud thing for the religion of Christ, that it was the religion of Sir Isaac Newton?

* It were beside the question to inquire, whether all these great men fully deserved the commendation here bestowed upon their Christianity.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

MR. EVANS has published a second series of his "Biography of the Early Church" (Rivingtons). Mr. Evans is one of those writers, members of the University of Cambridge, such as the late Mr. Rose and Mr. Chevallier, who, before any thing was published elsewhere, directed the attention of the rising generation to higher and more primitive views of Christian truth than had latterly been in esteem among us. May he long continue to edify the Church by his writings! We do not profess entirely to acquiesce either in his views or his tone; his tone especially is somewhat too literary and intellectual, and, in consequence, too eclectic, to please us; but we are very grateful to him for so good a deed as his dedicating the stores of a rich and imaginative mind to the service of antiquity.

While we are utterly surfeited and sick of "Evidences" for Revealed Religion, as we have explained at length in the early part of this Number, we are addressed, as if our appetite was fresh, by a series of fourteen Demonstrations, all about "the necessity of a divine revelation, the genuineness and authenticity of Scripture, its Inspiration, its Miracles, &c. &c." by Ministers of the "Established Church in Glasgow," (Collins) extending to nearly 600 pages, and to copies "8000," stereotyped, and "placed within the reach of the humblest classes." This is munificently and charitably done by a number of gentlemen in Glasgow, but it is melancholy that any serious man should think that this is the way in which truth is savingly propagated or maintained. A suggestion is thrown out in the Preface that "the Evidences" should be "taught in a catechetical form in our juvenile schools." Unhappy scholars! unhappy Church, which having no root in itself and not venturing to speak with authority, is obliged to betake itself to disputations, "never-ending, still beginning!" Can alliance more ill-matched and strange be imagined than this, which sheer necessity has brought about, between pseudo-spiritualism and the evidential method? More venerable surely were the old Covenanters who upheld their Puritanism by the sword, than those who would make Christians by Littleton and Paley.

Mr. Coleridge's "Companion to the First Lessons on Sundays, Fasts and Festivals," (Rivingtons) is intended, and well adapted, "to explain briefly and familiarly those passages that occur in them, which, from any cause, are not obviously intelligible by an ordinary reader;" and so to encourage "conversation among the members of a family on the facts of Scripture which they have heard read." It is a useful little book, and will be found perhaps to convey instruction to the respected author's brethren in the priesthood, as well as to those for whom it is immediately intended.

"Letters to the Authors of the Plain Tracts for Critical Times by a Layman" (Cadell) are thoughtfully written in defence of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, and the author finds, "*upon perusal*, that they directly and most powerfully" tend to a "breach betwixt the Evangelical and High Church parties," and therefore "has been led to attempt a refutation of their contents."

This is fair. However, with respect to the Oxford Tracts, the Author begs to observe that he has "*abstained from the perusal* of them;" yet he has been "led to conclude that" their system "is liable to just exception." This is not fair.

Mr. Tyrwhitt's Sermon on the Institution of Baptism by our Lord, (Parker, Oxford), is published in consequence of one of the "Plain Tracts for Critical Times." It is to prove that our Lord's action in John xiii. was really the *baptising* of His Apostles. Thus he answers the question, frequent in early times on the part of heretics, as to the apostles' baptism. The appendix contains an able and elaborate disquisition upon John iii. 5.

Much as we respect Joseph Milner, we have not respect enough for his History of the Church to welcome with any great eagerness a "Continuation" of it. Such, however, has Mr. Stebbing given to the world (Cadell) in one volume, which is to be followed by two others, so as to bring the reader to the eighteenth century. The volume already published contains an account of the proceedings of the Diet of Augsburg, and the events which followed upon it and of the state of the Reformation in the several countries of Europe at the opening of the Council of Trent. It appears to be carefully written, but with somewhat too much of a didactic air at times. We cannot, of course, be expected to acquiesce in Mr. Stebbing's view of Luther and the Reformation, but as we claim the right of protesting against it, so we freely grant him that of maintaining it, if he is able.

"Bellingham, or Narrative of a Christian in search of the Church," by the Rev. W. Palin (Parker), is the lively graphic work of one who seems to write from actual observation. It is a defence, in the form of a tale, of the Church as a divine institution and an establishment, and contains much which will be serviceable to the general reader. The story itself is not so satisfactory. The hero is the son of an, in every sense, respectable shopkeeper, has a "good plain education at a day school," gets acquainted with a dissenting neighbour, falls in love with Miss Bathsheba his daughter, reads the newspapers, leaves the Church, joins a Reform Club, becomes a student in a Dissenting Academy, is chosen minister of Bethel Chapel, then of Ebenezer Chapel, is converted again to the Church, and rewarded with ordination, a living, and, above all, with "Emily Russell," a blooming girl of nineteen, as fair in mind as in person.

Dr. Philip's "Life, Times and Characteristics of John Bunyan," (Virtue), is written under the impression that "Bunyan is the Shakespeare of theology;" and that "a stranger who admires and loves Bunyan, approaches Bedford as a poet or a divine would enter Smyrna; the former thinking only of Homer, and the latter only of Polycarp." We have no wish to disparage Bunyan's great abilities, but considering that we discern both in Homer and Shakespeare tokens of a higher theory of moral truth than Bunyan realized, (not to bring S. Polycarp into unseemly comparison with him,) we do not share Dr. Philip's interest in reviewing Bunyan's boyhood, soldiering, marriage, reformation, conversion, conflicts, counsellors, relapses, temptations, revivals, crisis, baptism, sickness, call, trial, imprisonment and pastorship.

Two useful little books have been published, one called "The Church Ca-

lendar" (Parker), the other, "An Ecclesiastical Almanac" (Leslie), names which speak for themselves. Each has its own excellences; the former is got up with a care and expense suitable to its object. The latter evidences much learning and a comprehensiveness of view, which gives it the preference in our own minds. We heartily recommend and wish well to both. They are the commencement, we trust, of something to come, more perfect than either of them.

"Observations upon the several Sunday services prescribed by the Liturgy throughout the Year," by the late Bishop Jolly (Grants, Edinburgh,) has been republished, with a Memoir of the venerable Author, by Bishop Walker. The late Bishop's name speaks for his work without any notice from us, but why should its sound be injured by the unmelodious twang of "one of the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Communion in Scotland?"

We wish we could satisfy ourselves that Mr. Caunter's Poetry of the Pentateuch (Churton) might not go into a quarter of its actual bulk, which is two thick volumes. The idea of the work is very good, and the execution interesting, but it is swollen by interpolations, which have no legitimate place in it. Thus chapter 27 of vol. 1, on the poetical beauties of the Bible, is wholly made up, after stating the subject, of seven four-lined stanzas, "by an anonymous" English "poet of the 17th century," upon the duty of avoiding slander, and evil speaking, cowardice, and drunkenness, and of observing prayer, reading Scripture daily, and hallowing the Lord's day; then an hypothesis that "the cherubins" guarding the tree of life, were *Equi tonantes;* then 60 blank verses from an American translation of Herder's version of one of Ezekiel's Visions; and last a prose translation of a passage from Herder's "Spirit of Hebrew Poetry," concerning the death of Abel. In like manner chapter 2 of volume 2, which introduces the subject of Balaam's fourth prophecy, "I shall see Him, &c." begins with a description of Balak's anger against Balaam, remarks that Balaam did not on this occasion betake himself to heathen rites as before, quotes the prophecy, and then, apropos of Balaam's neglect of his conscience, observes that the prophet *never "could have felt* that repose of mind expressed by a somewhat quaint, but nevertheless eloquent writer of a much later age," Sir Thomas Browne; which gives occasion to a long quotation from the Religio Medici upon peace of mind. This is like, "Did not I hear a gun? Well, whether or not, since we are talking of guns, &c. &c."

We do not mean to contend for the sobriety or depth of the late Mr. Stephenson's Christology of the Old and New Testaments (Rivingtons), nor can we at all admit his notion that the prophecies of Scriptures were all fulfilled immediately upon our Lord's coming, and that none remain for time to come; but his work evidences much thought and diligence, and, in the words of the Editor, "a principle will be found working through it which will enable Christians better to understand the course of God's government in the world, to harmonize the different portions of His word, and to estimate the greatness of their own spiritual privileges."

The Rev. J. Prosser, the author of "a Key to the Hebrew Scriptures"

(Duncan), has evidently taken a good deal of pains; although we are sorry to think on a mistaken plan. Some help of this sort may be needed by such as would learn Hebrew without a master; but the sooner it can be dispensed with, the better. It can never be necessary through the whole Bible. One who swims with corks, should not venture out of his depth, nor one who uses a "key" into the more difficult Hebrew books. Its only use can be at the beginning. This attempt appears also to us to be wanting in simplicity. The author has wished to combine the two objects of helping a beginner, and shewing the depth of the meaning of Hebrew words. Whether right or wrong in his details, they seem misplaced for one who needs a key. A beginner should learn Hebrew as simply as possible; it will only perplex him, to try to remember that "coming" is derived from "mingling," or "day" from "tumultuous motion," or "to say" from "branching out." Mr. Ollivant's is a better key, where one is needed. As Mr. Prosser, on his own experience, speaks against the use of points, we must say that we know some striking cases to the contrary, in which persons having studied Hebrew without points for years, found the study unsatisfactory and uncertain, and being persuaded at last to study it with points, found it satisfactory and definite.

There is a pleasing tone about much of Mr. Wemyss's elaborate work on "Job and his Times" (Jackson and Walford), and yet it is unsatisfactory too. He tells us from the sacred book he translates, that "man's best deeds may be pleasing, but are no way profitable to God," p. 78, no mention being made of the necessity of divine grace; that "a clear view of the perfections of God, has a powerful effect in producing repentance," p. 79, that "the dispensation by Jesus Christ enforced" the fundamental principles of patriarchal religion, "by new motives, and placed them under higher sanctions, *adding* also a distinct revelation of a *life to come* and a *future judgment*," p. 114, and that Satan, mentioned in the first chapter, was not the evil spirit, but the "public accuser in the celestial court," or "perhaps general inspector of manners," or "simply the recording angel." p. 280—282. If we knew more of his writings, perhaps we should have no difficulty in the matter.

What a pity that any one should so mistake things that "from the age of eighteen to that of thirty-seven years the *aim and end of his ambition* has tended towards one point, to *prove* himself a poet!" Such, however, is the case with Mr. Reade, the author of "Italy, a Poem" (Saunders and Otley). He has just before told us that "poetry has no politics;" it would be more correct to say that it has no ambition; as it is an axiom in philosophy that "*Poeta nascitur non fit*," so surely is it likewise that "*mavult esse quàm videri.*" One is unwilling to say discouraging things to a person who has already, it appears, met discouragement, and has borne it good-naturedly, yet we do wish the author had taken a more real view of things around him and in him than such statements imply.

The late Mr. Rich's "Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon," with "Memoirs on the Ruins," and a "Narrative of a Journey to Persepolis," is in

a great measure a republication, and will be acceptable to those who are interested in its solemn and even religious subject.

We are exceedingly pleased to have to announce a new edition of Bishop Beveridge's Explanation of the Church Catechism, (Parker, Oxford.) A churchman naturally looks for such books on the list of the Christian Knowledge Society, and has reason to be grateful to those considerate persons whose liberality from time to time removes his disappointment.

We can believe that Mr. Fletcher, of Madeley, was an interesting man, in spite of Mr. Dunn, who, in publishing a selection from his works under the title of Christian Theology (Mason), has adduced the testimony of the "venerable Dr. Adam Clarke," "the gifted Richard Watson," and "the perspicacious Samuel Drew," to that effect. There is, as would be supposed, much that is striking in Mr. Fletcher's writings, with great defects and mistakes. By the way, the following passage strikes us as curious; would that he had carried out the doctrine contained in it! "If He speaks of His Essence otherwise than they have conceived it to be, they . . . wrest and distort it . . . in direct opposition to the plain meaning of the words, to the general tenor of the Scriptures, *to the consent of the Catholic Church in all ages*, and to the very form of their own baptism."—p. 120.

A recent Oxford publication, "The Psalter in English Verse, dedicated to the Bishop of Oxford" (Rivingtons), will attract so much attention, that nothing shall be said of it here but to announce its appearance.

Mr. Holt has published, in a pocket form, the Act on Pluralities and Residence, with an useful analysis, notes and index (Rivingtons).

Mr. Best's Parochial Ministrations (Hatchard) contains much practical information about the mode of conducting the economical plans incidental to the care of a parish.

"The Voice of the Church, or Selections from the Writings of Divines and others" (Burns), has reached a third number. It is the best work of its kind which has appeared.

A second and third series of "Plain Sermons by Contributors to the Tracts for the Times" (Rivingtons), have appeared. The first series has already reached a second edition.

From New Jersey we have received Sermons by Bishop Doane, on Speaking the Truth in Love, and a republication of Dr. Hook's celebrated sermon, "Hear the Church." And from Gambier, a sermon on "The Apostolical Commission," by Bishop M'Ilvaine.

If we were forced to criticize Mr. Howorth's excellent volume of "Sermons, Doctrinal and Practical" (Rivingtons), we should say that they were sometimes wanting in definiteness of statement, and should express a wish that a writer, who is so practical upon the sacraments, had been led to inculcate in the same way the doctrine of the ministry.

Mr. Pearson's "Sermons preached in a Country Parish" (Hatchards), are *practical* ones, which is the highest kind of praise that can be given.

Mr. Poole has published two seasonable Sermons (Burns) entitled, "The

Church the Teacher of her Children" and "The preaching of the Gospel to the Poor a Sign of Christ's Presence with his Church."

Dr. Silver's Letter to Sir R. Inglis, "on the Spoliation and Captivity of the Cathedrals in England" (Rivingtons), is a publication such as might be expected from a learned and original-minded man.

Mr. Wilberforce's "Letters to the Marquis of Lansdown on National Education" (Murray), is a very clever and useful little work, and will gain attention from those who are interested in the important subject it treats of.

An interesting Auto-biography of Bishop Patrick has lately appeared, being now first printed from the original manuscript, (Parker, Oxford). Considering the high name of the Author, such a work must attract attention even viewed as a literary curiosity. The Editors are said to be the Rev. J. and C. Marriotts, of Oxford.

Also we have to announce Selections from Hooker, illustrative of the Discipline and Services of the English Church by Mr. Keble, (Parker, Oxford).

"Fables from Ancients and Moderns," by the Rev. James Gorle, (Langbridge, Birmingham), form a lively little volume which, having amused ourselves, we in gratitude recommend to the notice of those younger readers whom it is still more likely to interest, and to whom it more properly belongs.

"The Revival of Religion," by Mr. Douglas of Cavers, (Blacks, Edinburgh) is one out of the many specimens which now occur of the spirit afloat in the religious world, dissatisfied with the existing state of things, conscious that the ground is crumbling under it, feeling more or less the needs of the human mind, and not knowing of the full remedy provided for them in the Apostolic Church.

As to Mr. Lucas's "Reasons for becoming a Roman Catholic," addressed to the Society of Friends (Booker and Dolman), we will but observe, that no philosopher can be surprised, and that no consistent Anglo-Catholic be sorry, at any one exchanging Friendism for Romanism.

Mr. William S. Villiers Sankey, in his "Epitome of Christian Institutions," (Edinburgh, W. S. V. Sankey,) informs us that in early times "the wife of the Bishop, Episcopus, was called Episcopa, *Episcopess;* the wife of the Presbyter was called Presbytera, *Presbyteress;* the wife of the Deacon, Diaconus, was in like manner styled Diaconissa, *Deaconness.*" There is truth in this. We presume in like manner the wife of the Monk, Monachus, was called Monacha, *Nun.*

A series of publications is in preparation, to be called "The Englishman's Library" (Burns), on subjects connected with Church History and Biography, such as the lives of fathers and reformers, eminent missionaries, religious princes, statesmen, judges, soldiers, &c., memoirs of European colonies, memorable periods in English history, &c. It is to be superintended by Mr. E. Churton and Mr. Gresley, and together with those gentlemen to have the sanction and, if possible, the literary assistance of Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Chevallier, Mr. Dodgson, Mr. Dodsworth, Mr. Evans, Dr. Hook, Mr. Massingberd, Mr. Molesworth, Mr. Oakeley, Mr. Paget, and Mr. S. Wilberforce;

names which sufficiently guarantee the moderation, temper, judgment and ability with which it will be executed.

Among the publications on the Church and Priesthood, now issuing continually from the press, we have met with the following: From Scotland, 1. a new edition in a new form of Mr: Sinclair's excellent Vindication of the Episcopal or Apostolical Succession (Rivingtons). 2. Tracts for all Places and all Times, edited by Scottish Churchmen; No. 1 being a reprint of Bishop Onderdonk's Episcopacy tested by Scripture, with an original appendix, (Davidson, Edinburgh). This series has our best wishes for its success. 3. Dean Horsley's able Sermon on "The Pillar and Ground of the Truth" (Dundee). 4. From Ireland, Archdeacon Mant's Horæ Apostolicæ (Rivingtons), a learned and careful publication, arising out of a Visitation Sermon preached before the Archbishop of Armagh. From England, 5, Mr. Graves's eloquent sermon on "The System of the Church and the consequent Obligation of her Ministers" (Whittaker, London), preached at the Visitation of the Commissary of the Archdeaconry of Richmond. 6. "Essay on Episcopacy," by Mr. Jones of New Church in Winwick, (Hatchards). 7. Mr. Ross's "Two Sermons on the Christian Church and Priesthood," (Hatchards) to which are appended some useful collections of passages on ecclesiastical subjects, from our standard writers. 8. "Tracts of the Anglican Fathers," being a sermon of Bishop Andrews on "Remission of Sins." 9. Sermon at Broadstairs on "The Ministerial Succession," by Rev. F. Merewether, (Rivingtons) evidently the composition of a thoughtful, well-read, and warm-hearted man. 10. "The Rubric; its strict Observance Recommended," (Burns). 11. "Duty of Christian Unity," by Rev. Irvin Eller (Groombridge), a tract written for farmers, small shopkeepers, and mechanics. 12. Church of England defended against the Church of England Quarterly Reviewer," (Burns) a pamphlet too good for so poor an object. 13. Dr. Hook's "Call to Union defended," (Burns) an able answer to an article in Fraser's Magazine.

But the most remarkable and important testimony which has met our eye, at once to the growing influence, and the claims of apostolical doctrine, upon the religious world, is contained in the following noble passage of the Dean of Chichester's Charge (Parker), who will be found to sanction with the weight of his high authority, the views we maintained in our last number, that the present state of religious opinion is the result of a *movement* of the public mind, not of individual exertion:—After speaking of the Rebellion and its consequences, the very reverend writer proceeds, "Then followed a time, occupying the close of the 17th, and the greater part of the last century, when the standard of public opinion, and the general principles of men who were invested with authority, and gave the cast and colour to their age, were lamentably debased; and the Church, in close harmony with the State, was low in principle, low in its tone, both of doctrine and of discipline. One by one she saw, and saw without a struggle, her rights and privileges abridged,—the terms on which she united herself with the State violated, and herself reduced to be little more than a mere instrument and engine of civil government. If

during this period a few notes of a higher sound were occasionally uttered, they were lost on ears little accustomed to hear and to understand them. The first movement went to revive some of the peculiar and distinguishing doctrines of our holy faith, which had been too much left out of sight by a system of teaching that had well-nigh substituted ethics for theology, Seneca and Epictetus for Christ in our pulpits. But in matters that concerned the visible constitution of the Church, she still slumbered on, under the benumbing influence of friendly governments, till she began almost to forget herself and her heavenly origin. When this friendship was at length withdrawn from her, she at first felt herself astounded and bewildered. The props on which she had so long leaned being withdrawn, she hardly knew for a while how to use her own limbs. But by degrees she recovered herself. She learned to feel her own strength, and to look to her own resources. She became sensible that, however desirous to act in unison with the State, however grateful for any kindness rendered to her by the State, she could boast of an independent origin, and could, as she before had done, exist in a state of independence.

"This change of feeling, this mighty movement in the minds of Churchmen, was the natural and spontaneous effect of the altered circumstances in which they were placed. *I should be sorry to connect it even in idea* with any particular publications of the day, because this would mix us up with all the doctrines and opinions therein maintained. On many of those questions we may entertain sentiments variously modified, and yet there still remain certain grand cardinal truths, on which, as Churchmen, we now can hardly differ, although they have arisen of late almost as novelties to our consideration. We have learned better to value and more firmly maintain the dignity of our orders derived from the bishops, who are themselves descended in an unbroken and uninterrupted succession from the Apostles; and we have learned to insist more strenuously on the virtue and efficacy of the Holy Sacraments, administered by those to whom the office of imparting them has been duly communicated," &c. &c.

It would be well if the Venerable Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge would resume a practice which it dropt in 1833, of publishing in its yearly report a list of the tracts and books which it has at various times allowed to go out of print. By a recent regulation no works, which have been out of print for five years, can be reprinted without going through the process of approval by the Tract Committee for the time being. For this reason Kettlewell's Tracts, among others, are virtually struck off the Society's list, viz. his "Office for the Penitent," his "Trial and Judgment of the Soul," and "Office for one troubled in Mind." The Report for the year 1825, at which time the said Tracts were put aside, give the *general reasons* for this proceeding, which are worth citing, considering the character of the particular works which have been the victims of it. "*The length of time* which has elapsed since many of these works were adopted, and the *change* which has subsequently taken place among all ranks of society, have shown both the necessity of some alteration and the

extent to which such alterations should be carried. Those works, which, after mature examination, appear *unsuited to the present wants* of the people," (e. g. we suppose, the Office for the Penitent,) " will be suffered to remain out of print; while others which are partly of a similar description will be offered in an *abridged form* for the especial use of the Society." (Worse and worse—abridged! and by revisors of " *a similar description*" to the writer of this paragraph! O terque quaterque beati Queis ante ora patrum, &c. &c.) " Thus it is hoped, without any sudden or violent change, the Society will be gradually disencumbered of works which have served to swell its Catalogue to an inconvenient bulk, *without producing a corresponding advantage to the public.*" Poor Kettlewell! So far, however, is plain that, at least since 1825, malign influences have been at work in the Society.

GERMANY.—The revival of Church-feeling among bodies, whose fore-fathers forfeited Episcopacy, is one of the cheering signs of the present times. It indicates surely that the growth of corresponding feelings among ourselves is no chance circumstance, nor to be accounted for by the influence of individuals, or any temporary events, as the hostility of Dissenters, or the lukewarmness of the state. When many hearts are turned independently the same way, surely one must recognize His hand, who guideth the hearts of men. This longing for a Church and for Church feeling is especially perceptible in Lutheran Germany, as having departed less than the " Reformed" from the model of the ancient Church. The following passage from a work recently published, " Cyprian's Doctrines of the Church," by a Candidate for Orders, Huther, is one among many evidences of this yearning. We do not, of course, further make ourselves answerable for his views; e. g. the very fact that in our own Church, though partially dependent upon the state, there is that ardent love for her, which this writer thinks incompatible with a state of bondage, shows that in this case he has not gone deep enough. So long as the Church remains unmutilated, her children will retain this devoted attachment to her, whether she be in the Holy Land or " by the waters of Babylon."

" We boast of having been, through the word of God, set free from the manifold errors of the [Roman] Catholic doctrine, and especially from the wrongful narrowing of the Church prevalent in [Roman] Catholicism, and rightly; but it is, methinks, not to our honour, that we are so deficient in that enthusiasm which the Catholic feels in being a member of the communion of the faithful, the Church of Christ. Truly, we ought not to remain behind him in this! So long, indeed, as it is the prevailing opinion among Protestants, that " the error of Catholicism partly consists in attaching an extravagant value to the communion of the Church,' so long as they regard the visible Church as ' an institution for individuals, and an aggregate of individuals, whose relation to Christ is independent of her,' so long must Protestants remain strangers to all true enthusiasm for the communion of the Church; for how can the heart beat enthusiastically for a mere aggregate of individuals? But must the Protestant then of necessity only hold it to be such? May he not, without abandoning his principles, account it somewhat else and higher? True, he cannot admit of the Catholic limitation of it, for this is arbitrarily drawn, contradictory to its true nature; he must give up the idea of an Unity resulting from any out-

ward organization of a definite constitution; but must he therefore give up the consciousness of a Communion, the feeling that, only as a member of the Church is he a partaker of the blessings of Christ? True, he must not in such view identify his own particular Church with the Church of Christ, as that the bounds of both should be the same; he must acknowledge that the Church of Christ is to be found out of his own, that his is only one manifestation of the Church Universal; but must his love for his own Church be therefore of necessity less than that which the Catholic bears to his? True he cannot admit that the visible Church, at any time or place of her earthly developement, fully represents the Church invisible, in that she is always more or less clouded with the shades of sin; but must his zeal for the Church of Christ be therefore necessarily less than that of the Catholic? Who would answer all these questions in the affirmative? If then this defect no ways results from the principles of the Protestant Church, whence does it? A full examination of this question would lead too far; here we would only remark briefly, that whoso is destitute of faith in Christ, who seek for salvation in themselves and not in the Lord, can naturally have no true and living interest in the communion of the Church founded on Christ and living in Him; but that even among believing Protestants this interest is but too faint, that, knowing themselves to be in communion with the Lord, they do not *equally* feel themselves to be members of His Church; this is an unnatural state of things, which will only then be corrected, when it shall be generally acknowledged, that the Lord has imparted the whole fulness of His Life and His Gifts and Blessings to His Church, i. e. to the Communion founded by Him; a Communion, neither simply invisible, nor simply visible, but essentially and of necessity both at once, so that each individual has any share in the Invisible, only as a member of the Visible, and only in the Visible and through her does he ripen to a perfect man;—when it is acknowledged that any such division of the Ecclesia Invisibilis, and the Ecclesia Visibilis, which shall make the Visible Church a secondary thing, and almost an accidental appendage to the Invisible, is inadmissible and false, inasmuch as in truth the Invisible Church only exists, where is the Visible also. Not less unnatural and pernicious, moreover, is the indifference with which most among us Protestants regard the particular Church to which they belong, whereas a communion can only really prosper, when all individuals are animated by a living interest for its well being. To account for this unnatural state of things, one need go no further than the perverted position which Protestant Churches generally occupy to the state, whereby their independent existence is annihilated, and they are given over to that which is foreign to themselves. In the beginning indeed of their existence, it was necessary and beneficial for them to lean on the power of the state; but must they continue in this dependance for ever? 'We neither believe,' says Leo, 'that the Church was originally born to be a poor bondswoman, nor that she will pass her whole future existence in the condition, into which, in Protestant Germany, she fell soon after the carrying out of the Reformation; but we take comfort as to her actual condition, since it is evidently ordered by the wise hand of God.' Doubtless, we must recognise the wisdom of God in this order of things, yet on the other hand, we must not overlook, that a bitter fruit has resulted to the Church from being made a 'poor bondswoman,' viz. that so many of her members have forfeited all sense of the freedom, which essentially belongs to her, and with it, all real interest for the Church, so that we may well pray her Lord, once more of his goodness, to set her free from the bonds cast around her."

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Quarterly Theological Review.

OCTOBER, 1839.

ART. I.—*A Practical Treatise on the Law of Mortmain, and Charitable Uses and Trusts. With an Appendix of Statutes and Forms.* By Leonard Shelford, Esq. Barrister at Law. London: Sweet, and Stevens & Norton. 8vo. 1836.

THE searching inquiry to which the whole patrimony of the Church has been subjected, seems to afford reasons for examining a branch of our civil and ecclesiastical policy, hitherto neglected by reformers as well as conservatives:—we mean the restraints which have been imposed upon the increase of ecclesiastical property by the statutes of Mortmain. The reports of commissioners and other official documents have proved beyond dispute, that the total amount of Church property is by no means greater than is absolutely requisite for that object which alone appears to be recognized in this day—the spiritual wants of the people. This, it is clearly demonstrated, must be the case under any system of distribution or administration of that property which would be compatible with the frame of society in this country, or the essential constitution of the Church itself.

And while the Church establishment is merely adequate to the social duties which it has to perform in a great part of the kingdom, in many places it is even insufficient, and actually receives assistance for the purpose from voluntary contributions, both public and private. There are, for instance, commissioners and societies for building and repairing churches, and these moreover find it difficult to answer the constant demands made upon the funds at their disposal. Yet the new churches are usually of a very homely description. Their thin brick walls and mean looking galleries afford a striking contrast to the solid respectability of older ecclesiastical structures; while the venerable arrangements

of the latter are often degraded, and their sacred beauty defaced by vulgar, or even grossly barbarous, contrivances, to afford room for increasing congregations.

Again, it would be highly desirable that the Church should take the lead in educating the middle and lower orders; but how can this be done out of the ecclesiastical revenues? Societies have lately sprung up in many dioceses for the purpose of carrying this great and excellent scheme into effect. But ought not the Church to be able to do this herself? Ought so important a matter to be simply left to the somewhat uncertain resources of voluntary associations? If the wisdom of our ancestors is anything, and if experience is to be regarded, we ought to wish for permanent endowments, instead of such associations as are at present all in all, which, besides the precariousness of their means, are unwieldy and difficult to govern or direct upon any steady uniform principle. Facts and reasons such as these naturally turn the mind to the consideration of the existing difficulties in the way of increasing those endowments which at present remain to the Church in this country, and especially of the statutes of Mortmain, by which they are restrained by force of law. Some inquiry into them will here be attempted: the subject is interesting and extensive, requiring, as it will, some notice of the principles of ecclesiastical endowments, both in themselves and with relation to the state, and of their history in this country.

The most important legal quality of ecclesiastical property is inalienability, a principle which sprung from the perpetuity of the visible church. The earliest records of ecclesiastical history show us the Church not merely as a multitude of people holding certain religious opinions in common, but as a society governed by the Apostles, and afterwards by apostolic men, appointed by them as their successors, who soon received the name of Bishops, which had at first been applied to Priests,* strictly so

* Mosheim observes, that the word ἐπίσκοπος is sometimes applied in the Acts and Epistles to persons who were evidently only elders or presbyters, and thence he doubts whether episcopacy is of divine institution as a distinct order. But he does not show that those elders ever exercised the apostolical power of ordination, which is the great distinctive function of episcopacy; and the name, which signifies merely an overseer, does not imply any such power; whereas we find that the apostles themselves, and *certain* persons ordained by them, such as Timothy and Titus, exercised that special power. For instance, in the general directions given by St. Paul concerning the duties and qualifications of a "bishop," there is not a word about ordination. Those precepts were addressed to both orders. But we find him giving special directions to Timothy and Titus as to the exercise of their power of ordination. Every bishop (in the ecclesiastical sense of the word) is a priest, and episcopacy is often called by the antient writers *plenitudo sacerdotii*; and thus the apostle, in speaking of the duties common to both orders, draws no distinction between them; but this does

called, as well as to those who were invested with that plenitude of sacerdotal power which constitutes episcopacy.

Unity and perpetuity were from the very beginning fundamental principles of the constitution of the church. We find that the constant solicitude of the Apostles was directed to prevent or stifle divisions, and to keep up unity of government by authoritative decisions of doubtful questions, which from time to time arose on matters of faith and discipline. The church was considered as one family, and as it spread, the same principle was kept constantly in view. Every where a bishop was the centre of unity for those who inhabited the district allotted to him, and the bishops were all in communion with each other, and professing to follow the same rules as heads of parts of the great whole. The institution of Metropolitans, which was certainly anterior to the first Council of Nice, as the canons of that council clearly show, was framed with a view to the maintenance of that same principle of unity. When individuals set themselves up as the heads of sects, holding peculiar doctrines unsanctioned by authority, and thereby disturbed the harmony of the ecclesiastical body politic, they were summoned before a council, and condemned as innovators and breakers of the peace of the Church. At times the Church appeared in danger of breaking into sects and factions, but the promise of Divine protection was fulfilled,—the schismatics seceded, and the unity of the Church was preserved. This catholic principle of unity was closely connected with that of perpetuity. The regular and uniform constitution of churches in the first centuries, and the succession of bishops from the apostles, preserved and transmitted from one generation to another the *identity* of the church, to which through its first rulers, the apostles, distinct pledges of perpetual duration had been made.*

This principle, which had been acknowledged as to spiritual gifts and offices from the first, was impressed upon the tenure of ecclesiastical property as soon as the cessation of persecution allowed the Christians to make endowments.

Permanency of endowments was a consequence naturally deduced from the character of a body politic, of which perpetuity and a regular succession of rulers were essential principles. When the heathen temples were inherited by the church from

not show that those whom in that part of his Epistle he comprehends under *one* name *all* exercised *the same* powers. If all had possessed the power of ordination, he would have given to all those directions respecting its exercise; which we find he gives only to Timothy and Titus. V. Hooker, Eccles. Polit. b. vii; Lancelot, Just. Jur. Canon. l. i. tit. v. princ. Not. Doujatii. See also the Decretum Dist. xxi.

* "Let the heretics produce the *origins* of their church; let them evolve the *order* of the bishops," &c. Tertull. Præscr. § ii.

Paganism, the Roman law, by which the former state religion* was supported and its property protected, naturally and necessarily continued its protection to things devoted to sacred purposes in that religion which had now become the religion of the state. Nor let any one be startled at the admission, that Christianity took the place of Paganism and inherited its power and office. Undoubtedly it stands related to the false system which preceded it, as the true heir does to a usurper, or the Israelites to the devoted nations whom they succeeded. Almost in all respects, in doctrines, in rites, in polity, in discipline, the church system is the divinely ordered completion, as well as antagonist, of the religions which preceded it. The worship of the true Trinity superseded the false or shadowy trinities of the heathen; the ceremonial of baptism supplanted their lustral and expiatory washings; Christ's priestly service, visibly represented in His ministers, obscured and obliterated their earthborn priesthood; and, in like manner, it is no great admission to make, that the state's relations and duties to the church resemble those which it used to observe, ignorantly but piously, towards her Pagan counterfeit. Thus in the compilations of the Christian Justinian, we find the same principles of law applied to church property, whether consecrated or not, which had formerly defined the legal nature of the heathen temples and endowments. And hence those principles, though originally heathen, yet, as being the first laws that regulated ecclesiastical property when the Christian Church was publicly recognized by the civil power, are deserving of something more than transitory notice.

In the classification of things by the Roman law, sacred things, that is to say, things consecrated by a bishop, or in more ancient times by a heathen pontiff, were placed under the head of *res nullius*, or things not the property of any one.† They were called *res nullius*, not in the same sense as things not appropriated, which might be acquired by occupation, but because they were held not to be under the dominion of any person or body politic. They were devoted, not to a person, but to a purpose. They were said to be *non humani sed divini juris*, and were in a manner held to be the property of Heaven,‡ in a special and peculiar manner.

There is profound wisdom in the principle, that a thing may be

* Publicum jus in sacris, in sacerdotibus, in magistratibus consistit. Pand. l. i. § 2. tit. De Just. et Jur.

† L. 1 princ. Pand. tit. De divis. rerum et qual.; l. 6, eod. tit. § 2; Inst. eod. tit. pr. & §§. sequ.

‡ This latter doctrine may have been the origin of the practice of bequeathing legacies to God, or to Christ, which we find mentioned in the 131 Nov. Const. cap. ix. and in other parts of the Corpus Juris.

so devoted to a purpose as to be legally incapable of being alienated therefrom,—though it is not vested in any man or body of men. When the incumbent is dead and no successor appointed, in whom is the Church vested? Our law answers, that the freehold is in abeyance, but the principles of the civil law will, as Lord Hale asserts frequently to be the case, afford a more satisfactory solution of the difficulty. Things consecrated are, at all times, in truth, the property of no one, but they are devoted to a purpose.

The laws of property are a part of the secondary law of nature, and derive their sanction from the institution of society, which secures to every man that which he has acquired by different modes.

Society becomes in a manner a trustee. It is the duty of society to maintain the lawful appropriation of things, whether to a person or body of persons, or to a purpose. The inviolability of property does not spring from the fact of the rights of some person or corporate body suffering from its violation. The natural lawfulness of the appropriation is sufficient to impose upon society, having sanctioned it, the obligation of maintaining that appropriation; and whether property is vested in a person or persons, or is devoted to a purpose beneficial to the whole, or a part of society, there is evidently no sort of difference in principle.

The principles of the civil law respecting *res nullius* are applicable as well to other ecclesiastical property as to things consecrated; for the consecration by the Pontiff was no more than a religious sanction, added to the legal appropriation of a thing. It was also the mode or form of accomplishing the appropriation. Besides, it is hardly necessary to remind our reader, that among the ancient Romans all ecclesiastical property was consecrated by the pontiffs.

If we add to these principles those which spring necessarily from the connexion of the Church with the State, we shall show still more evidently the inaccuracy of a common doctrine, that, provided the rights of present incumbents are respected, it is sufficient.

The State is evidently bound, in a special manner, to protect and maintain the endowments of the Church which is sanctioned by the law, for it is bound to uphold all other appropriations which are not unlawful. Now it is not the rights of incumbents which the State is bound to respect, but the appropriation of certain things to a purpose. Those things are only technically the property of such incumbents. These are *res nullius.* They are devoted to a purpose which a large part of the community hold to be of the highest nature. They are devoted to a purpose

the sacredness of which the State itself expressly recognizes. These are principles as important as the rights of present incumbents, or vested rights, for they rest upon the foundations of the laws of property.

We are, however, not now arguing for the absolute inalienability of Church property, considered in this point of view, or its total exemption from regulation by the sovereign power of the State. Such positions have not been successfully maintained even in Romanist countries. But we do maintain that the mere vacancy of a benefice, or dignity, does not render it less sacred, on principle, than when it was full; though in the latter case there is an additional reason of equity for respecting its endowments which are legally vested in the incumbent, who would suffer from being deprived of them. We would contend, that though the Church is not a body politic in law, capable of holding property as such, the principles of public law are the same so far as regards the inviolability of her property, as if she were technically invested with the capacities of a corporation. Church property is set apart and appropriated to ecclesiastical purposes as much as the property of any corporation is vested in that body.

The principle of the dedication of property to sacred purposes, which, as we have said, is a natural consequence of the perpetuity of the Church, was thus sanctioned by the civil law of the Roman empire. The Church, however, had possessed land long before it was recognized by law, even so early as the third century;* but in the early ages, it was chiefly maintained by the voluntary contributions of the faithful, which were received by the bishop, and by him distributed to the clergy, reserving a share for his own maintenance. But those, who know any thing of the strict discipline of the ancient Church, must clearly see that this mode of supporting the clergy was very different from what is now technically called the voluntary system. The faithful were bound to provide for the maintenance of the Church, not indeed by law, but by the discipline of the Church itself, the *obligatory force* of which was as great as that of any law. Christians were *forced* to be voluntaries. No man could become a dissenter, without becoming excommunicate; and remaining in the Church, he was of course bound by her regulations and customs. Every Christian was bound by the most sacred obligations to contribute to the support of that society, through the institutions of which *alone* he received the sacraments and the consolations of religion. But to return to our immediate subject;—in the earliest times certain places were devoted to divine worship; and indeed Van Espen argues, with some force, from St. Paul's injunction to the

* Hericourt, Loix Eccles. Par. IV. Diss.; Id. Par. II. Diss.

Corinthians, " have ye not houses to eat and drink in, or despise ye the Church of God," that even in the apostolic times there were certain public places in which the sacred mysteries were performed.* This opinion is supported by the authority of St. Basil and St. Augustine. These places were consecrated in very ancient times, for the consecration of churches is mentioned as an established rite† by Eusebius, St. Athanasius, and St. Ambrose. The ancient Christians were in the habit of resorting for prayer to the tombs of the martyrs, as places possessing peculiar sanctity, and when the cessation of persecution permitted them to build churches, they naturally raised them in those places.‡ Of course, ground rendered sacred by the bodies of the martyrs, was permanently devoted to ecclesiastical purposes. It was held a great privilege to be buried near the *martyria*, or sepulchral churches of the apostles and martyrs; so that the Emperor Theodosius, to prevent cemeteries being established in towns, forbade burials in those places; and St. John Chrysostom says, that emperors set a great value upon the honour of being buried even near the threshold of those buildings.§

The Roman law forbade burials in towns, under severe penalties, until the practice was permitted by the Emperor Leo:‖ therefore, we can only explain the law of Theodosius, above referred to, which implies that the tombs of the martyrs were frequently in towns, by concluding that their bodies must have been transferred there, or that the faithful resorted to the neighbourhood of the *martyria*, for the purpose of living near those consecrated spots.¶ The eloquent account given by St. Chrysostom of the extraordinary honours with which the body of St. Ignatius was conveyed from the place of his martyrdom to Antioch, his see, is well known, as having been used by the Romanists, among many other ancient narrations, to justify their superstitions re-

* Van Espen, Par. II. sec. i. tit. v. De Celebr. Miss.

† Van Espen, Par. II. sec. ii. tit. i. § i. ii.

‡ Hericourt; Van Espen, tit. cit. § xiii. xiv. Cardinal Bona derives from this interesting fact the custom prevalent from at least the fourth century of making use of the relics of saints in the consecration of churches. The custom, however, as described by the cardinal, appears very superstitious and objectionable.

§ Van Espen, Par. II. sec. iv. tit. vii.

‖ Voet. ad Pand. tit. De Sepulcr. Viol. § ii. Justinian had previously permitted burials in monasteries and convents in towns. The Christian emperors permitted the burial of the saints in towns. Van Espen, Par. II. sec. iv. tit. vii. § viii.

¶ By the Roman law the burial of a dead body made a place *religiosum* or holy, (L. 2. § De Relig. et Sumpt. Funer.) and this principle may have been applied by the Christians to the places to which the bodies of the saints were carried. This may also serve to explain the origin of consecrating churches by means of the relics or bodies of the saints, mentioned in a former note. In the Law 44, de Relig. the very word *reliquiæ* is used by Paulus.

specting relics,* and to palliate the abuses which pollute so many of their churches.

It is highly probable that the desire of the primitive Christians to be buried near the *martyria*, gave rise to the custom of burying near churches generally, of which we find no traces among the pagans.† It must soon have prevailed universally after the Emperor Leo permitted burials in towns.

Such were the first beginnings of ecclesiastical landed property. Endowments by gifts and legacies naturally followed. The Emperor Constantine sanctioned such pious disposal of land by a law;‡ but there is no doubt, as we said above, that the Church possessed landed endowments before that time, though without such sanction. The whole of the revenues of the Church still remained at the disposal, and subject to the administration of the bishop, who distributed them among the clergy, reserving portions for himself, for the poor, and the purposes of divine worship.§ It was not before the fifth century that certain estates were assigned to particular clerks to be held as benefices; first, for their lives, but afterwards as permanently annexed to a church, chapel or dignity. From that time a great change took place in ecclesiastical endowments. The quadripartite division of revenues by the bishop gradually fell into disuse, and the property of the Church became portioned out into benefices, to which specific duties were attached.‖

It is doubtful when the revenues of the Church first became inalienable by the bishop. The council of Carthage, held in the year 398, absolutely prohibited alienations, except by the primate, assisted by a certain number of bishops, and for specified causes. A decree in Gratian's compilation,¶ the date of which is uncertain, but which Van Espen attributes to the sixth or seventh century, restrains the bishop from alienating Church property, except with the assent of the clergy, and for the manifest good of the Church. This decree, and many others of popes and synods, which are to be found in the Decretum, the Decretals, and other parts of the canon law, established the almost entire inalienability of Church property. These restrictions were also sanctioned by Imperial Constitutions;** and the civil law, considering ecclesiastical bodies in the light of persons under legal inca-

* Wiseman's Lectures, Lect. XIII.
† Van Espen, Par. II. sec. iv. tit. vii. § xi.
‡ L. i. Cod. de Sacros. Eccles.
§ Van Espen, Par. II. sec. iv. tit. v.; Alberti Tract. de Sacr. Utensil. c. i. 2.
‖ Van Espen, Par. II. sec. iii. tit. i.
¶ Caus. 12, Quæst. 2, Can. 52.
** Cod. l. xiv.—xvii. et al. De Sacr. Eccles.

pacity, granted to them the same relief as to lunatics and minors.* Those bodies were of course in many cases also subject to peculiar rules and statutes restraining alienations, as well as to the restrictive conditions annexed to donations by founders and benefactors.

Laws so consonant with the views of the clergy and the principles of the Church were of course zealously supported and encouraged by the ecclesiastical and civil power. They were probably necessary for the consolidation of the Church; and if the Church had not possessed the political power which was inseparable from the enjoyment of landed property, it is doubtful, humanly speaking, whether it could have resisted the shocks from which even the influence of superstition did not exempt it in lawless times of barbarism. It seems to have been necessary that the Church should have power, riches, and even pomp, to exercise over semi-barbarous kings and nations that Christian influence the benignant effects of which we frequently see in history, and to which we in a great degree owe the revival of civilization and learning.

That the wealth and power of the clergy produced luxury and corruption, cannot be denied; but this only proves that Providence, not disdaining human means, as in other similar instances, did not separate from them their human imperfections.

It does not appear as if the law of England added its sanction to the restraints upon the alienation of ecclesiastical property; and until the enactment of the disabling statutes in Queen Elizabeth's reign, which restrained ecclesiastical and eleemosynary corporations from every mode of alienation, except leasing,† they were allowed to alien their land as freely as individuals.

It is, however, probable that the principles of ecclesiastical law, which we have mentioned above, were in practice adhered to in the Church, and an oath was administered to the heads of capitular and monastic bodies on their election, not to alienate the property of the Church. The legal nature of Church property was such, that the law of the state was not needed to prevent its being alienated or secularized. The principle, that Church property is not belonging to the clergy, but dedicated to the purposes of religion, was acted upon as a corner-stone of ecclesiastical public law.

The Canon Law considers a clerk as in bondage to the Church, and for that reason applies the term *peculium* to the portion of ecclesiastical revenues appropriated to the maintenance of the

* Voet. lib. xxvii. tit. x. † Cruise Dig. tit. xxxii. ch. ii. § 2.

clergy.* Thus, like the *peculium* of a slave in the civil law, the mere administration of the revenues belongs to the clerk, while the real dominion is vested in the Church. Every emolument arising from Church property belongs to the Church, and on the death of the clerk returns to it instead of being inherited by his family. *Qui servit altari de altare vivat*, is the maxim of the canon law, which acknowledges no right to the enjoyment of ecclesiastical revenues in those who do not serve the altar. Thus sinecures merely for the emolument of those who hold them, are contrary to the spirit of the ecclesiastical law.

We must intreat indulgence of many excellent and zealous defenders of the Church in this day, while we are obliged by the force of facts to destroy the ingenious theories on which they would rest her establishment. If then we are content to take history for our guide, we shall find that ecclesiastical dignities were not intended to allure men of rank, or wealth, or high secular prospects, into the service of the Church. They were not intended as prizes in a lottery, or even to afford learned leisure to studious men unincumbered by sacerdotal duties. We defy those who take these very temporal views of Church endowments to prove from any ecclesiastical writer or canonist, that such considerations were ever entertained by the fathers and founders of the Churches. On the contrary, we everywhere see the doctrine of strict appropriation of revenues to sacred purposes. We find nothing about providing for families, and gratifying pecuniary ambition. Those things are blamed and repudiated. The Church is always held to be the true proprietor of the endowments, while the clergy are but servants receiving maintenance, for no other reason than because they devote themselves to the service of the altar.

Even where the Ecclesiastical Law invests a prelate with magnificence and power, it is to exalt the Church by means of what is visible—to add solemnity to her services—and to do honour to God through His servants—but not for the purpose of rendering holy orders a desirable or profitable profession, in a temporal point of view,—or even of rewarding meritorious ecclesiastics, who ought to look for far higher objects. We do not say that the comforts and temporal welfare of the clergy is not a fit object for the law to be employed about; we contend against that selfish and purely temporal aspect in which ecclesiastical institutions have lately been regarded. We deprecate the prominent manner

* Van Espen, Par. II. sect. iii. tit. i. § 4. 8. The tonsure was originally intended as a badge of bondage. Hericourt attests this fact. This explains why persons who had taken a vow shaved their heads.

in which a purely professional view of the clergy has been brought forward, and the vulgar notions of the respect due to personal riches made a principle on which an ecclesiastical statesman is to legislate. It is surely most low-minded to bring down the policy of the Church to a level with the vulgarity of petty traders, who conceive nothing respectable but wealth, together with ease or comparative idleness, instead of endeavouring to raise the tone of public feeling to the noble principles of the Ecclesiastical Public Law. If these selfish views had prevailed among our ancestors, we should not now possess those noble monuments of their piety, which still are a honour to our Church and our country. Our sacred fabrics would be mean or homely, while on the other hand, many opulent families would be tracing their descent to the nearest relatives of churchmen enriched by the violation of those principles of self-abnegation, on which the laws of ecclesiastical property are founded.

The enactments of the temporal law were not needed, to cause the great accumulation of property in the hands of the Church during the Middle Ages. The Church was sufficiently free from private feelings, cupidity, and ambition, to hinder its dissipation at the hands of her individual ministers, who had the use of it. It may be observed, that the statutes of Elizabeth which imposed the first secular restraints upon the alienation of Church property, were framed principally to protect the Church, not from the malversation of churchmen, but from the rapacity of the crown. The only other species of protection intended by these statutes, was rendered necessary by the remarkable state of the Church under Queen Mary, when the Romanist bishops endeavoured to impoverish the sees which they knew that they must soon resign to the prelates of the Church of England.* The peculiar circumstances under which Elizabeth succeeded to the crown, rendered it desirable that she should obtain the support of the Church, and this accounts for the protection thus given by statute to its patrimony. But till then it was unnecessary; the Church did not need to be protected against herself; and enemies were not in a condition to injure her. The principles of ecclesiastical law, such as we have described them, were pretty well understood on both sides.

The original acquisition of the great mass of landed property, for which the Church in this country has been remarkable, is to be traced to the mode in which Christianity was propagated in England at and after the time of St. Augustine. At that period a great proportion of the larger monastic bodies were founded.

* Reeves, Hist. of Eng. Law, vol. 5, p. 26.

St. Augustine, being a monk, naturally favoured those institutions, and availed himself of their peculiar fitness to accomplish the purpose for which he came to England. When St. Augustine was sent by Gregory the Great, the secular clergy had been proved unable to accomplish the conversion of England. They were necessarily wanting in union, organization, obedience, and learning. The monastic communities, on the contrary, were in a perfect state of discipline, bound by vows of obedience, and cultivating in common and by joint efforts those branches of learning which were necessary for the due performance of their duties. This latter circumstance was not unimportant at any time before the invention of printing, but especially at that early period when the acquisition of learning by an insulated individual was almost impossible.

However, the principal reason which renders the monastic orders so powerful to propagate the doctrines of the Church, is the total abnegation of self, which it is the object of their statutes to produce in every individual member of their communities. It is the merging the individual in the corporate character, and thereby, as well as by the principle of implicit obedience, making a more or less large body of men act as one man, so far as regards the unity and consistency of their action, but with all the power and abundance of means belonging to a multitude. This is the principle on which all military bodies are constituted, and it is equally applicable to the production of moral and physical results. It would have been difficult to devise a more efficient means of converting a people so difficult to manage as the Anglo-Saxons than the monastic orders and communities.

We cannot wonder, then, that the piety of the Saxon kings heaped favours upon those bodies to whom they owed such inestimable benefits. The Clergy naturally inculcated with all their power the duty of encouraging those institutions which they had seen produce such great results. People were as zealous in those days for the increase and prosperity of the monastic institutions, as they now are in the cause of Bible Societies, Church Missionary Societies, and the innumerable other religious associations which fill our newspapers with their advertisements, appeals to the public, and speeches.

In those days, as in ours, there was an evident insufficiency of the parochial clergy alone to produce certain given results. The principle of association, of which we have seen, and daily see, the power exemplified in societies—charitable, learned, and religious—as well as in a multitude of other bodies constructed for various purposes in peace and war, was well understood by the founders of the monastic orders. Without those institutions the Church

would hardly have been sufficiently strong to perform all the duties required of her; and their founders were deservedly numbered among the chief benefactors of religion.

The power and revenues of the religious houses, however, soon increased beyond what was requisite for the furtherance of their legitimate objects, and then commenced the abuses of monachism. And now we come to the immediate subject which has led to these remarks.

The feudal polity was the first cause of the laws restraining Ecclesiastical bodies from acquiring land. We find nothing in the older writers about the impolicy of tying-up land in perpetuity, to which the statutes of mortmain have since been attributed. The reasons given for those restraints in the books and the preambles of the statutes are always, that the holding of land by bodies having perpetual succession deprived the lords of the advantages of tenure.* Moreover, land was frequently held by the clergy in frankalmoigne, and by tenure of divine service, which being purely ecclesiastical tenures, the military constitution of the realm was injured by the loss of the services of their tenants.†

It is remarkable that though alienations to *religious men* were sometimes forbidden before that time in the charters by which the land was held, the first statute of mortmain was not enacted before the ninth year of Henry III.‡

The statute in question (9th H. III., c. 36) merely restrains tenants of other lords from transferring their tenure by a fictitious process to religious houses. That contrivance enabled the tenant, under pretext of some forfeiture, surrender, or escheat, to give his land to the monks, notwithstanding the prohibitive clause in his charter. All religious houses and ecclesiastical bodies were corporations having perpetual succession by their very nature. An express clause in a charter was not held necessary to confer that privilege before the fifteenth century.§ This statute, however, applied only to the regular clergy. It would be beyond our purpose to lay before our readers here the history of the successive statutes by which the prohibitions of the mortmain law were applied to all ecclesiastical bodies and persons, and the numerous ingenious contrivances resorted to for the purpose of evading those prohibitions were frustrated. It will be sufficient for us to show the policy and effect of those enactments, and the general state of the law as it at present exists.

A check upon the increase of the regular clergy must have been

* Kyd on Corporations, vol. i. pp. 79, 80.
† Co. Litt.
‡ Kyd on Corporations, vol. i. p. 80.
§ Palgrave, Progr. of Brit. Commonw. part i. p. 161.

very desirable for the welfare of the Church itself. The monks were originally mere lay-men, bound by vows to undergo austerities, and perform duties of a more severe and ascetic nature than those which, by the discipline of the Church, were incumbent on the rest of the laity. They were, consequently, subject to the authority of the bishops, in the same manner as other laymen. The Emperor Marcian, in the fifth century, suggested to the Council of Chalcidon the necessity of placing the monastic societies under episcopal jurisdiction, in the same manner as the clergy, because of their interference in ecclesiastical and secular matters, whereby the regularity and good government of the Church were injured. By the 4th Canon the Council enacted, that no monastery should be erected without the consent of the bishop, and that the monks should be subject in the strictest manner to episcopal government. This law was confirmed by the 67th and 123rd Novels of Justinian, and by several Councils and Synods both Latin and Greek.

In the sixth century privileges and immunities began to be obtained* by founders, to protect their monasteries from the exactions, and sometimes arbitrary acts of the bishops. They were granted by the bishops themselves, and confirmed by synods, popes, or princes. These privileges, however, regarded certain special points, and did not deprive the bishop of his governing jurisdiction over the monks. But the principle of privileged bodies once introduced was soon carried to such lengths as to injure episcopal government. Privileges were followed by exemptions strictly so called, and the spread of monastic orders then became dangerous to the apostolical constitution of the Church. In the eleventh century the exemption of monasteries from the jurisdiction of the bishops commenced, and we find St. Bernard strongly protesting against† that infringement of the ancient policy of the Church. That great man even wrote in strong terms to Pope Eugenius III., expostulating with him against the granting of exemptions from episcopal jurisdiction. Similar complaints were made (through his chancellor, Peter of Blois,) by Richard Archbishop of Canterbury, to Alexander III. The Councils of Lateran, under Alexander III. and Innocent III., in vain added their representations to those of many illustrious prelates.‡ We have the authority of Cardinal Baronius for saying,

* Van Espen, par. iii. tit. xii. cap. 2 and 3.

† Vide Van Espen, par. iii. tit. xii. cap. 4, per tot.; and Henricourt, Loix Eccles., chap. Des exemptions, &c.

‡ The abbots in some cases obtained permission to use the mitre, crozier, and other pontifical ornaments; and even to confer the four minor orders. It must be remembered that the minor orders were never held to be of Divine institution, and were consequently not included by the Church of Rome in the Sacrament of orders.

that St. Francis, the founder of the chief among the mendicant orders which sprung up in the thirteenth century, was adverse to exemptions; and that that privilege was obtained for the Franciscans by a worldly monk named Brother Elias. The other mendicant orders soon followed the example of the Franciscans, by obtaining exemptions from all episcopal jurisdiction, excepting that of Rome. Such a privilege was contrary to the principles and intention of their founders. The mendicant orders were intended to assist the parochial clergy,* and it was natural that they should therefore be subject to the same episcopal superior. These important deviations from the wise principle of unity of government in each diocese, naturally produced such discord and irregularity in the Church, that the statutes of mortmain, whereby restraint was placed upon the increase of monastic institutions, were very beneficial, and perhaps necessary. Such a restraint was the more necessary, because it was impossible to obtain from Rome a reform of these abuses which were powerful means of increasing the papal power.

At the Council of Trent the princes and prelates of Germany prayed for a total abolition of all exemptions; and that all monasteries might be placed under the authority of the bishop in whose diocese they were situated.† A strong report had already been made against exemptions by the prelates who were appointed under Paul III. to inquire into abuses on which the council were to legislate. But it was part of the policy of Rome not to allow any diminution of the immediate and exclusive jurisdiction of the Pope over the monks in every part of the world.

However useful this policy may have been to the usurped power of the papacy, it was too great a departure from the apostolical constitution of the Church not to be very dangerous. The great principle of ecclesiastical polity is, that episcopacy is the very corner-stone of the constitution of the Church. Associations and bodies politic within the Church may be very useful, but they must be subordinate to episcopal government, to which all things in the Church should, by virtue of its apostolical constitution, submit. Societies, whether monastic or secular, are of human, while episcopacy is of Divine, institution. The former may be useful, but the latter is necessary; and too much care can hardly be taken lest the human addition should break in upon the principle, and perhaps injure the working of the Divine institution. "Do nothing without the Bishops," was the wise precept of St. Ignatius, and it was strictly adhered to in the early ages of the Church.

* Ptus. Bonaventura tract. Quare Fratres Minores Predicent.
† Van Espen, par. iii. tit. xii. cap. 6.

These observations, it is obvious, are very applicable to many of our present religious societies. We are told that they have episcopal sanction, because some of the bishops are enrolled among their members. But are they under the *government* of the bishops of their respective dioceses, or either of the primates? Are not the bishops indebted for their influence in those societies rather to the vote of the members, than to any distinct recognition of their exclusive jurisdiction in all ecclesiastical matters within their dioceses? Would not a majority of members conceive themselves competent to act contrary to the opinion of the bishop of the diocese? Do they not practically consider themselves as responsible to their own body alone? They judge for themselves by decision of a majority, without appeal, what doctrines are to be circulated in their publications, and taught by their preachers. They perform at their own discretion functions and duties which, being within the province of the Church, are therefore within its jurisdiction, and which ought, for that reason, to be performed in strict obedience to the Church and its rulers. The bishop being, by virtue of his office, the only arbiter of all matters touching the spiritual welfare of the people within his diocese, it is plain that for any body of persons to assume independent functions in such matters, is a violation of the very principle of episcopal government. It is a breach of the unity of Church government. It is contrary to the rules of ecclesiastical polity, and to apostolic tradition.

We should rejoice with more unmixed feelings of pleasure at such good results, as arise from the exertions of these societies, if that good were of an unmixed character, if it arose from their acting according to the principle of St. Ignatius, and submitting themselves entirely to that authority by which it was ordained from the first that the Church should be governed. Those institutions should be looked upon as additional means, at the disposal of the episcopate, and not as something distinct in themselves.

This was altogether forgotten or neglected by the papal system in the middle ages as regards the monastic orders, and had not the statutes of Mortmain put a restraint upon their increase, they would have almost overwhelmed the Church. Of their grasping and restless spirit we have strong evidence in the numerous ingenious contrivances recorded in our law books,* by which they strove to evade those restraints; and they were aided in their encroachments by the popular opinions, too widely and broadly set forth by the clergy, respecting the efficacy of works of piety

* Kyd on Corporations, v. i. ch. ii. sect. 1; Blackstone, vol. ii. chap. xviii.

and charity to wash out sin. Besides, there was of course much in the constitution of the monastic orders, composed chiefly of the humblest classes of society, yet invested with a venerable and sacred dignity,—poor and lowly, yet reverenced by the rich and great,—which strongly enlisted popular sympathy in their favour. It was the most democratical part of the Church, and yet the principles of the ecclesiastical law, inculcating humility and respect for dignities, together with the piety of the monasteries towards their founders and benefactors, rendered them by no means, in themselves, less dear to the aristocracy than to the commonalty. When the ambition of the court of Rome made them subservient to its own interest, it had in its hands one of the most powerful instruments that has been devised for attacking the liberties of the churches and the rights of secular princes. Hence the continued attempts to enforce and give effect to the acts of mortmain, up to the era of the Reformation, when the whole dispute or difficulty was closed by the abolition of the orders themselves.

If this view of the subject is tolerably correct, it will follow that with the abolition of papal supremacy the main reason in favour of the mortmain law ceased. It was obviously inconsistent with the integrity of the kingly power, that any large portion of the landed property of the country should be subject to the influence of a foreign prelate. Such an influence is even looked upon by Roman Catholic sovereigns with considerable jealousy, and, if they had their way, would probably bring about a restoration of the ancient law to a considerable extent, subjecting the monks to ordinary episcopal government.* But, whatever complaints may still be brought against the Church in Roman Catholic countries, here, at least, the political and feudal reasons in favour of the law of mortmain have ceased with the abolition at once of papal supremacy and military tenures; and having

* The statute of 1 Edward VI. ch. xiv. was grounded on theological reasons, as we see by the recital in its preamble. By that law, all lands given to *superstitious uses*, or for the maintenance of masses for the dead, chaunteries, obits and the like, were made forfeitable to the king, though not vested in any corporation, and therefore not within the statutes of mortmain. Such appropriations of lands had, by the 23d Henry VIII. ch. x, been declared void if limited for a longer term than twenty years. These statutes were held not to affect conveyances to charitable uses (Kyd on Corp. vol. i. p. 98, 99; Black. Com. vol. ii. ch. xviii; Cruise, Dig. tit. xxxii, ch. ii. s. 46, 47, and xxxviii, ch. ii. s. 22): but such conveyances were, to prevent death-bed dispositions, subjected to special and strict regulation by the 9th Geo. II. ch. 36, which is often called the Mortmain Act, though improperly so, as Lord Eldon observes (Thelluson v. Woodford, 4 Ves. jun. 340; 4 Ves. jun. 429). The effect of these laws is that dispositions of lands to charitable uses are valid, if executed according to the provisions of the last-mentioned statute, unless in favour of corporate bodies, which are liable to the mortmain acts properly so called. What charitable uses are, is a question which has given rise to many contradictory decisions, and the subject is,

ceased, the arguments of political economists against perpetuities have been brought by judges and legal writers to fill up the void. It would not be difficult to show, that the real reasons on which our law forbade even perpetuities, were of a political nature, particularly with reference to the feudal law and the statute of treasons; yet both the law of mortmain and the law against perpetuities are now supported on grounds of political economy.

A very little reflection is however sufficient to perceive that the best arguments against perpetuities are inapplicable to the statutes of mortmain. Private property best answers the purposes of families when it is not absolutely tied up for any considerable length of time. Perpetuity of possession is by no means requisite for any private purpose. Changes take place in families which render the alienation of a patrimony necessary, and even desirable. Besides, the satisfaction of just creditors would frequently be impossible, were land absolutely tied up by perpetual entail. None of these arguments apply to property devoted to a purpose which is not private. It is absolutely necessary that, in such cases, a perpetuity should be created. The purpose to which such property is devoted, is uniform and simple, and does not therefore require the same extensive powers of disposal which at every generation are necessary with respect to private property, to provide for changes of circumstances, such, for instance, as deaths, marriages, and births. Ecclesiastical bodies and persons being incapable of engaging in trade or speculations, it is evident that mischief cannot arise to the community at large from the inability of creditors to convert their endowments into money for the payment of their debts.

These diversities appear to have been but insufficiently considered, and the inconveniences of perpetuities have been constantly brought forward in support of the mortmain law.

The 7th & 8th of Will. III. confirmed the ancient royal prerogative of granting licences to amortize land, and even extended its effect by making the licence of the crown an absolute remedy against all forfeitures whatever under the Mortmain Acts.

The crown is, however, totally unrestrained in the use of this prerogative, so that it depends upon the ministers of the day to grant or refuse a licence, and the arguments against perpetuities are often adduced as showing the grant of such licences to be contrary to the policy of the law. For these reasons, as well as

fortunately, not within our province. It must be observed that the two universities, their colleges, and the colleges of Eton, Winchester, and Westminster, are excepted out of the restrictions of the 9 Geo. II. by the act itself. These exceptions are extended by the 43 Geo. III. c. 107, s. 1, to the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty. By 45 Geo. III. c. 101, the colleges in the universities are freed from the restrictions of the 9 Geo. II. by being permitted to purchase an unlimited number of advowsons.

to avoid the great expense of obtaining licences to alienate in mortmain, the Statutes of Mortmain have been dispensed with for various purposes to a limited extent, namely for the foundation of hospitals and workhouses*, the augmentation† of small livings, the building of parsonage houses and new churches‡, and in favour of certain particular bodies.

We must refer our readers for the law of this subject to the very able and learned text-book, the title of which stands at the head of our article. It contains a most full and accurate digest of the complicated branch of law, the policy of which we are considering.

The operation of the statutes for the augmentation of small livings is very limited, except as regards the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, who are enabled to take lands to any extent for the purposes of their institution. A great number of acts have been passed to permit and encourage the building of new churches and their endowment, notwithstanding the Statutes of Mortmain. The most important of these vest the administration and management of the property devoted to that purpose by private founders, as well as the funds granted by parliament, in certain commissioners appointed under the Great Seal. Under their auspices much has been done, but it seems to us that a more simple, and therefore more effectual, mode of promoting the erection of new churches might have been easily devised.

The great variety of provisions contained in those acts, and the numerous amendments which they have undergone, render them a very complicated branch of law. The expense of preparing the deeds of endowment, and the difficulty of accurately following all the powers, restrictions, and provisoes of the law are very considerable. In fact the duties to be performed by the conveyancer before a new church can be consecrated are both laborious and difficult. Disputes very frequently arise among the trustees, and between them and the clergyman of the parish in which the new church is to be erected, as well as the patron and the bishop, which greatly aggravate the difficulty of settling the deed of endowment. We have seen instructions to prepare a deed of endowment so as to give as little influence as possible to the bishop and the parson, and to place the new church or chapel as much as possible in the hands of the trustees. The commissioners are actuated by so strong a desire to promote the

* 35 Eliz. c. 7, s. 27; 39 Eliz. c. 5, s. 1; 21 James I. c. 1.

† 17 Ch. II. c. 3, s. 7; 2 & 3 Anne, c. 2, s. 4; 43 Geo. III. c. 107, s. 1; 1 Geo. I. c. 36; 1 Geo. I. c. 10, s. 4; 1 & 2 Will. IV. c. 45.

‡ 17 Geo. III. c. 53, s. 10; 43 Geo. III. c. 107, s. 3; 55 Geo. III. c. 147, s. 12; 7 Geo. IV. c. 66, s. 1.

building of as many churches and chapels as possible, that they do not perhaps sufficiently resist the irregular principles and motives at which we have hinted. It is indeed difficult to say whether they are able in many cases to do so. The want of churches was, and still is, in many places so great as to cause a difficulty of objecting to the proposals of persons willing to build them. We fear that these circumstances have produced irregularities in many cases, and deviations from the sound and antient rules of ecclesiastical law. If the want of an efficient Episcopal control over the clergy has often and with reason been lamented, surely it must be most particularly felt in the case of these private foundations, constructed in many instances with the avowed object of giving power and influence to trustees over the church and the priest. Such trustees are very different from the patron of a living. They are probably the leading persons in the congregation, and in many cases may become virtually a sort of board of lay elders. They probably are representatives of a particular set of doctrines. These things may easily impair the principle of the unity of ecclesiastical government vested in the bishop. The canon law wisely defines the rights of patrons and founders, so that they cannot injure the ecclesiastical authority. The Church, with dignified humility, pays them reverence without impairing that authority for the use of which she is accountable to Heaven. It is otherwise in ecclesiastical law by act of parliament, framed upon the same principles as if a mere temporal administration were its object, and therefore out of harmony with the general system of Church government.

Such legislation is too frequently grounded not on broad principles of ecclesiastical polity, but on mere temporal views of expediency. Its authors and administrators are perhaps desirous of conciliating certain Churchmen of independent principles in or out of parliament, or of consulting the feelings of certain dissenting friends of the Church. A person judging from mere appearances would be so far misled by them, as to suppose that the grand object is to be able to say, "So many Churches have been built and consecrated within such a time." The consequence is, that the principles of Church government are lost sight of, and the subject is considered as an affair of brick and mortar. The same neglect of principles has led to the buying and selling chapels, and speculating in pews, which are but too common, especially in or about London. It becomes an object to secure a popular preacher, because his popularity raises the value of the pews and seats. These latter practices look like a most dangerous tampering with a very grave spiritual offence.

Akin to this subject is the custom arising from the same forget-

fulness of sound ecclesiastical principles, of filling spiritual offices by a sort of public competition. An arena is opened for preachers to contend in eloquence, and in subservience to the opinions of the judges of the contest. Thus popularity is made the test of fitness. A popular preacher is the person sought for. Preaching is put forward as the great duty of the clergy. The priest is merged in the preacher. The dignity of the minister of religion is compromised by his being placed before a congregation as a man striving for a temporal advantage, and relying for its attainment mainly upon their applause. The serenity of the sacerdotal office is sacrificed. Personal vanity is encouraged in the clergy, together with a species of emulation which may easily endanger their own most important interests, as well as those of the Church. We admire the principles of the monastic orders with regard to successful preaching. When a monk becomes a popular preacher, if he shows any vanity in, or seems to attach undue importance to, his success, his superior forbids him the pulpit for a time, enjoining study, meditation, prayer, and humiliation. That discipline has probably saved many from being hurried, by their own ability and eloquence, into disobedience to their superiors, and perhaps schism.

The increase of churches and chapels erected under the Church Building Acts is so great, that it is impossible to consider the peculiar nature of some of these foundations too carefully and seriously.

Some people consider that, as long as a sufficient number of churches and clergymen are provided, there is nothing else to be desired. But the means are to be considered as well as the end. When the Church is so formidably attacked by dissenters and Roman Catholics we cannot be too jealous of any irregularity in practice or discipline which may be introduced under colour of its concinnity with the circumstances of our times. We cannot too carefully guard against any, even the slightest, infringement of the ancient principles of ecclesiastical government, which the subjection of the church to the state renders doubly dangerous.

As consecration brings a new church or chapel within the provisions of the Mortmain law, none can be consecrated except under the Church Building Acts. This is the only reason which can justify the granting of licences to unconsecrated or proprietary chapels, where the founders or proprietors are unwilling or unable to go through the formalities required by those acts. Such chapels are placed as much, though not exclusively, under lay government as dissenting meeting houses. The bishop may indeed refuse or withdraw his licence, but the trustees or proprietors have the clergyman in their power, because they may shut up the chapel. Thus they have the means of calling him to account, and controlling him in a manner incompatible with

the principles of episcopal government. Besides, pecuniary motives are too much encouraged in those establishments, which are in many instances commercial speculations on the part of the shareholders or proprietors.

It appears to us, that a removal of the restraints laid upon the increase of ecclesiastical property by the Statutes of Mortmain would, by giving their full play to the laws of the church, greatly facilitate the building and endowment of churches, as well as subserve other ecclesiastical purposes of great consequence.

By the canon law the bishop may, with the consent of the parish priest and of the patron, as well as of the civil power, and even without the consent of the two former in cases of necessity, authorize the erection and endowment of any church or chapel.* Nothing can of course be taken from the old or mother church to be given to the new one. The canon law gives the advowson to the founder or the principal founder. The restrictions of the 9th Geo. II., ch. 36, to prevent death-bed dispositions, might be applied to ecclesiastical foundations, and would be found fully sufficient to prevent abuses. The commissioners might continue to administer the funds voted by parliament, and might be authorized to give the consent of the crown to the erection of churches, if indeed such a restriction were not thought superfluous. A power should also be vested in the bishop of every diocese, with the consent of the crown, to erect new parishes in extra-parochial places.

The foundation and consecration of a church would then be divested of legal difficulties, and the extension of the clergy would be conducted upon principles perfectly safe, because in harmony with the constitution of the Church, and governed by the ancient rules of ecclesiastical law. The canon law will, on examination, be found quite sufficient to carry out all the details of this plan. The facility with which the Roman Catholics erect chapels is to be attributed in a great degree to their following this method. They are obliged to vest their chapels in trustees, which is no doubt rather inconvenient, notwithstanding the strong religious feeling and esprit de corps, which prevents the violation of such a trust, but they still feel the advantage of not being shackled by the Church Building Acts. Our churches and chapels cannot be vested in trustees, and thus placed in that freedom from the Church Building Acts and Statutes of Mortmain which is enjoyed by dissenters, unless they are unconsecrated: consecration bringing them under those laws. But the evils of

* The mother church may by the Canon Law receive an endowment, with the assent of the bishop, for the purpose of maintaining a chapel or oratory. This would be found in most cases, if the Statute of Mortmain were repealed, the most simple and convenient way of providing additional spiritual means to a parish.

celebrating divine service in unconsecrated places, which we have already alluded to, are so great, that the increase of that practice would be extremely dangerous. Besides, it is a practice at variance with the ancient discipline of the Church, and only to be tolerated *propter necessitatem.*

The Roman Catholics find themselves much benefited by their strict adherence to the ecclesiastical law in their own internal government. Let us take warning from our enemies. Let us take care that restraints imposed by temporal law do not, like the chain hooked to the rich collar of the dog in the fable, counterbalance whatever advantage may be derived from the recognition, protection, and honour, which the Church receives from the state.

The removal of the Mortmain Acts would open a new field for extending our ecclesiastical institutions. We refer to the formation of public corporate societies of clergymen, or of laymen, subject to strict rules, and bound by the vow of obedience to the bishop, which is administered to all the clergy, for the purpose of performing, under episcopal government, those duties in populous places which are left to the irregular agency of voluntary and sometimes sectarian societies. Every body knows how powerfully such bodies have been found to act wherever they have been tried. We see this painfully exemplified in some parts of England, where Romanist monasteries have been established. Let us not neglect experience, but let us avail ourselves of that weapon to defend the Church which our enemies are bringing against it. Experience has shown us what to avoid in constituting such bodies, so as to prevent the evils which defects in monastic institutions have produced.* Such a body would, in a populous diocese, be of most powerful assistance to the bishop. He would be able at all times and places to command the labours of these zealous men, entirely and exclusively devoted to their duties. Those among them who, being in orders, possessed learning and eloquence, would preach when and where the bishop might think their services particularly required. Others would visit the sick. They would be the nucleus and directors of charitable societies. Others would direct, visit, and form schools, under the authority of the bishop. This

* Strict subjection to the bishop would be the first preservative against these evils. The next would be a limitation of the revenues to be devoted to the maintenance of the persons composing these bodies. This, with the obligation of performing duties, would prevent luxury and idleness. The members should all be graduates, which would insure their being men of education. They should be no otherwise bound to celibacy, or by irrevocable obligations, than fellows of colleges now are. They should be restrained with the utmost strictness from interfering in politics or other secular matters.

portion of their duties is brought very forcibly to our minds now when the question of education by, or independently of, the Church is so energetically debated. We often hear it argued, that the clergy have enough to do if they attend to their parochial duties, and that they can spare little if any time for public education. The acknowledged insufficiency of the parochial clergy is a strong argument in favour of the institutions which we now recommend.

We have heard much of normal schools. Normal schools might be most conveniently formed under the auspices of these societies. The importance of bringing up the rising generation in the bosom of the Church renders these very serious matters of consideration. It is a subject which the Church has not had the full means of dealing with. It is from superintending the education of youth that the permanency and extension of the Church may most especially be expected to follow. This has been well understood by the Church of Rome, and the Jesuits, who are high authorities in all questions of policy, have chiefly looked to that source of power. Whether the parochial clergy are sufficient to do all that should be done in this department is, at most, extremely doubtful. Bodies subject to strict ecclesiastical discipline, composed of learned, or at least well educated men, and adding to unity of action that power which associations alone can possess, are obviously eminently qualified for the task. No voluntary system of associated subscribers could be equally efficient, even if it were equally permanent.

Such institutions as we have hinted at would be a most important addition to the efficiency and power of the Church establishment. Who can say that the Church requires no reinforcements, attacked as she is not only by the irregular, though zealous and indefatigable, forces of the dissenters, but by the highly disciplined army of Rome? We must not be misled by antiquated notions of jealousy of the ecclesiastical power derived from times when the relation of the Church to the state was totally different. The danger to be feared now is the absorption of the Church into the state. That danger arises chiefly from a forgetfulness of the essential nature of the Church considered apart from its establishment by law.

People forget, that if the Church were persecuted and outlawed by the state it would remain essentially the same as when its prelates sat in king's councils and parliaments invested with high temporal honour and power. But the weakness of the Church, when compared with the difficulties against which she has to contend, is also a ground of danger. Forgetfulness of the essential nature of the Church has led to that neglect of church

principles which we have been exposing. The Church has been irregularly assisted, and unskilfully botched and patched up. Unsightly awkward buttresses and strange buildings have been added to the august fabric, which deface its beauty and the harmony of its parts, while they rather endanger than support its ancient walls.

The Church has been treated, even by her political friends, with a sort of distrust, because they continued acting upon principles the reasons of which had passed away. They have treated the Church of England as they might have acted in sound policy towards the Church of Spain. To such antiquated policy we may attribute the preservation of the Statutes of Mortmain.

In former times it was necessary for statesmen to restrain the ecclesiastical power, which threatened to exceed the boundaries essential to its nature. The Church was, in the middle ages, the bond and governing principle of the European community. It was the bond of union among nations, and the only common authority to which all were ready to appeal. It held the position which was afterwards occupied by the law of nations, and decided questions which could otherwise have been settled only by an appeal to arms. Such an eminent position was liable to abuse, and it was abused by the ambitious Popes. Increasing civilization rendered this power of the Church less necessary, and its abuse required restraints upon its increase. The Statutes of Mortmain were requisite to prevent the Church being overwhelmed with riches and temporal power. But things stand very differently now. The Church is strictly national; we have to fear, not the increase of its power, but the efforts of its enemies.

There is no danger of the Church overwhelming the state, but there is very great danger of the state absorbing the Church. The Church is not too richly endowed, but is, on the contrary, unable to keep up with the calls of an increasing population.

When the Statutes of Mortmain were enacted, the increase of the monastic orders threatened to clog the working of the Church, and impair its apostolical government by bishops. Now, on the contrary, we have no ecclesiastical communities actively engaged in the discharge of spiritual duties. Religious lay societies of subscribers, constructed upon democratical and republican principles, have taken their place, subject to no ecclesiastical government, and discharge at their own discretion duties within the province of the Church, but to the performance of which the parochial clergy are not equal.

There is now no danger of people spending extravagant sums on the construction and endowment of ecclesiastical foundations. On the contrary, it is difficult, without an appeal to Conservative

or Tory principles to obtain even the necessary contributions for which the wants of the Church so loudly call. We have no endowments of dignified bodies devoted to perpetual prayer and good works,—no building of imposing churches or cloisters,—no provision for the perpetual celebration of divine service in an unusually solemn and imposing manner. On the contrary, the object now seems to be to discover how little of our worldly substance may suffice for the performance *taliter qualiter* of the highest duties of which a human creature is susceptible.

On the whole then, we would put it to every well-wisher of the Church's prosperity among us, whether the change of circumstances to which we have adverted is not fully sufficient to justify us in saying that the Statutes of Mortmain ought to be reconsidered.

As for the arguments against perpetuities, we have already said that they are solely applicable to private property. It must indeed be admitted, that if a very large part of the landed property of a country was in Mortmain, the effect would be prejudicial. But we apprehend that nothing would be easier than to limit ecclesiastical endowments so as to prevent the possibility of such an inconvenience. Besides, when the danger seemed likely to arise, it would be time enough to provide a remedy. It is very improbable that the ecclesiastical power should become suddenly so strong as to prevent or defy restraints. When a tax is taken off, it may be difficult to lay it on again; but that is a very different case to the one which we are considering. We fear that to impose restraints and shackles on the Church will never, in our present state of society and parties, be a very difficult task. There is, however, no danger of such restraints being needed. There is no danger of ecclesiastical latifundia. There is no danger of the Church overawing the landed proprietors of the kingdom. The utmost result of a repeal of the Mortmain Acts would be to facilitate the erection of churches, to enable the Church to use new means for resisting the attacks directed against her by her enemies, and to prevent her ancient polity being corrupted or impaired by jointstock contrivances and vulgar inventions. If the Church is but allowed to act freely up to her own laws and her own ancient institutions, she will need no assistance from the ingenuity of temporal legislators, or the efforts of platform orators.

ART. II.—1. *America and the American Church.* By the Rev. Henry Caswall, M. A., Rector of Christ Church, Madison, Indiana. London: Rivingtons. 1839.

2. *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.* By William White, D. D., Bishop of Pensylvania. Second Edition. New York. 1836.

3. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, in General Convocation held in the City of Philadelphia from Sept. 5th to Sept. 17th, inclusive,* A. D. 1838. New York. 1838.

4. *Sermons to Presbyterians of all Sects.* By G. T. Chapman, D.D. Hartford. 1836.

5. *The Church of Rome in her Primitive Purity compared with the Church of Rome at the Present Day.* By John Henry Hopkins, D.D., Bishop of Vermont. Burlington. 1837. [Reprinted, London. 1839.]

6. *The Primitive Church compared with the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Present Day.* By John Henry Hopkins, D.D., Bishop of Vermont. Burlington. 1836.

7. *The Apostolical Fathers, Clement of Rome, Polycarp, and Ignatius.* Burlington. New Jersey. 1837.

FEW passages in the history of the Church are better calculated to raise the Christian heart in admiration and gratitude to the Giver of all good, than her fortunes in the United States of America, and still more, as appears probable, hereafter in retrospect, even than now. Her power in withstanding persecution, in overcoming heresy, in retaining her hold over nations, in absorbing into herself and exercising the functions of political bodies, nay, her mere continuance in the world, though always to appearance losing ground and breaking up,—all these signs of an everwatchful Providence are most wonderful; yet not less than any is the spectacle of the mustard seed cast upon the wilderness, finding a lodgment in the hard soil, and taking root, no one knows how, and promising to become a large tree. In her first planting, and almost wherever she has been propagated, the Church went out as a whole, completely organized, fully furnished in all things, even though one or two individuals were the keepers of the treasure. A bishop going out to convert the heathen, evolves a Church from himself by his apostolical powers, and transmits to it the perfect creed which he has brought with him. Far other-

wise was it with the Church's planting in America—she found her way thither in the most feeble and destitute condition. She had no bishops, no visible form of government, churches but in parts, scanty ordinances, few teachers. She was overrun and overborne by other forms of Christianity, and, when the revolution came, she lost the provisions which had been made for her support. By that rough tempest the tender or rather sickly vine which the mother Church was rearing as she best might, was torn down from the props and lattices on which she had been trained; and lay along the ground to be trampled under foot by passers by. How were those broken branches ever to bear fruit? How was that to grow which could not stand? Who would have prophesied anything hopeful of her, who thought it worth while to prophesy at all? Yet the principle of life was there; the holy stranger was for a while silent and was forgotten; but at length "the fire kindled, and at the last she spake with her tongue."

Even then though we had no especial connexion or concern with the American Church, we should be led as Christians to dwell upon her history as a signal instance of Almighty God's faithfulness to His own appointed ordinances, so that what seemed "born out of due time" lived and throve, and "out of the mouths of very babes and sucklings" praise was perfected. But to us English Christians the sight has a nearer and deeper interest. The English Church, the glory of Christendom, where Bede taught and whence Boniface went forth, now sits solitary among the nations. The Queen of the Isles, how has she suffered amid the passions of men! how straitened within her seas, who once had a continent for her range and its bishops for her hosts or guests! It avails not to look at the past; what was done is (as they say) "a matter of history," which means, we may entertain our own private opinion about it. The result is pretty clear; Christendom is broken up, and we have suffered not less than other nations from the convulsion. Rome, Greece, and England, all have suffered; but just at this moment we are speaking about ourselves. We then have lost the sympathy of the world; and those who deprived us of it have felt in duty bound to do what they could to make up to us our loss. The civil power, which has cut us off from Christendom, has done, it must be confessed, its utmost to reconcile us to our degradation. It has maintained, of course, our captivity as a first principle of the constitution, but it has taken very great pains to keep us from fretting. If the Church was to exist at all in England, it was like a law of the Medes and Persians, that she must exist for England alone. She must be a prisoner if she was to be an

inmate; but, that being taken for granted, she has been accorded a most honorable captivity. Nothing has been denied her short of freedom; power, wealth, influence, rank, consideration, have been showered upon her, to make her as happy as the day is long. She has been like Rasselas in a happy valley, or like the Crusader in Armida's garden; what want was unsupplied? Yet it is said of our first parent under far more blessed circumstances, "For Adam there was not found a helpmeet for him." *Aliquid desideravere oculi*, which neither fawning beast nor painted bird could supply. He found a want in Paradise itself; and so upon this our poor Church of England, which is *not* in Paradise, this evil has fallen, in spite of "princes and other children of men," that she has been solitary. She has been among strangers; statesmen, lawyers, and soldiers frisked and prowled around; creatures wild or tame have held a parliament over her, but still she has wanted some one to converse with, to repose on, to consult, to love. The State indeed, to judge by its acts, has thought it unreasonable in her, that she could not find in a lion and a unicorn a sufficient object for her affections. It has set her to keep order in the land, to restrain enthusiasm, and to rival and so discountenance Popery; and if she murmured, if she desired to place bishops in the colonies or to take any other measure which tended to Catholicity, it has used expostulation and upbraiding. "Am I not," it has seemed to whisper, "am I not your own parliament? pour your griefs into my bosom. Have I not established you by law? Am not I your guide, philosopher, and friend? I am ready to meet all your desires. I will decide any theological point for you, or absolve vows and oaths for you, as easily as I send soldiers to collect your tithes." And if this did not succeed, then in a gruffer tone, "Are not you my own church? Have I not paid for you? Have I not cut you off from Christendom to have you all to myself? Is not this the very alliance, that you should take wages and do service? and where will you find service so light and wages so high?"

Under these circumstances, the rest of the Church either caring nothing for us, or accounting it a point of charity to wish us dead, and the State intruding its well-meant but unamiable blandishments, it is pleasant to look across the western wave, and discern a friendly star breathing peace and uttering benison. This is our second reason for rejoicing in the American Church. It gives us some taste of Catholic feelings, and some enjoyment of Christian sympathy.

There is yet a third reason for satisfaction more intimately important to ourselves. This friendly Church is a daughter of ours, and is our pride as well as our consolation. The daughter is the

evidence of the mother's origin; that which lives is the true Church; that which is fruitful lives; the English Church, the desolate one, has children. There was a time when a satyrist could say of her:—

> "Thus, like a creature of a double kind,
> In her own labyrinth she lives confined;
> *To foreign lands no sound of her is come,*
> Humbly content to be despised at home."
>
> *Hind and Panther.*

That day of rebuke is passed. The English Church has fulfilled the law which evidences her vitality. So has it been from the beginning; stocks and stones do not increase and multiply, but all "grass and herb yielding seed after his kind, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed is in itself, after its kind." It is with the moral world as with the material. Genius is creative; truth and holiness draw disciples round them; the Church is a mother. This then is our own special rejoicing in our American relations; we see our own faces reflected back to us in them, and we know that we live. We have the proof that the Church, of which we are, is not the mere creation of the State, but has an independent life, with a kind of her own, and fruit after her own kind. Men do not gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles; the stream does not rise higher than the spring; if her daughter can *be*, though the State does not protect, the mother too could bear to be deserted by it.

For all these reasons, as Christian, as solitary, and as their mother, the English Church looks out with thankfulness and affection upon the churches which are springing up in North America, whether in our existing, or our late colonies; on both with affection, but with more of triumph on the latter. And on considering the vast extent of that continent and its possible destinies in the divine counsels should the world continue, no anticipation seems too great for the office they are appointed to fill, and for the work they are to do in ages to come.

And now, leaving these reflections, let us to the publications which have given rise to them. The first, and that on which we shall mainly dwell, is a graphic and circumstantial account of the present state of the American Church, by Mr. Caswall, an Englishman by birth, but a presbyter in the American Church. His object, as he states in his preface, has been that of "exhibiting to the British public *the vital energy* of the Episcopal system and the real benefit of an adherence to its essential principles;" the very subject of which we have been speaking, and about

which we shall presently say something more. "The view," he continues, "of a thousand republican clergymen, and five hundred thousand republican laymen contending for a liturgy and for the sacred regimen of bishops, will be sufficient to prove that the system which has flourished under the tyranny of the Roman empire, and the constitutional monarchy of England, contains in itself nothing repugnant to the principles of political self-government. At the same time, the wonderful progress and improvement of the American Church serve to confute the Romanist, who asserts, that the Church of England is sustained merely by the secular arm, and that in the event of her losing that support, she must of necessity become extinct." pp. v. vi. The following remarks too are *apropos* of what was said above :—

"The American Church is probably destined to become one of the most important and serviceable churches in Christendom. While it is unquestionably growing in piety, in resources, and in unity of action, so also it is increasing in numbers more rapidly than any other Protestant denomination in America. It has even gained on the fast-extending population of the United States, so that it has quadrupled itself during the last twenty-four years, while the population of the Union has little more than doubled. Should it continue to increase in the same ratio, it will out-number the Church of England before fifty years have elapsed; and before the end of a century, it will embrace a majority of the population of the States. That it possesses the proper elements for a healthy increase is proved by the fact, that among the clergy and laity there exists a growing disposition to return as closely as possible to the primitive model, in doctrine, in discipline, and in worship. From the surrounding sects it has nothing to fear, but everything to hope. The more severely it is scrutinized, the brighter it will shine; and the more clearly its principles are developed, the more powerfully it will commend itself to public estimation."—*Caswall*, p. 356, 357.

Now compare this with her state at the close of the revolutionary war, which he elsewhere thus describes :—

"When the colonies were actually separated from Great Britain, the destruction of the Church appeared almost inevitable, notwithstanding the fact that the great Washington himself was an Episcopalian. A few years nearly overthrew the work which had been slowly carried forward by the exertions of a century and a half; and had not Omnipotence interposed, the ruin would have been complete. The fostering hand to which the American Church owed a long continuance of care and protection, was withdrawn; and the Propagation Society no longer rendered its accustomed aid. Many of the clergy were thus left entirely destitute, and some were obliged to betake themselves to secular employments for support. In the northern states the clergy generally declined officiating, on the ground of their ecclesiastical connection with the liturgy of the Church of England. In the south, many worthy

ministers, conceiving themselves bound by oath to support the government of Great Britain, refused to enter upon a new allegiance, and quitted the country. By an unjust decision, the lands possessed by the Propagation Society in Vermont were confiscated, and applied to the purposes of education. An equally unconstitutional sentence, obtained through the united efforts of sectarians and infidels, ultimately despoiled the Church of Virginia of its glebes and houses of prayer; while, in addition to all these calamities, Episcopalians in general became subject to unmerited political prejudices. Most of their churches were destitute of worshippers; their clergy had departed, or were deprived of maintenance; no centre of unity remained, and no ecclesiastical government existed."—*Caswall,* p. 173, 174.

This was the melancholy condition of the Church in 1783, and from that date to the close of the century it was fully employed in organizing itself upon the Apostolical model. It obtained bishops from Scotland and England by 1787, and in the course of the thirteen years which followed

"Its members had learned in some measure to rely on their own resources, and its ministers were supported in some instances comfortably by the voluntary contributions of their flocks. Yet the number of clergymen little exceeded two hundred; and these were widely scattered through the country bordering on the Atlantic. No great enterprises were undertaken, because a hard struggle was necessary to maintain the ground already occupied."—*Ibid.* p. 184.

In 1790 the number of bishops was seven; and in 1811 only one or two dioceses had been added. The inferior clergy had scarcely increased at all, and too little attention was paid to theological preparation. But at this time the energies of the divine kingdom began to show themsleves. Mr. Caswall gives us this summary:

"Hitherto all persons desirous of preparing for the ministry of the Church had laboured under great disadvantages. Few colleges were under episcopal control, and even there, theological education was neglected. The candidates were, therefore, compelled to pursue their studies under the direction of clergymen encumbered with parochial duties, or to resort to the institutions of dissenting denominations. Accordingly, about the year 1814, Bishop Hobart of New York issued proposals for the establishment of a divinity-school under the superintendence of himself and his successors. The deputies to the General Convention from South Carolina were also instructed by their constituents to propose a similar scheme. The subject was for some time under consideration; and finally, in 1817, it was resolved to establish a theological seminary at New York for the benefit of the entire Church, and under its control. In the same year the diocese of North Carolina was admitted into union with the General Convention, and measures were adopted to organize the Church in Ohio. The Rev. Philander Chase was consecrated to the episcopate of the latter diocese in 1819, and the

Rev. J. S. Ravenscroft to that of the former in 1823. New Jersey had been provided with a bishop, the Rev. Dr. Croes, as early as 1815; and from this period, the advancement of the Church proceeded with almost unexampled rapidity. In 1814, the number of clergy was little more than 240, but in the course of twenty-four years, it has quadrupled itself, and the increase of congregations has been in an equal proportion.

"The destitute state of the western country led to the formation of a missionary association in Pennsylvania about the year 1818. By this association several missionaries were sustained in Pennsylvania and Ohio, and some churches were planted. In a few years this society assumed a more extended form, and, under the auspices of the General Convention, became known as the 'Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church.' For many years its operations were extremely limited, and it was not until 1830 that it produced any considerable benefit. In the mean time, Washington College was instituted, the General Theological Seminary received a constant accession of students, and a second institution of the same kind was established at Alexandria, near Washington, designed especially to promote the interests of religion in Virginia and the other southern dioceses. Bishop Chase, as has been already stated, proceeded to England in 1824, in the hope of obtaining assistance towards the foundation of a similar institution in Ohio. His efforts, it is known, were successful, and in 1831 he had the satisfaction of beholding nearly 200 inmates of "Kenyon College and Theological Seminary." * * * * * * "At the present time, 1838, the number of clergy in Ohio is between fifty and sixty. Kenyon College has lately received from England, through Bishop M'Ilvaine, further donations amounting to about 12,000 dollars, besides many valuable books. In Kentucky and Tennessee, the increase of the Church has been as rapid as in Ohio. In 1825 there was but one officiating clergyman in the first-mentioned state. In 1832 it contained eight clergymen, and in the same year the Rev. Mr. Smith of Lexington was consecrated bishop. In 1834 the 'Theological Seminary of the Diocese of Kentucky' was incorporated; in the following year it received great pecuniary assistance from eastern Episcopalians, and in 1836 contained eighteen students. The clergy in the diocese now amount to twenty-one. So late as 1832 there were but three clergymen in Tennessee. There are now in that diocese about twelve, with Bishop Otey at their head, and a theological seminary in connection with a college is already in contemplation.

"In the eastern states the progress of the Church has also been rapid and steady. The Church in Vermont had become in 1832 sufficiently strong to separate from the eastern diocese of which it had formed a part, and, accordingly, in the same year the Rev. Dr. Hopkins was elected and consecrated its bishop. It is highly probable, as I have mentioned in a former chapter, that before many years, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Maine will be provided with their respective prelates."—pp. 187, 191.

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of last year, twenty-one dioceses are specified. In 1835 the Church formally took upon itself a most important step—the conduct of its missions, dispensing with the aid of the society which had hitherto been indirectly its organ. Since this "great and momentous measure," as Mr. Caswall justly calls it, has passed, the missionary income of the Church has greatly increased. In 1835 it was about 6000*l.*, and, in 1836, it became 12,431*l.*

"This increase is to be ascribed in a great measure to the growing prevalence of systematic contributions, in the form of weekly or monthly offerings. To Bishop Doane of New Jersey belongs the credit of having brought the latter subject fairly into notice. It had become sufficiently obvious that with all the complicated machinery of agencies, charity sermons, newspaper appeals, and other expedients, the amount contributed to missionary purposes was exceedingly small, compared with the actual capabilities of the Church. It was plain also that the benevolent public was not so much indisposed so give, as under the influence of bad habits in giving. Excitement was a grand resource, and when this failed, the task of arousing to liberal action was difficult. Under these circumstances Bishop Doane and other influential clergymen conceived the plan of establishing a more ample, permanent, and effective supply. The idea was derived from the system recommended to the Corinthian Christians by St. Paul, when pleading in behalf of the impoverished churches of Judea; "Now, concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given orders to the Churches of Galatia, even so do ye. Upon the first day of the week, let every one of you lay by him in store as God has prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come." It was justly concluded, that if but a comparatively small portion of the members of the Church could be induced to adopt this primitive practice, the funds thus raised would be sufficient to sustain on a liberal scale the missionary operations of the General Convention. Accordingly in 1833 Bishop Doane introduced the system into the diocese of New Jersey, and it was soon afterwards recommended and partially introduced in other dioceses."—pp. 262, 263.

From these great steps in the development of Catholic principles one most important consequence will probably follow, which could not have been anticipated when they were taken,—the destruction of the voluntary system in the bad sense of the word. Nothing is more Christian than that the people of the Church, who are benefited by her ordinances, should "willingly offer" for her support: nothing more unchristian than that individual clergymen should be at the mercy of the people, and be under the temptation of "preaching smooth things" to get bread, clothes, and lodging. Such an evil threatens to arise when there is a less demand for clergy in America than at the present moment. It was obviated in the early Church by the offerings being made to the bishop of the diocese, who distributed them at his discretion among the parochial clergy; that is, in the way

in which missionaries are actually paid in this day. When once then the Church has in its hands funds for the payment of missionaries, it may easily extend the system to the payment of clergy.

There seems to be no lack of liberality in contributions among the laity of the Church. Mr. Caswall says—

"The New York Episcopalians are pre-eminently distinguished for their disposition to assist all the institutions of the Church. If there is an infant parish established in the West, and unable to erect a place of worship, application is made to New York. If there is a new Episcopal school to be instituted in any part of the country; if there is a Church burnt down; if there is a professorship to be endowed, recourse is instantly had to New York as the place where substantial tokens of sympathy may certainly be expected. Applicants after applicants come crowding in, and the fountain of benevolence still remains unexhausted, and even increasing in abundance. I have been credibly informed that many of the wealthiest merchants habitually devote a tenth part of their incomes, and sometimes much more, to religious purposes."—pp. 155-6.

This munificence shows itself, as it should, in the erection and decoration of churches. At Hartford, in Connecticut, where lately was a wooden building, in which Bishop Chase officiated,

"A splendid and substantial Episcopal Church, of stone, has been erected in its stead, and presents the noblest specimen of Gothic architecture which I have seen in America. At the time of my visit the tower was not wholly completed; but when finished, I should think that the expense could not fall short of twenty thousand pounds. The interior is in perfect keeping with the exterior; all is rich and solid, without any superfluous or trifling decorations. In one of the windows is a striking painting of the Ascension, executed, as I was informed, in Italy."—pp. 145, 146.

Mr. Caswall gives the following account of a church in one of the eastern cities, he does not say which:—

"The Protestant Episcopal Church of St. Peter is a finished specimen of Gothic architecture. The walls, which rise forty feet above the ground, are built of hammered bluestone trimmed with granite. The dimensions of the church are 65 feet in breadth by 120 feet in length, including the tower and vestry-room. The tower, which is at the north end, is 23 feet square and 138 feet high, supported by angular buttresses of four stages, and finished at the top with eight pinnacles, each 30 feet high, crocketed and crowned with finials. Buttresses are also attached to the walls of the main building, the ends and sides of which and of the top of the tower, are crowned with embattled parapets. The roof is covered with metal; on each side of the tower is an open screen of rich tracery-work 30 feet high, supported by octagon towers, surmounted by pinnacles, and crowned by finials. There are five pointed windows on each side, and a large oriel window in the south end; the large window in front of the tower is 24 feet high and 12 feet wide.

The galleries in the church are supported by clustered columns and Tudor arches, trimmed with projecting pendentives, filled between with rich tracery and ornamental carving. The ceiling is composed of double-groined arches, springing from massive pendants. The pulpit and reading-desk are in excellent keeping with the rest of the work for beauty and richness of design. On each side of the pulpit, in the end wall, is a handsome niche, the design of which was taken from Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster. The ground-floor contains 138 pews, and the galleries 68.

"At the northern end of the building, in the gallery, stands the organ, a splendid instrument, built by Mr. Henry Erben, of New York; in height 31 feet, in breadth 21 feet, and in depth 13 feet. The case is a very rich specimen of the Gothic, and is furnished with three sets of keys (compass from GG to F alto), and pedals from GGG to an octave below the manuals to D, making the compass of the pedals one octave and a fifth. The number of draw-stops is 34, distributed as follows. In the *great organ*, 12 stops, namely, large open diapason, second open diapason, stopped diapason, clarabella, night horn, principal, twelfth, fifteenth, sesquialtra of three ranks, cornet of four ranks, trumpet, and clarion. In the *choir organ*, 7 stops, namely, open diapason, viol, de gamba, stopped diapason, flute, principal, and cremona. In the *swell*, 9 stops, namely, open diapason, stopped diapason, dulciana, flute, principal, fifteenth, cornet of three ranks, trumpet, and hautboy. In the pedals, 3 stops, namely, double open diapason, open diapason, and principal; making in all 31 stops of pipes. The remaining three are coupling stops, one of which unites the great and choir organs; another, the choir organ and swell; and the third, the pedals, with the bass of the choir organ. The largest pedal pipes are 21 by 24 inches inside, and 22 feet long; the largest metal pipe is 10 inches in diameter, and about 12 feet long. The cost of the organ was 5000 dollars (1125*l.*)"—pp. 283, 284.

At Rochester, in New York, there is a Gothic church which cost 22,500*l.* (p. 113). In the west too, it appears, some very handsome places of worship have been erected. Even in Ohio, there are two which cost respectively 12,600*l.* and 5,400*l.* sterling. "Church architecture," our author informs us, "is rapidly improving and a better taste is prevailing more and more. Cathedrals are still confined to the Roman Catholics; but the Roman Catholic buildings of that description are often greatly inferior to Episcopal churches." It is an interesting circumstance that, as of old time we were indebted for our Cathedrals to our bishops, so in America the present Bishop of Vermont has begun to tread in the steps of Wykeham and Wolsey, by publishing a book of architectural plans.

We are glad to add that other evidences of bountifulness in the worship of God are showing themselves. "Splendidly embroidered pulpit hangings, superb services of communion plate, and a profusion of silk and velvet, of gilding and of painting,"

are sometimes found; and though Mr. Caswall hints that these embellishments are not always of the severest and most reverential tone, yet they show the "willing mind," and are pleasant to think upon.

The poorer districts seem to vie with the more wealthy in their voluntary care of an unendowed Church.

"Not unfrequently he receives a waggon-load of substantial comforts, such as two or three barrels of flour, ten or twelve bushels of apples, a barrel of cider, and a sack of potatoes. Sometimes he is agreeably surprised by the receipt of a complete suit of clerical apparel, a hat, a pair of boots, or a variety of articles for his wife and children. I am acquainted with a young clergyman who, within a few weeks, received two or three fees for marriage of a hundred dollars each (22*l.*) I have known fifty dollars (not a fee) to be presented to a clergyman on a baptismal occasion, and an equal amount at a funeral, though gifts of this description are not frequent. Medical men and lawyers seldom charge a clergymen for their services, and quite recently the missionary bishop was conveyed on board a steam-boat, without cost, from New Orleans to St. Louis, a voyage of more than a thousand miles."—pp. 305, 306.

Mr. Caswall informs us of the consideration which was exercised on different occasions towards himself.

"A gentleman of the Episcopal Church, residing in Circleville, a connexion and namesake of the justly-celebrated nonconformist Dr. Doddridge, was part-owner of a commodious line of boats on the Ohio canal. Hearing of my indisposition, and of my arrangements for leaving Portsmouth, this worthy man, though almost a total stranger, informed me that accommodations would be provided at no expense, for myself and wife, on board one of his vessels. Such offers are made, in this country, with the intention that they should be accepted; and, accordingly, I did not hesitate to comply. The journey by canal was one of 330 miles, and would have cost us together about twenty dollars.

"Instances of similar liberality to clergymen are by no means unfrequent in America. In travelling through Ohio, it has several times happened that after spending a night at an inn, and having taken supper and breakfast, the landlord has refused to accept any payment on hearing that I was a clergyman. For the same reason, a drayman, whom I once engaged to remove my furniture from one house to another, resisted all my efforts to induce him to receive a compensation. There are captains of steam-boats who sometimes will carry clergymen at half-price, or without any charge."—pp. 106, 107.

It should be observed, that this attention is paid to other ministers besides clergymen. "Medical men," the author adds, "also prescribe for the ministers of all denominations and for their families gratuitously."

In another place he observes of Albany:—

"Here we spent Sunday, and attended divine service at the two Episcopal Churches. The landlord of the comfortable hotel where we

lodged was an Episcopalian. He treated us with the utmost hospitality, and refused to accept any compensation."—p. 115.

Mr. Caswall himself first belonged to the diocese of Ohio, whence he obtained his academical degree and his orders; and he gives us an interesting description of the literally pastoral, or, what may be called, the *nomadic* habits of the clergy in its vast and wild territory.

"It may be interesting to you," he writes to a friend, "to hear a little more on this subject: I will, therefore, give you an account of my regular Sunday expedition, in which I am accompanied by a worthy collegian, my intimate friend. You must suppose the season to be summer, when the country appears to advantage, and the days are long. We rise early, and get a light breakfast an hour or two before the ordinary morning meal, and then sally forth with a few books, and some frugal provision for the day. The sun has risen about half an hour, and the dew is sparkling on the long grass. We proceed about half a mile through the noble aboriginal forest, the tall and straight trees appearing like pillars in a vast Gothic cathedral. The timber consists of oak, hickory, sugar-maple, sycamore, walnut, poplar, and chestnut; and the wild vine hangs from the branches in graceful festoons. Occasionally we hear the notes of singing-birds; but less frequently than in the groves of England. Deep silence generally prevails, and prepares the mind for serious contemplation. We soon arrive at a small clearing, where a cabin built of rough logs indicates the residence of a family. Around the cabin are several acres upon which gigantic trees are yet standing; but perfectly deadened by the operation of girdling. Their bark has chiefly fallen off, and the gaunt white limbs appear dreary though majestic in their decay. Upon the abundant grass, which has sprung up since the rays of the sun were thus admitted to the soil, a number of cattle, the property of the college, are feeding; and the tinkling of their bells is almost the only sound that strikes the ear. We climb over the fence constructed of split rails piled in a zigzag form; we traverse the pasture, and are again in the deep forest. The surface of the ground is neither flat, nor very hilly, but gently undulating. Our pathway is plain, and conversation enlivens our walk. Occasionally we pass a log hut surrounded by a small clearing; and after an hour we arrive at a roughly-constructed saw-mill, erected on a small stream of water. The miller is seated at the door of his cabin, clad in his Sunday suit, and reading a religious book lent him by us on a former occasion. We hold a short conversation with him; he expresses a growing interest in religion and the Church: and concludes by telling us that he wishes us hereafter to use his horse on our expeditions. We accept the offer as it is intended; my companion mounts the nag, and I walk by his side.

"We then pass through the woods along the banks of Vernon River; and in due time my companion descends from his seat, and I mount the quiet animal in his place. After another hour, we arrive at a small village, or rather a collection of log-houses, the scene of our labours. At

the further extremity of the street is a school-house built of logs, with a huge chimney at one end, and a fire-place extending across one side of the apartment. Within it are a number of rough benches, and all around it is a kind of temporary arbour, covered with fresh boughs for the accommodation of those who cannot find seats within. Having tied our horse to a tree, we enter the school-room and sit down to rest. Soon the children come flocking from the cabins and through the woods; and with them their parents and many other grown up people, attracted partly by curiosity, and partly by a sincere desire of religious instruction. In a short time the school-room is filled, and a number of persons are standing without in the shade of the arbour; I then give out one of the hymns in the Prayer-book, reading two lines at a time on account of the scarcity of books. The people join in singing it, and then all kneel down to prayer. I repeat a large portion of the service by *memory*, knowing that my hearers, although belonging to no sect whatever, have at present all the prejudices of sectarians against 'praying by a book.' After prayer my companion adds a few words of exhortation, to which all listen with the deepest attention. This, although not strictly regular, is permitted by the bishop to candidates for orders, on account of the exigency of the case. We then instruct the children in the New Testament; and about mid-day we untie our horse, and set out on our journey homeward, intending to eat our cold refreshments on the way.

"But scarcely have we left the village, when a blacksmith runs after us and requests us to stop. He tells us that he has felt deeply interested in the services, that he desires more information, and that he wishes us always to dine with him on Sundays hereafter. We accordingly return to his cabin, and his wife sets before us a plentiful repast, consisting of chickens, potatoes, hot bread, apple-pies, and delicious milk. After some profitable conversation, we bid them farewell, and about three o'clock arrive at the miller's house, almost overcome by the excessive heat. When we have somewhat recovered from our fatigue, we proceed to a spot on the bank of the stream, where the grass is smooth, and where the thick foliage produces a comparative coolness. Here we find about a hundred persons collected, in hope of receiving from us some religious instruction. We conduct the service much in the same way as in the morning. The effect of the singing in the open air is striking and peculiar; and the admirable prayers of our Liturgy are no less sublime in the forests of Ohio than in the consecrated and time-honoured minsters of York or Canterbury.

"The service concluded, we return on foot, and as we approach the college with weary steps, the fire-flies glisten in the increasing darkness. We arrive at our rooms fatigued in body, but refreshed in mind, and encouraged to new efforts. I have mentioned that a number of the young men are engaged in a similar manner; and you will at once perceive that on account of the distance of their schools, they can but rarely be present at the regular morning and evening service at the college. The great majority of the students are, however, punctual attendants at Divine worship, and the bishop and professors are faithful in their sermons and exhortations."—p. 35—39.

Selection is difficult in a book so full of information as Mr. Caswall's; in conjunction with the last extract the following will be read with interest. It relates to the individual to whom, under Providence, the existence of the Church at Portsmouth in Ohio is owing.

"Samuel Gunn was born at Waterbury, in Connecticut, in the year 1763, and baptized by a clergyman sustained by the 'Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.' The war of the American Revolution commenced while he was a child, and consequently, he took no part in that fearful struggle. But the Church suffered severely during the momentous period in question, and became, in many places, but a name; a name, too, of obloquy and reproach. Yet Samuel Gunn continued faithful to his spiritual mother. He loved the vine which he believed the Son of God and his Apostles had planted; and though now broken and spoiled, he hoped to see the time when it would cover the land with its spreading branches, and when its leaves would be for the healing of the nations. The war having at length terminated, the clergymen in Connecticut rallied their remaining forces, and elected a bishop, who was consecrated in 1784 by the Scottish prelates. Bishop Seabury was soon actively engaged in the great work of reviving the enfeebled parishes committed to his charge. He ordained pastors, and was the first who performed the solemn ordinance of Confirmation in the United States. Among the numbers who hastened to receive this holy rite was the subject of our memoir, who had now attained the age of manhood, and had given unquestionable signs of a Christian character.

"The parish of Waterbury was, at that time, without a clergyman, and Mr. Gunn, being a man of unimpeachable morals, was appointed a lay-reader. During the week he was engaged on his farm, but on Sunday he occupied the desk, and conducted the devotions of a few zealous Christians according to the venerable forms of the Liturgy. Sometimes a clergyman visited the little flock; but such opportunities were not frequent, and for ten or twelve years Mr. Gunn continued his useful labours without fee or reward. But his family was now increasing, and his circumstances were greatly straitened. At length he determined to seek a home in the western country, which already presented a wide field to enterprise and industry. He first removed, about the year 1793, to Windham, in the western part of the state of New York. Here he established a small shop, which yielded him a livelihood sufficient for his moderate wants. He soon found means to collect a few persons together, and to persuade them to unite with him in the performance of divine worship. He commenced, a second time, his vocation of lay-reader; and soon experienced the gratification of finding that his efforts were not in vain. The number of attendants gradually increased, until finally they organized a parish and obtained a clergyman. But Providence did not permit the subject of our memoir to enjoy the spiritual advantage of a pastor. He seemed destined to be a lay-reader; and by the silent influence of a blameless life, no less than by his direct exertions, he was to promote the truth among those who had few opportunities of hearing an official ambassador of God.

" His circumstances becoming again embarrassed, he decided on removing into the fertile, but at that time, almost uninhabited region, bordering on the Ohio. Accordingly, having punctually paid his debts, he sallied forth with a light heart and a light purse, in quest of new toils and new means of usefulness.

" It was in the autumn of 1805, that Mr. Gunn, with a wife and five children, commenced his long and fatiguing journey. An occurrence of a most distressing character soon wrung the affectionate heart of our lay-reader, and tried his faith to the utmost. While passing through the deep forest, one of his children fell from the waggon, and in a moment was crushed to death beneath the wheels. With his own hands the afflicted father dug a grave by the road-side, and having read the solemn burial-service of the Church, committed the remains of his beloved offspring to their kindred dust. In the month of November he reached the banks of the Ohio, and embarked with his family and little property on the noble river which was to bear him to his destination.

" No steam-boat then ploughed the western waters; and it was only in long and narrow vessels, propelled by poles or dragged by ropes, that the hardy boatmen could ascend the current. The passengers and goods destined for places down the stream were conveyed in flat-boats of a temporary construction, which were broken up and sold when the voyage was completed. In a vessel of this latter kind, Mr. Gunn, with his little all, floated slowly to his future home.

" At length, his boat was made fast near the village of Portsmouth, a place containing at that time not more than a dozen dwellings. There was, however, a dock-yard in the vicinity where a large ship was afterwards built, which descended the river 1500 miles to the Gulf of Mexico, and was employed in the trade with Europe.

" In so enterprising a neighbourhood, Mr. Gunn was not idle. He purchased a small farm, and diligently employed himself in felling the trees, breaking up the rich soil, and sowing the seeds from which he hoped to provide his children's bread. And now the Liturgy was heard probably for the first time on the shores of the Ohio. Every Sunday, the lay-reader collected his family around him, and united with them in worship and praise. For many years, none but his domestic circle attended on these occasions; but a providential circumstance soon enlarged his congregation. He thought it expedient to sell his farm and remove into the village of Portsmouth, where he established himself as a cooper. He soon found that he was not the only churchman in the place; but that there were a few others who had been taught to believe in one Catholic and Apostolic Church. These gladly attended his reading, and assisted with their responses. About this time, namely, in the year 1819, he received the grateful intelligence that a diocese had been organized in Ohio, and a bishop elected and consecrated. To complete his gratification, he learned that the new prelate was no stranger to him. The Rev. Philander Chase, the same missionary who, on more than one occasion had slept under his roof, and dined at his table at Windham, in New York, was now his bishop in the Far West. Mr. Gunn immediately took his pen, and wrote to his chief shepherd. He stated the im-

portance of directly commencing regular services in Portsmouth. He mentioned the comfort which the few members of the Church in that increasing village would derive from an episcopal visit; and he concluded with earnestly requesting the bishop either to come himself, or send some clergyman to visit them at an early season."—p. 92—97.

The bishop came, organized a parish, and, in the want of a clergyman, appointed Mr. Gunn lay-reader; the narrative proceeds—

"For the third time, our lay-reader occupied the desk; but the people were, to a great extent, destitute of prayer-books, and could not, of course, join in the responses. It was soon discovered that a printer in the village was in possession of a large number of these invaluable manuals of devotion, which he had long since laid away as unsaleable. They were immediately purchased, and some at high prices. Money was then scarce, and one person actually gave twenty bushels of corn for a single prayer-book. For three years Mr. Gunn regularly performed the services. During this period, the village was visited most severely by disease. Many who had taken a deep interest in the Church militant below were removed to the Church triumphant above; and after several unhealthy seasons, few of the little congregation remained. In the year 1823, a clergyman residing in Chillicothe, fifty miles distant, consented to officiate once a month in Portsmouth. This was a great benefit to the people, and a great relief to Mr. Gunn, who had now attained his sixtieth year. The latter, notwithstanding, conducted worship, and read a sermon on the intervening Sundays; and after two years, when Mr. Kellogg, the clergyman, left Ohio, he again took the entire labour upon himself. All this, it must be remembered, was entirely gratuitous, and the only recompense was that of a good conscience.

"The congregation, now exceedingly small, was often a subject of ridicule to the thoughtless and the prejudiced. The members of other denominations also frequently importuned the few Episcopalians to unite with them, on the assurance that a Church minister could never be obtained. But the little community, attached by conviction to the distinctive principles of Episcopacy, never ceased to persevere in what they believed to be the way of truth. In 1831, they obtained a convenient room for their worship. They fitted it up with commodious seats and a pulpit; and here, after his recovery from a severe illness, the aged lay-reader, with a trembling voice, continued to conduct their devotions. In the month of July, in the same year, he officiated for the last time.

"Having been just ordained a deacon, by Bishop Chase, I was sent by him to Portsmouth, where I received and accepted an invitation to take charge of the feeble congregation. My compensation was fixed at 200 dollars (45*l.*) a year, which, with an additional hundred from the Diocesan Missionary Society, was enough to support existence at the low prices which then prevailed. But scarcely had I officiated once in my new sphere of labour, when a frightful accident befel the good Mr. Gunn, which hastened his departure from the world. A fire-engine had recently been purchased by the inhabitants of Portsmouth, and the old

man, with many others was observing its operations. The person who directed the jet unfortunately permitted the tube to fall, and in an instant the whole stream of water struck Mr. Gunn in the face, crushing his right eye, and completely destroying its power of vision. For some time his condition was extremely precarious; and it was feared that a total loss of sight would be the result. At length nature rallied, and he recovered strength to walk. One eye was spared to him, but his former health was never restored. Yet the hope of immortality brightened upon him, and his conversation became more and more solemn and edifying. The Church, too, was dearer to his heart than ever; and it was not long before he gave a proof of his sincerity, which was the last crowning act of a life devoted to the service of God.

"During the winter following the accident, he one day requested as many of the parishioners as could attend, to meet him on important business. A number of them accordingly assembled, and the old man, rising from his seat, represented to them in strong terms the importance of building a church. He showed them that no considerable accessions to their number could be expected until a distinct building, of sufficient capacity, and easily accessible to all, had been obtained. He concluded almost in the following words: 'You know, my friends, that I am not rich, and that twice I have lost my all. Yet Providence has given me enough, and my property is now a little more than two thousand dollars. Of this, I will give *one-third* towards the erection of the proposed edifice, on condition that you will contribute the remainder of the necessary amount.' This offer was accepted with admiration and gratitude, and a sufficient sum was promptly subscribed.

"But the lay-reader lived not to see the church erected, nor even its corner-stone laid. A few months after his generous gift, his form became emaciated, and he was soon confined entirely to his bed.

"A clergyman, in priest's orders, visiting Portsmouth about this time, Mr. Gunn expressed his desire to partake of the holy communion. The sacred rite was accordingly administered to him, and he expressed the liveliest joy and consolation. Five days afterwards, he breathed his last in perfect peace, having almost completed his seventieth year. Many hundred persons accompanied his remains to the burial ground; for he had been a friend to all, and had been long regarded as an example of uprightness and integrity."—pp. 98—103.

It is encouraging to find that the Church, though deprived of all external aids towards its keeping up the appearance of unity, yet is recognized and joined, in those regions of religious extravagance, as the Catholic Church should be, on the ground of the consistency, definiteness, and stability of its creed. Persons of the most opposite sentiments, enthusiasts, and (so called) Unitarians, seem in this respect to look upon her with interest and consideration and to be drawn to her. We hardly know whether to regard the following as a pleasant specimen of it or not, but we give it in Mr. Caswall's words.

"I took the steam-boat for New York on Saturday, and had a delightful voyage down the Connecticut river. On the way I entered freely into conversation with a gentlemanly and intelligent passenger, who proved to be a Unitarian from Massachusetts. Pointing to the Episcopal churches which appeared on both sides of the stream, he remarked, 'Ah! if those churches had been in Massachusetts there would have been few Unitarians.' He explained himself by expressing his conviction that Unitarians objected not so much to the doctrine of the Trinity taught by the Church, as to the unpalatable, and as he said, the revolting manner in which Christianity was presented by the orthodox congregational divines."—pp. 149, 150.

Certainly the excesses of sectarianism in the North American States are such, that one need not be of a Socinian turn to be disgusted with them. Besides the old Calvinistic Baptists, there are the Free-will, the Seventh-day, and the Six-principle Baptists; the Christian Baptists, who deny the proper Divinity of Christ; and the Campbellite Baptists, many of whom are but in part believers in the Holy Trinity, and modify the doctrine of the Atonement. Besides these there are the Seed or Snake Baptists, who, carrying out the Calvinistic system, divide mankind by a rigid line into the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent; and lastly, the Dunkers, who are principally German Baptists, and who wear a peculiar dress, a long robe with a girdle and hood, let their beards grow, feed on roots and vegetables, live men with men and women with women, not meeting even in their devotions, have each his own cell, a bench for a bed, a block of wood for a pillow, admit works of supererogation, and deny the eternity of future punishment. This strange mockery of Catholic Truth numbers as many as 30,000 adherents. As to the Calvinistic varieties they go the lengths in numerous instances of even considering the religious education of children as a sacrilegious interference with the work of divine grace. Among the Methodists the same disorders prevail which marked their first rise in England. In their camp meetings "sermons and exhortations succeed each other in quick succession; the most lively hymns are sung perhaps for an hour together, and extempore prayers are offered with extreme force of language and energy of action. The people become powerfully excited; they shout 'Glory' and 'Amen;' they scream, jump, roar, and clap their hands, and even fall into swoons, convulsions, and death-like trances;" manifestations which are far more like the work of evil spirits than of Him who on earth "did not strive, nor cry," nor make "His voice heard in the streets." Of the Quakers, Mr. Caswall tells us, one-third have lately declared themselves Unitarians. Besides these there are, among other sects, 600,000 Universalists, who teach the

annihilation of the wicked; 6000 Shakers or followers of Ann Lee, whom they consider the woman mentioned in Revelations, xii., and who have all things common, lead a single life, and dance in divine worship; and the Mormonites, who being the only sect of pure American origin, shall be described in Mr. Caswall's words:

"The Mormonites are the victims, and, to a certain extent, the actors, of one of the grossest impostures ever palmed on the credulity of man. Their delusion seems to be founded upon a prevailing and plausible opinion, which derives the descent of the American Indians from the ten lost tribes of Israel. The Mormonites assert, that in the time of the Jewish kings, an Israelite embarked on the Persian Gulf, and, after many adventures, crossed the Pacific, and arrived on the American coast. To this individual various revelations were committed, which were written on golden plates, and hidden under a stone in that part of the country now known as the state of New York. In process of time, viz. in the year 1829, an angel appeared to a man residing in the vicinity, and directed his attention to the spot where the precious deposit was concealed. He searched and found the golden plates; but the language inscribed upon them was unknown. He was accordingly furnished with some talismanic power, by which he translated the original, word by word, and thus produced the 'Book of Mormon.' This is a singular tissue of absurdities, not wholly devoid of ingenuity. There are fifteen books, which fill a duodecimo volume of 588 pages, first published by Joseph Smith, of Ontario county, New York. It is said to have been originally intended as a hoax, with the further object of deriving profit from the sale of the book. It is needless, perhaps, to say that the original golden plates have never been produced. The Mormonites assert that the Land of Promise is beyond the Mississippi. They also declare that they possess the gift of working miracles. They consider the study of the Hebrew language to be a religious duty; and at one of their settlements, in Ohio, they recently engaged the son of a Jewish rabbi, a distinguished Hebrew teacher, to instruct the whole community. They already amount to 12,000."—pp. 322, 323.

In reading such accounts, how are we thrown back into the times of early Church-history, and find ourselves among the Valentinians, Marcionites, Cataphrygians, Ebionites, Manichees, and all the other prodigies to which the presence of the true Church gave rise, as the sun breeds reptiles! and as the Church in those early times went forth conquering and to conquer amid them all, so we are prepared to believe that even in these fallen times she has so much of her ancient glory left her, as to eat them up like Aaron's rod, and to grow and increase while they fall to pieces. Nay, under such circumstances, we are not sorry to be told, even of the Church of Rome, that by means of its numerous and well-conducted schools and colleges, it is daily acquiring a more powerful hold upon the public mind; for it is better to belong to

any portion of the one true Church, than to sectaries, who, not to dwell on their doctrines, do not even profess to belong to it.

But to return: Mr. Caswall informs us that in the towns and villages along the New York canal the "disorders and divisions among sectarian bodies have brought multitudes within the fold of the Church."—p. 115. Elsewhere he tells us that a vast proportion of her members have originally belonged to one or other denomination of Christians, and "have united with her from a sincere and intelligent preference."—p. 332. And, what is still more remarkable, that "probably *more than half* of the parochial clergy, and *certainly almost half the bishops*, have been originally Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists or Baptists."

Mr. Caswall furnishes us with some instances of eminent individuals who have been converted from the sectarian communions. First may be mentioned Bishop Chase, who is well known to many persons in England.

"Bishop Chase is a native of Cornish, a small town in the western part of the state of New Hampshire. His ancestors were English dissenters, and emigrated to America nearly a hundred years ago. He was himself educated in the Congregational or Independent persuasion, and continued his attachment to those principles until the year 1795, when nearly the whole of his father's family conformed to the Liturgy, and became members of the Episcopal Church. A candid examination of the Prayer-book, and of the important subject of an apostolical succession, were among the principal reasons which led to this remarkable change. Philander Chase, then in his nineteenth year, being seriously inclined, and viewing with sorrow the feeble state of the Church, resolved to devote himself to the clerical office. Accordingly, after several years of close application to study, under the tuition of a member of the University of Oxford, then officiating as a parish minister in Albany, he received holy orders in 1798, and was appointed a missionary to extend the blessings of religion in the new settlements in the western part of New York."—pp. 22, 23.

Another, mentioned by Mr. Caswall, is the present Rector of Bethel, in Vermont, who

"is a venerable English gentleman, once a strong dissenter, and the minister of an Independent congregation in the mother country. Having arrived in America, he formed an acquaintance with the Episcopal Church, and became convinced that the chief grounds on which the dissenters originally seceded from the Church of England had been fully removed in this country. After due consideration, he was received as a candidate for the ministry, and was ultimately ordained to the priesthood, and elected rector of Christ Church, Bethel. He is a faithful and laborious pastor, and a zealous defender of the apostolic succession and other distinctive principles of Episcopacy."—pp. 140, 141.

Dr. Cooke, who is the subject of the following extract, was a

Professor in the Medical School at Lexington, and is known by a work on the Theory and Practice of Medicine.

"Educated in Virginia, and connected with some distinguished families in England, Dr. Cooke spent his youth among the best society, and in habitual intercourse with the most cultivated minds. Sceptical opinions were then unhappily prevalent, and he imbibed the poison which has destroyed so many of the inconsiderate and unreflecting. While still a young man, he was induced, by a happy curiosity, to purchase of an itinerant book-pedlar, a work on the evidences of Christianity. He took it home, shut himself up in his room, and applied his whole faculties to the study of the interesting subject. His naturally strong mind felt the entire force of the argument, and his native straightforwardness led him to an instant avowal of the change which took place in his sentiments.

"Knowing as yet nothing of Church history, he was not adequate to make a proper choice of a denomination, but immediately connected himself with the Methodists, partly on account of their local proximity, and partly through a just admiration of their energy and zeal. For many years he remained an active and influential member of that sect, and some time elapsed after his appointment as professor in the Lexington Medical School, before any further change was effected in his sentiments. At length Dr. Chapman's sermons on the Church were published, and produced on his mind a strong apprehension that the American Methodists might be in a state of schism. He again shut himself up in his study, and applied himself closely to the perusal of such works on the subject as he could procure.

"During this investigation, he attended no place of worship, and determined to attend none until he had succeeded in discovering the true Church. Finally, he came to the conclusion that Scripture as well as primitive antiquity concurred in requiring an external commission derived from Christ through his Apostles, as the only warrant for the performance of the ministerial office. He became convinced, also, that the possession of such a ministry was a necessary mark of the true Church, and that all religious bodies destitute of that ministry are in a state of separation from the primitive fold. By the light of ecclesiastical history he now traced the Apostolic succession through the early Church, and found it still existing in the Greek and Roman Churches, as well as in the Episcopal Churches of England and America. A Romanist he could not become, because ecclesiastical history had shown him the origin of Roman Catholic errors, and the superior purity of antiquity. He therefore connected himself with the American Episcopal Church: since here he found all that is best in Romanism without its corruptions; all that is valuable among the dissenters, without their disorders.

"He afterwards imported from abroad, at a great expense, an admirable library, containing most of the primitive fathers, and the voluminous writings of former times on the subject of Church history. His convictions were complete, and he devoted his time and money, with unsparing liberality, to the diffusion of those important truths which he had so providentially acquired."—p. 226—228.

Dr. Chapman, who is mentioned in the last extract, is a vigorous and striking writer. No wonder that thoughtful men come over to the Church, when a powerful cause has such powerful advocates. We have put one of his works at the head of this article; and it will contribute to inform the reader of the present state of the American Church, (which is one chief reason for our selecting the subject,) if we here set before him some specimens of Dr. Chapman's writings. If we chose to be hypercritical, we should confess that we are not altogether pleased with the tone of all that occurs in the following quotations; but we make them to show the effective way in which American preachers urge the unity and stability of the Church against the discordance and variations of the sects around her.

Take, for instance, the following noble passage.

"I will even suppose that the Scriptures were silent upon the subject, so as to leave it optionable with us to have the ministry we pleased, and only insisting upon uniformity, yet would there be insuperable difficulties attending a resort to that which is Presbyterian, owing to the immense number of rival claims, which would forthwith make their demands upon our choice. Decision must be had between two and three hundred sects, and as many creeds. Out of such a labyrinth of confused and devious paths, which is to be preferred? Ye cannot tell, for that would to agree, and to agree ye will not. Were the selection to be made by us, the clamour of the unselected would never be appeased, because the pretensions of many are about equal, and the residue are indisposed to abate a fraction of their crudest dogmas. But were the question first narrowed down to the ministry alone, and ye were to select the episcopal on the ground of its apostolic origin, there would not be two or three hundred, there would not be two churches to distract your attention. Our Church is one and indivisible. Had it as many creeds as your Presbyterianism admits of, it could not be the pillar and ground of the truth. A great many good things may be extracted from your several communions. But what of this? We want them all in one, and the Church is that one. Come then, beloved brethren, all ye who have hitherto wearied yourselves with endless divisions and heresies, come, renounce them all, and enter into the ark which God hath prepared for the salvation of his saints, when the deluge of wrath shall overwhelm the host of the ungodly. Never should ye suffer it to escape from your memory, that 'Christ also loved the Church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word.' It may satisfactorily account to you for the zeal with which her cause is advocated, and the immensity of her blessings tendered to your acceptance. But whatever may be your thoughts, and whatever your decision, however ye may acknowledge or withstand the institutions of God, unite with or keep aloof from the Bride of his Anointed, the strength of my attachment will not be impaired, it can only increase with increasing years, only fail to glow within my heart, when that

heart shall become cold and still for ever. 'For Zion's sake will I not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth. Amen.' "—p. 374.

In another place he says,

"I believe it was the learned Dissenter, Selden, who said 'Scrutamini Scripturas' (Search the Scriptures), these two words have undone the world; because Christ spoke them to his disciples, therefore we must all, men, women and children, read and interpret the Scriptures.' He does not mean to cast reproach on their general perusal; or, if he does, God forbid! that any man should countenance the insanity of such a project. But the crude and fanciful interpretations of ignorance, these, certainly, should call out the marked disapprobation of every true friend of Jesus. They have brought into existence the many sects of Shakers, Ranters, Sandemanians, Dunkers, Southcotians, Mormonists, with a long, long list of equally blind fanatics. And when private individuals have followed up their miserable glosses upon the sacred text, by assuming the clerical office, or the more enlightened denominations have conferred it upon the merest drivellers in biblical knowledge, then, indeed, we may feel with Selden, that if the world be not undone, the Christian part of it is sadly annoyed and disfigured by all manner of strange conceits and superstitious practices. In these United States, there are hundreds of preachers who cannot even read the Bible they undertake to expound. The qualification of others is limited to vociferation and riot, excitement and passion, incredible tales and incoherent exclamations. Sermons have degenerated into a disconnected series of anecdote, and pastoral visits into convenient vehicles for the retail of gossip. For the form of sound words we have jargon. For the excellency of sound doctrine, multitudes are destined to listen to the vagaries and the cant of empiricism."—p. 349.

In another sermon, when engaged in answering the position which is the *reductio ad absurdum* of sectarianism, that the Church is the better for division, he thus speaks:

"Far the largest part of the world is still unenlightened by its only moral luminary. And on the supposition that the original Apostles were to re-appear for the purpose of converting the heathen to the knowledge of the true God and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, what, I demand, would be the course adopted by them, the system they would deem it advisable to employ? Would they fashion themselves after their former conduct, or be induced to avail themselves of the experience ye have had, in new, and, to them, untried developments. Consider, then, that if the Apostles, under such circumstances, were to pursue their previous course, it would be in strict conformity to the directions Jesus gave them when 'speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God.' He was for one Church, and they would be for one, the same over which he presided as the Great Shepherd and Bishop of Souls. He said nothing about Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, or the other Dissenters, and the like silence would be preserved by them,

unless indeed the rebuke should be given, to which reference was made in my prior publication. 'Every one of you saith, I am of Calvin, and I, of Brown, and I, of Munzer, and I, of Wesley, is Christ divided?' He must have known the most eligible mode of propagating the religion he came to reveal, and they would not venture to claim the honour of discovering a more lively and experimental way. Great difficulties also, brethren, would necessarily attend the preference on their part of your ecclesiastical polity. Not more than twenty Apostles are mentioned in the Scriptures. Many of you insist that there were thirteen only who enjoyed this high dignity. And supposing these to be now engaged in evangelizing the pagan nations, on your multitudinous system of sects, each individual would be obliged to found some fifteen or twenty discordant churches, in order to include the two or three hundred, which have contrived to make themselves acceptable to the Christian world. In what strange inconsistency therefore would all this involve the chosen of Christ. It would not be enough for the Apostles to set up severally some one of the principal religious denominations, putting the whole college at irreconcileable variance with each other. Not only must John advocate Episcopacy, and James, Presbyterianism; Peter, the theological unity of the Divine nature, and Thomas, a Trinity in Unity; Philip, everlasting happiness to the righteous only, with the like duration of misery to the unrighteous, and Bartholomew, the more gratifying doctrine of universal salvation; Jude, the baptism of infants, and Matthew, its limitation to believers; Andrew, the perpetuity of the sacraments, and Simon, the Canaanite, their eventual disuse; James, the son of Alphæus, baptism by sprinkling, and Matthias, by immersion; Paul, the Supra, and Barnabas, the Sub-lapsarian dogma; Timothy, an unlimited, and Titus, a limited atonement; Silas, a personal, and Epaphroditus, a spiritual reign of Christ upon the earth for the space of a thousand years;—but in addition to this, every one of the Apostles must prepare himself to bring forward at least twenty different sects, and school his conscience to contend earnestly for the faith of as many opposing creeds. Instead of the prayer of Christ being strictly fulfilled, 'Holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one, as we are;' instead of such fulfilment, principles must be embraced and carried out of this nature,—divide and subdivide, contradict each other and contradict your own selves, create this schism in one place and that in another, pronounce justification to be by faith in the morning, and by works in the afternoon. So shall 'ye continue in my word,' and be 'my disciples indeed;' 'ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free.'

"Where then is the sectarian so entirely void of reason, as to believe that were the Apostles now conversant with men, they would proceed to Christianize the heathen, on this antagonizing plan, rather than confide in the old paths, wherein they were once divinely trained to go forth conquering and to conquer? Placed in an attitude so glaringly absurd, it is scarcely possible to conceive of a fatuity of intellect, excessive and incurable as this. Madmen only could subscribe to such madness; knaves alone, to its coming within the bounds of credibility. It is one

thing to eulogize disunion and contradiction, when, in the revolution of ages, they have been gradually introduced, and another to ascribe their origin to the instruction of holy men of God, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Often does the natural world bring forth monsters, and in the nursery of schism their parturition is by no means rare. But inspiration is an infallible security against all error. Inspired men could not be left to fasten a medley of contradictions upon the Divine decree. The Church proclaimed by them, whether it were yesterday, to-day, or to-morrow, must of necessity be one, even as God himself is one."—pp. 333, 334.

And now, having said enough by way of introducing the reader to the American Church in its present state, we proceed to our main point, which is as follows. We have been surveying the remarkable birth of this Church out of the ashes; its instinctive appreciation of the succession; its silent cherishing of it when obtained; and afterwards its sudden and vigorous development. Yet there is a very great deal to do still in America in the way of both the extension and the development of the apostolical principle; extension through the body of Churchmen, development as regards itself. The former of these deficiencies every one will admit; many of its members do not yet hold the doctrine of the succession, though the number of maintainers is increasing. So far, however, every thing is as we could wish; nothing substantial can be done in a hurry. "A great, and it is believed, an increasing number of the clergy," says Mr. Caswall, "are strong in their assertion of the apostolical succession, and decline ecclesiastical intercourse with dissenting bodies."—p. 331. Again: "In every diocese there are very many, sometimes a great majority both among the clergy and the laity, who habitually consider their bishop as possessed of apostolical authority, transmitted in an unbroken chain from the primitive ages. This opinion gives a dignity to the office in the estimation of the religious, such as no temporal wealth and no worldly titles could confer."—p. 86. All this is as well as it could be; but what we are anxious about, what meets with serious impediments, and is seldom even recognized as desirable, is the second of the above desiderata, the full and unreserved development of the apostolical principle itself. American Christians possess and profess a high gift; but as yet they appear scarcely to understand, any more than ourselves, what that possession and profession involve. We shall devote the remainder of what we have to say to this point; perhaps we may be somewhat free; but if we speak with good temper and a kind purpose, which we hope we shall, we have a right to some portion of that republican liberty which our brethren allow to each other and consider a virtue. To convey our meaning, we must begin some way back, at the risk of seeming ambitious.

All systems, then, which live and are substantive, depend on some or other inward principle or doctrine, of which they are the development. They are not a fortuitous assemblage of atoms from without, but the expansion of a moral element from within. They cannot die a natural death till this moral element dies, though of course, they, as every thing below, may be overcome by violence. But they are indestructible considered internally, while their informing principle continues; for it is their life. They have nothing within of a self-destructive nature; every thing is evolved from one and the same formula; part cannot quarrel with part, both being results or transformations of one. Their parts cohere, not from any immediate junction or direct association, but because they all spring from a principle, and in that principle resolve. While their inward life remains, they repair their losses; if existing portions are cut off, they put out fresh branches. But when that goes, they are no more; they have no being, they dissolve. However fair they may look for a time, whether state, nation, society, church, university, moral agent, they are dead; and if they continue in appearance, still they are but phantoms, kept together by extraneous influences acting for extraneous purposes. Unity without is a result of unity within; but when there is nothing real within, what appears is as little real and substantive as a man's face in a glass, which is not the bodily development of a soul, but the result of certain external laws of matter. And, it must be confessed, there are in the world a great number of these unreal beings and mockeries, whether in politics, religion, or morals; things like card-houses, or scenes in a playhouse, which make up an effect, but have no inside;—standing by the force of habit because no one meddles with them, and crumbling to bits directly they are touched, or patched up and made decent by the interest of parties, or recommended by the character or influence of individuals. Such a creature of time and chance many men have thought and think our own Church to be; and such she is proved not to be, as in ten thousand other ways, so especially as we noticed in the outset, by her vigorous offshoots growing up in the West. She scattered some of her flowers in the wilderness; and, while for a time they seemed to die, a spirit at length was found within them, which rose, throve, and at length took outward shape like her own. Thus she proved herself to be a living principle: she showed that her very dust is spiritual; that a soul is in her smallest portions; that when she imparts herself anywhere, be it in small or great measure, she gives herself whole and entire; she cannot give part of herself; she gives spirit not matter, and by the energy of existence, multiplies images of herself on every side. How unequal to great purposes, how

shapeless and how unorganized were the companies which roamed from her bosom to the American continent! Without the look of a Church and without the knowledge of their want. But a Church was *in* them, and when they came together in one, the spirit spake out. The word was in their hearts as a burning fire shut up in their bones, and they were weary of forbearing and could not stay. They had been without bishops, without ordinances, scattered among the mixed multitude of sectarianism and heresy; but they were different from them within, though in outward respects alike. They had a creative principle in them, which the others had not. Others might tend to utter apostasy. Puritans might become Socinians; Baptists might form and reform, resolve and change like a caleidoscope; Shakers, Dunkers, Swedenborgians, Mormonites, might flit around them, but they, through God's mercy, were what they were and nothing else. They were ever tending upwards, not downwards, struggling upwards amid obstacles to the pure light of the Gospel, and, if let alone, then, by the power of the gift in them, ever developing into Churches, breaking forth into the Apostolic polity and the Catholic faith.

Still, it is true that obstacles might keep them down, and impede, or mutilate, or distort the development of the heavenly seed; and this, it would appear, is more or less the actual condition of every Church all over the world. None is fully and simply developed into its full proportions, *totis numeris absoluta;* all meet with external impediments, not the same everywhere, but some or other which succeed in distorting and crippling them. One suffers from the influence of the temporal power, another from heathen masters, a third from the popular voice, a fourth from the schools of philosophy, a fifth from national improvements, or civil institutions. One and all are tempted and more or less warped by fear of man, or covetousness, or sloth, or desire of rule, or present expediency, or the pride of reason. The inward principle develops a certain way, but partially and unequally, issuing in an inconsistent, or inchoate, or disproportionate creed and polity. The American Church, if for no other reason, at least as being in her infancy, cannot hope to be free from this imperfection. In saying this we are bringing no heavy charge against her, since we as little arrogate such a good and perfect gift to any of ourselves as to our American brethren.

But it is one thing to profess to have attained, another to profess the necessity of attainment; one thing to aim at, another not to seek or comprehend, unity of idea and action. And at this day, it is our habit, on both sides of the Atlantic, neither to desire nor understand real unity,—not to take in the idea that

effects follow from causes, and that a contradiction is self-destructive; but to call it moderation and judgment to sit down deliberately between two stools or to leap into the ditch, and ultraism to clear it, extravagance to dare to be consistent and to endure the conclusions of our admitted premises. Instead of viewing the Gospel system as a living growth, like "some tall palm," beautiful as being at once one and many, we build it up course by course, as we spread our layers of brick and mortar. Our architecture at the present day is a type, or rather an effect, of our state of mind. The lines of our buildings do not flow on, nor their arms expand, and return into themselves, as being the expansion of one whole idea, but we seem to be ever congratulating ourselves we have got so far, and to be asking "What shall we do next?"—range rising upon range, and mass placed aside of mass, without even the merit of being excrescences. And we make up for want of meaning in the whole by stress and earnestness in the parts; we lavish decorations on bit by bit, till what was at first unmeaning, ends by being self-contradictory.

Now as to the American Church, it has been her privilege to begin with so clear an announcement of that rudimental truth on which all true Churches rest, that we cannot but believe she is destined, in spite of obstacles, to advance onward to the measure of the stature of its perfect fulness. She has got it in her, and with gratitude we add, that the most considerable of her bishops, living and dead, have developed it accurately no little way. They have gone forward from one truth to another; from the Apostolic commission to the succession, from the succession to the office,—in the office they have discerned the perpetual priesthood, in the priesthood the perpetual sacrifice, in the sacrifice the glory of the Christian Church, its power as a fount of grace, and its blessedness as a gate of heaven. They had felt and taught most persuasively the unearthly supernatural state in which all Christians stand, and their real communion in the invisible kingdom of God. You would not know whether you were in America or England while their books were before you, in Birmingham or New York, amid collieries or sugar-canes. The external world sinks to its due level; and universal suffrage is as little found there as the House of Commons. How much further they ought to have gone, what doctrines they left latent, and what they but half developed, we have neither purpose nor ability to say; but without determining what would be presumptuous, so much we may safely maintain, that there is no conceivable point of opinion, or practice, or ritual, or usage, in the Church system, ever so minute,—no detail of faith and conduct ever so extreme, but what might be a legitimate and necessary result of

that one idea or formula with which they started. Mammoths and megatheria are known by their vertebræ; men's bodily temperaments have sometimes been discriminated by their nails; and in like manner there is no development ever so ultimate but may be the true offspring of the Apostolical principle. A gesture, a posture, a tone, a word, a symbol, a time, a spot, may be its property and token, whatever be the real difficulty of ascertaining and discriminating such details; nay, and it is not fully developed till it reaches those ultimate points, whatever real danger there be of formality. However, let us see how far the American divines have proceeded, for that is the first point which comes into consideration.

We shall refer to three bishops of their Church; and first to the sermons of Dr. Seabury of Connecticut, the first consecrated diocesan bishop. What makes them more interesting is that they seem to have been covertly controversial,—efforts, and successful efforts, at development, in spite of opposite influences which were assailing the nascent Church.

"The authority under which the Apostles acted being derived from Christ, in the exercise of it they were His ministers, because the authority was originally and properly His, and they could act only in His name; and this authority being by successive ordinations continued down to this day, all duly authorized clergymen now act by it, and are therefore 'the ministers of Christ.' On this commission is the authority of ministers in Christ's Church founded, and no man can justly claim any power in spiritual matters but as it is derived from it. No one will now pretend to have received his commission to preach the Gospel immediately from Christ, as the eleven Apostles had theirs, and none but enthusiasts will pretend to be empowered for that work by immediate revelation from heaven, as St. Paul was. It remains, then, that there is no other way left to obtain a valid commission to act as Christ's ministers in His Church, but *by an uninterrupted succession of ordinations from the Apostles. Where this is wanting, all spiritual power in Christ's Church is wanting also,* while they who have any part of this original commission communicated to them are properly Christ's ministers, because they act in His name and by authority derived from Him. It would be tedious to quote particular texts to prove that the Apostles did exercise this power in the Church. The whole tenour of the history of their Acts and their Epistles clearly show that they did institute a plan of Church government, enact laws, appoint governors and officers to regulate the economy of the Church as a society, as well as to preach the doctrines of the Gospel. And from ecclesiastical history, it appears that the government and officers instituted by them do continue in their successors at this present time, notwithstanding the utmost force of persecution which the malice of evil men and wicked spirits could bring upon it. Though in some places veiled in poverty and obscurity; in others, encumbered with worldly pomp and ceremonious superstition,

the Church of Christ still continues in the world preserved by His Providence who promised that 'the gates of hell shall not prevail against it;' and we trust preserved to rise again with splendour, and to shine forth, delivered from the shackles of worldly power and systematic superstition, in the full lustre of the beauty of holiness, both in its public offices, and in the faith and piety of its members."—vol. i. p. 12.

He thus speaks in another sermon of the holy Eucharist:—

"That there was, however, a *great and real change* made in the bread and the cup by our Saviour's blessing and thanksgiving and prayer, cannot be doubted. Naturally they were only bread and wine, and not the body and blood of Christ. When He had blessed them, He declared them to be His body and blood. *They were, therefore, by His blessing and word, made to be, what by nature they were not.*"—p. 149.

"The Eucharist is not only a sacrament, in which, under the symbols of bread and wine according to the institution of Christ, the faithful truly and spiritually receive the body and blood of Christ, but also, *a true and proper sacrifice*, commemorative of the original sacrifice and death of Christ, for our deliverance from sin and death—a memorial made before God to put Him in mind, that is, to plead with Him, the meritorious sacrifice and death of His dear Son, for the forgiveness of our sins, for the sanctification of His Church, for a happy resurrection from death, and a glorious immortality with Christ in heaven. From this account the priesthood of the Christian Church evidently appears. As a priest, Christ offered Himself a sacrifice to God, in the mystery of the Eucharist, that is, under the symbols of bread and wine, and He commanded His Apostles to do as He had done. If His offering were a sacrifice, theirs was also. His sacrifice was original, theirs commemorative. His was meritorious through His merit who offered it, theirs drew all its merit from the relation it had to His sacrifice and appointment. His, from the excellency of its own nature, was a true and sufficient propitiation for the sins of the whole world, theirs procures remission of sins only through the reference it has to His atonement. When Christ commanded His Apostles to celebrate the holy Eucharist in remembrance of Him, He with a command gave them power to do so, that is, *He communicated His own priesthood to them*, in such measure and degree as He saw necessary for His Church, to qualify them to be His representatives, to offer the Christian sacrifice of bread and wine as a memorial before God the Father of His offering Himself, once for all, of His passion and of His death, to render the Almighty propitious to us for His sake, and as a means of obtaining, through faith in Him, all the blessings and benefits of His redemption.

"The Eucharist is also called the communion of the body and blood of Christ, not only because by communing together we declare our mutual love and good will, and our unity in the Church and faith of Christ, but also, because in that holy ordinance we communicate with God through Christ, the Mediator, by first offering or giving to Him the sacred symbols of the body and blood of His dear Son, and then

receiving them again *blessed and sanctified by His Holy Spirit,* to feast upon at His table, for the refreshment of our souls, for the increase of our faith and hope, for the pardon of our sins, for the renewing of our minds in holiness, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, and *for a principle of immortality to our bodies as well as to our souls.*"—p. 156.

To Bishop Seabury is owing the restoration to the consecration prayer in the American Communion Service, of the oblatory words, and the invocation of the Holy Spirit; "which," as Bishop White reminds us, "were left out of our own service at a subsequent review in King Edward's time, at the instance of two learned foreigners." * Bishop Seabury's feeling on the subject may be learned, from a circumstance which Bishop White has preserved to us. On the Sunday morning during the session of the Convention in the course of which the restoration was made, the latter wished Bishop Seabury to consecrate. He declined. On the offer being repeated just before the service, he again declined, and smiling, added, "To confess the truth, I hardly consider the form to be used as strictly amounting to a consecration." This of course was a strong saying; but no wonder it was the means of effecting the desirable change.

In another sermon he speaks thus of both sacraments:—

"We are by the grace of Holy Baptism taken out of the world and put into the Church of Christ, the ante-type of the garden into which Adam was put when God took him from the world in which he had been created. The same Holy Spirit is given to us at our baptism, as the governing principle of life, which was given to Adam at his creation, as the principle of his life. The Holy Eucharist, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, is appointed for us, as the tree of life was for Adam, to be to us the principle or means of immortality."—p. 220.

He speaks of the state of the dead in the same forcible way.

"That it was the belief of the primitive Christians, as well as of the old Jews, that at the departure of the soul from the body it went to a secret, invisible place, provided by God for its residence, there to remain till the general judgment; the wicked in uneasiness, remorse and despair; the good in peace and refreshment, with an assured hope of God's favour, and a full acquittal at the final retribution; that this was the belief of Jews and Christians, might be fully proved from Jewish authors, and from the old liturgies and writings of the Fathers, did the compass of this discourse permit it. *On this ground stood the commemoration of the martyrs, and prayers for the faithful departed out of this life,* that God would grant them rest and peace in Christ, and free acquittal in the day of judgment; and to give us grace to follow the example of their faith and patience, that with them we might be made

* Memoirs, p. 154.

partakers of his heavenly kingdom, through the merit of Jesus, the Saviour. This they supposed necessary on their part, to keep up the communion of saints or fellowship with the Church of Christ; which is still one and the same, whether suffering here on earth, or at rest in paradise, and waiting in hope for perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, when the judgment of the last day shall give them their portion in that life eternal, which God hath promised to all who obey the Gospel of his Son.

"*Every one, who will consider the subject without prejudice, must feel the force of such a principle* in promoting the faith and holiness, which the Gospel requires; and will lament that the Church of Rome, by grafting the absurd errors of purgatory and prayers to departed saints, instead of, for them, on *this old and pious, and Catholic, Christian doctrine*, hath almost banished it out of the minds of Protestant Christians." —p. 196.

It is scarcely necessary to add that he was not behind these truly apostolical sentiments in his views of Confirmation.

"In baptism, He (the Holy Ghost) is given for the purpose of regeneration—to effect that new birth, by which we are born into the Church of Christ, obtain remission of all past sins and a new nature; in Confirmation, He is given for the purpose of sanctification or renovation of the heart in holiness. In Baptism, we are created anew in Christ Jesus, by the operation of the Holy Ghost; in Confirmation, the new creation is animated and enabled to live according to its new nature, by the energy of the same most Holy Spirit. As in the original creation of man, God made the body first, and then breathed into it the breath of life, to animate the body which he had made, and enable it to answer the purposes for which he designed it; so in our new creation, being buried with Christ in Baptism, we die to the former life of the old man, and rise again to a new life; and, in Confirmation, the Holy Ghost, as the principle of that regenerated, new or spiritual life, is infused into us from above. In Baptism, we are made Christians; but yet the new baptized is but an infant in Christ; in Confirmation, he is advanced to the rank of adults and made a perfect man in Christ Jesus."—p. 135.

Now to turn to Bishop Dehon and Hobart; and, first, of the latter. He thus speaks of the Christian ministry in an ordination sermon.

"It is the distinguishing dignity of this office, and it will constitute also its tremendous responsibility, that it resembles in its origin, and in many of its important functions the priesthood of Jesus Christ. As the Father sent him in his human nature to be the Prophet, a Priest and a Ruler of his people, so he sent his ministers to the end of the world to be the instructors, the *priests* and the governors of his Church. He glorified not himself to be an high priest, but he that said unto him, 'Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee;' so they, the ministers of his Church, take not this honour to themselves, but are called of God, as was Aaron, by an external commission. He received the anointing of the Spirit, and they receive, *by the laying on of the hands*

of that apostolic succession, in which the power of ordination is vested, the gift of the Holy Ghost—that gift of office, by which they became invested with *power* to minister in holy things."—p. 13.

Accordingly we find him in 1818 addressed by, and addressing, the chiefs of the Oneidas, thus:

"Right Reverend Father,—As head and father of the Holy and Apostolic Church in this state, we entreat you to take a special charge of us. We are ignorant, we are poor, and need your assistance. Come, Venerable Father, and visit your children, and warm their hearts by your presence in the things which belong to their everlasting peace. . . . My children,—I beseech you to attend to the instructions of your faithful teacher and brother, Eleazar Williams; to unite with him in the holy prayers of our Apostolic Church, which he has translated into your own language; to listen with reverence to the Divine Word which he reads to you; to receive, as through grace you may be qualified and may have an opportunity, the sacraments and ordinances of the Church; and at all times and in all places to lift up your hearts in supplication to the Father of your spirits, who always and everywhere hears and sees you, for pardon and grace, to comfort, to teach, and to sanctify you through your divine mediator, Jesus Christ."—*Life,* p. 221—223.

In another of his posthumous sermons, he gives the following precise account of the supernatural state of the Christian Church.

"It is indeed a truth, established by the whole tenour of the apostolic writings, that the blessings of salvation are ordinarily conveyed through the instrumentality of the Church, of which Christ is the Head and Saviour, and that *by union with this Church,* penitent believers are made partakers of all the benefits of his death and passion. 'The Lord added to the Church such as should be saved,'—'Christ is the Head of the Church, the Saviour of the body,'—'We are one body in Christ, members of his Body.' The blessings which Christians derive from Christ, *by virtue of their union with the Church,* which is his Body, may be summed up in the following:—

"1. Pardon of sin, through the merits of his blood.

"2. Spiritual life, holiness and protection, through the power of his grace.

"3. A title to that inheritance of glory, to which the Church will finally be exalted.

"Behold then, brethren, what exalted blessings are conveyed and pledged to us, *through the Church.* The merits of the Redeemer's blood is applied to us, and thus we are assured of the forgiveness of our sins; the influences of his Holy Spirit are bestowed upon us, by which we are renewed to holiness, and strengthened to resist temptation and to overcome in our Christian warfare; and it is as faithful members of Christ's Church militant on earth, that we become heirs of the glory and bliss of his Church triumphant in heaven.

"It would be great presumption indeed to confine salvation to the Christian Church. God is not 'a hard master, reaping where he has not sown, and gathering where he has not strawed;' and therefore,

where the Gospel is not proclaimed, he will not exact, as the condition of salvation, communion with that Church, into which men have no opportunity of entering. The influences of that grace, which Christ hath purchased for all men, may extend where it is not made known, or conveyed by visible signs and pledges; and those who endeavour to act according to the dictates of reason and conscience, will finally be judged according to what they have, and not according to what they have not; but *the rewards conferred on them will not be as great* as those adjudged to those faithful members of Christ's mystical body, who, through their communion with the Church, enjoy the means and pledges of his grace and mercy.

"Still, wherever the Gospel is proclaimed, *the Church is the appointed mode of salvation*, for it is that mystical body, of which Christ is the Head and Saviour, to which he applies the merits of his blood, which he sanctifies by his Spirit, and which he will exalt, with its faithful members, to immortal glory."—p. 308.

He carries out his idea of the Church spiritual into those local habitations in which she is allowed to manifest herself.

"Particularly does God manifest his presence in the sanctuary, by the ordinances which are there administered; these are the means and pledges of his mercy and grace. In the sanctuary, the subjects of sin, the children of wrath, the heirs of mortality, coming with true repentance and faith, are translated by the Sacrament of Baptism, into that fold of the Redeemer, his mystical Body, the Church, where his mercy encircles them, his grace guides and sanctifies them, and makes them heirs of glory. They are confirmed in their title to the celestial privileges, and advanced to still higher degrees of bliss in the laying on of hands, that ordinance of Confirmation, in which they personally seal their baptismal vows. In the sanctuary is spread that holy table, in which, under lively symbols, Christian believers commemorate the stupendous sacrifice of the cross, and spiritually participate of that life-giving body and blood, which preserve their bodies and souls unto everlasting life."—p. 303.

No wonder that in an address to his Convention in 1817, he thus recommends to his brethren an observance, which he yet found it impracticable to introduce.

"Let the minister, as frequently as circumstances will admit, assemble his congregation for divine worship. . . . No opinion is more unfounded than that there is a deficiency as to the means of pious instruction and devotion in the forms of our Church. She has provided *daily morning and evening prayer;* and hence her ministers, when circumstances admit and require, can assemble their flocks for any purposes of Christian edification, not only daily, but twice in the day, and lead their devotions to heaven, &c."—*Life*, p. 201.

Let us now turn to the glowing language of the eloquent Dehon:—he is pleading the cause of a religious society in his diocese.

" What tokens shall we give him of our love? We cannot ' pour upon his head a box of the most precious ointment,' we can procure; nor ' wash his feet with our tears and wipe them with the hair of our heads;' we cannot watch with him while he sorrows or sleeps, nor say to him personally, ' Thou knowest that we love thee,' ' All that we have is thine.' How then shall we manifest palpably our affection towards him? We must espouse the cause which is dear to him. We must promote the work, which he desires to see accomplished. And especially upon *the Church, which he hath taken into so near a connection, as to make it one with himself,* we may bestow tokens of our regard, which he will thus receive. The Church he loves. *With the Church he hath left the records of his truth, the representatives of his power, and the symbols of his presence.* For the Church, as his Body, he is constantly interceding in heaven, ' that he may present it unto himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing.' And if what is ' done to one of the least' of the members of this his Body, is considered ' as done unto him,' with what gracious satisfaction will he behold your gratitude employed in increasing the general health and vigour of the Body; in ' lifting up its hands which hang down, and strengthen its feeble knees,' and adding, by your munificence, to its reputation and beauty. You see then, my hearers, that this institution presents itself before you as an infant friend of your Redeemer. It stretches out its hands to you for your smiles and your help. It says to you, I would be strong, that I might go forth and build up the waste places of the city of God, and bring much people to the enjoyment of his peace and salvation. The spirits of those worthy laymen, who anciently sought the prosperity of the Church in these parts, seem to me to look down upon it, from their places of rest, and say, Jehovah prosper you. The spirits of the mild and pious Johnson, of the sensible and dignified Garden, and of those patient and intrepid clergymen, who, in the difficult years of the settlement of these regions, laboured in the word and doctrine, seem to me to lean from their seats of bliss and behold with delight the appearance of an institution, which will take up the work, in which they expended their labours and their lives. The spirits of your fathers, who once worshipped in the temples, which are desolate, and whose ashes rest in their cemeteries, seem to me to call to you from the skies to patronize in their steads this infant advocate of the Church which they loved. Yea! the Spirit of Jesus seems to me to be here, saying to you from his throne, ' Take this child and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy reward.' Daughters of Jerusalem! love ye your Lord; I know that you love him. When you have read of the faithful, the happy women, who embalmed his body, you have envied them their felicity. To share it with them is not in your power. But he hath a mystical Body, the Church. Upon that you may bestow the expressions of your regard for him. And how can you do it so effectually, as through the instrumentality of this institution, which, as Joseph cherished in his humiliation his earthly body, would cherish the mystical one, in which he delights to dwell. Sons of the Church! love ye your Lord; I trust that ye love him. When ye behold the wise men coming to-day to bring to

him their 'gifts, gold, frankincense and myrrh,' ye are struck with the grandeur of the scene, and are ready to say to the Author of so much good to our race, would we could do likewise. To bring your gifts to his presence, who has died that your sins might be pardoned, and is gone into heaven to intercede for you there, is not in your power. But you may bestow your gold, your frankincense and your myrrh, upon the Church, which is his Body. And how can you do it so effectually, as through the instrumentality of this institution, which, as the angels ministered in the days of his humiliation to his earthly Body, would strengthen his mystical one, with all the services it can devise?"—pp. 266—371.

Again:

"It has already been observed to you, that wherever the Deity is particularly present, it is with the retinue of his angels. This was eminently the case in the Jewish temple. And the Gospel favours the opinion that it is so in the places of Christian worship, in which God receives the homage of his redeemed creatures. In the earliest ages of the Church, before man had exalted himself above all created intelligence, this sentiment was carefully cherished. 'Hear thou me,' says one of the most eloquent of the Fathers, 'bear thou me and know that angels are everywhere, and that chiefly in the house of God they attend upon their King.' 'Doubt not,' says another of these primitive disciples of our Lord, 'that an angel is preserved, when Christ is offered.' And again, says the holy Chrysostom, 'when the Eucharist is celebrated, the angels stand by the priest, and the whole choir resounds with celestial powers, and the place about the altar is filled with them in honour of him who is laid thereon.' What sobriety should these considerations beget in us, when we come into God's house. How powerfully do they enforce that decency in worship, which the Apostle recommends, 'because of the angels.' Especially with what pure hearts and clean hands, with what reverence and godly fear, should we come to the Holy Table. Consider with whom you there stand, who are the spectators of your conduct, yea! who are the associates of your devotion, when you 'laud and magnify God's glorious name.'"—pp. 133, 134.

One more passage may be allowed us from so natural and warmhearted a preacher: speaking of the necessity of an appointed ministry, he says:

"Look through the pagan world, and observe everywhere a priest, where you find an altar, a sacred office where you find a God. Would you know the divine counsel in this particular? Behold the Deity, in the dispensation to his chosen people, selecting a particular tribe for his service, and confining to them the right and the duty of ministering in holy things. Above all, it should satisfy our minds upon this topic, that our Saviour did ordain selected men, authorizing them to send others, as he sent them, to preach his Gospel, to administer his ordinances, and to guide and govern his visible Church. 'Go,' said he, when about to leave our earth, to the Apostles, whom for this purpose he had chosen, 'go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to

observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' There arises, from the nature of the Christian ordinances, a peculiar necessity for an authorized ministry. *The sacraments* are of high and holy import, like the ark of the Covenant they *are not to be carried by unhallowed hands.* They are seals of an engagement between God and men. They are compacts between the Almighty Father and his repentant children, in which he pledges himself, upon condition of their faith and obedience, to give them the pardon of their sins, the blessing of his Spirit, and the enjoyment of eternal life. And who can sign the covenant of such mercies unto men, but they who act in God's behalf? And who can act in God's behalf, but they who act by God's authority? Not, oh not, that in those to whom this ministry is committed, there is any relation above the ordinary qualities of their fellow-beings. Every priest appointed to this service must be taken from among men, and, consequently, be subject to like passions with the rest of their race. It is, indeed, infinite condescension in the great God to employ, in the accomplishment of his mighty and gracious purposes, beings frail as we are; but perhaps, we may say, it is also wisdom. For hereby is secured to him, to whom alone it belongs, all the honour, all the praise, all the glory of the efficacy of the ministrations. 'We have this treasure in earthen vessels,' says St. Paul, speaking of the great Christian behest, entrusted to the ministry, 'we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God and not of us.' It is presumable, from the nature of the thing, that there would be found in the world an established priesthood, unto whom this ministry of reconciliation would be committed, for the edification of the Church. And blessed be our adorable Head, *such a priesthood there has been among his redeemed, from the first ministry of his Apostles unto the present day,* nor can we doubt his will, that after the way of his appointment, it should be perpetuated in the world until his coming again. Not that a mere outward and formal observance of the sacraments of Christianity will accomplish in us the purposes of the mission of the Son of God. But in the sacraments are deposited the mercy, the gifts, the refreshments, the renewals, the hopes, which we need, of all which they who resort to them with the requisite qualifications cannot fail to participate. On this account it was that attendance upon them constituted so large a part of the religious business of the primitive Christians, and that they spake of them in such lofty terms as the *laver of regeneration,* the *seed of immortality,* the *earnest of a resurrection.* Far different was the estimate of these ordinances in their days, from that which seems to prevail in ours. They were then the Christian Bethesdas, by which the penitent and believing waited, that when the angel moved the waters, they might wash in them from sin and uncleanness, and be restored to hope, and soundness, and vigour. And should we go about to ascertain why the Gospel is not now productive, in so great degree, as in the apostolic times, of its proper peace, and joy, and holiness, we shall probably find among the chief causes the uninformed manner in which some go to its sacraments, and the entire disregard with which the many neglect them. For besides

the general reasons to observe them, there are to every individual peculiar motives for this obedience. The sacraments of Christianity are ordained, not only to be of general use, but also for his individual benefit. He himself is washed in its baptism from the defilement of sin, and in its supper he himself is nourished with *the bread of immortality, which came down from heaven.* These ordinances are, to every man, the channel of divine mercy, the resort where the Church findeth her Lord. Here he leadeth her by the still waters. Here he causeth her to lie down in green pastures. Here he maketh his flock to rest at noon. Enjoined by Divine authority, we may not question their necessity; crowned with a Divine promise, we cannot doubt their efficacy; but we do owe it to ourselves, as well as to the Redeemer, who appointed them, and the Christian community to which we belong, to endeavour to walk after the footsteps of his ancient servants, 'in all his commandments and ordinances, blameless.' "—pp. 48—51.

It is pleasant to know that Bishop Dehon was as beautiful in his life and conversation as he is in his writings. He died in 1817, at the early age of forty-one, of the yellow fever; the personal tributes called forth by his death were of the warmest and deepest kind. Such are the principles of the American Church, legitimately resulting from her *idea*, as Catholic and Apostolic. Now let us consider the "extraneous influences," as Mr. Caswall justly calls them, which at present prevent their being duly understood, accepted, expanded, applied, by the body of her members.

Now, it is obvious, one most potent and continual disturbing force in the development of apostolical principles, is the circumstance above alluded to, of the spread of the Church among Dissenters. Action and reaction are equal, except where a Church is as firm as a rock, and in the present instance, while sectarians have gained from her, the Church has lost from them. Considering that half the existing hierarchy have had their baptism and education from dissent, it is truly marvellous that the Church is what she is; and it raises admiration and thankfulness in the Christian mind, for the innate power of that system, which could effect so much, with such a subject-matter to work upon. A Church must have the iron grasp of Rome to be able to catch, without being caught; nor is it to be expected that our American brethren will be free from this infirmity for a long time to come. But here we are concerned with more definite illustrations and causes of the existing state of American theology.

Let not the friends, then, of the American Church be startled, if we say that in her first years she suffered seriously, and still suffers, from certain influences, which are too grievous to give a name to, but of which she must fully be aware, if she is ever to get clear. In saying this, we are speaking of what Mr. Caswall, as we ob-

served, truly calls "*extraneous* influences;" we are very far indeed from implying that the source of them was in the body itself, or that they penetrated into the body, but they acted forcibly upon the body by external pressure, and have committed it to acts which have done much mischief ever since. Nor in this respect are we better circumstanced than they; we too in the time of the third William and the first Georges had certain impressions of the same kind made on us, which chilled, extenuated, and shrivelled up our faith and temper. What, indeed, is that desire of evidences, that delight in objection and spontaneous incredulity, that pursuit of secular comfort, that contentment with mere decency and morality, which in its degree exist still among us all, but remains of the Socinian temper inflicted on us during that calamitous period? Nor have those malign influences ceased. They have worked their way unseen; and whereas they are now more generally acknowledged than they were, they were detected years ago by one of the most keensighted men of his age, a name well known in America, Mr. Norris, of Hackney. He thus writes to Bishop Hobart in 1822.

"The American branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church is filling at this time a most important station upon the earth. What *our* future fortunes are to be it would be presumptuous to calculate upon. There is amongst us a large measure of genuine Christian zeal and decided Church principle, and both are upon the increase; but then there is a tremendous confederation, topped by false brethren, and *bottomed by Socinians*, who are working incessantly and systematically upon all departments of the community. The specific object of it is to make *schism catholic instead of unity;* unity therefore must fall, unless those who are its divinely appointed guardians cherish it with more than ordinary solicitude, and exercise an apostolic jealousy in maintaining *one* mind and *one* mouth among themselves."—*Hobart's Life*, p. 253.

This extract is curious as bearing on our general subject; but to return to the American Church:—the presence of a Socinian influence among her members was a subject of apprehension with some of the eminent persons in England who were interested or concerned in the question of their obtaining the succession. Mr. Granville Sharp, in a letter to Dr. Franklin, mentions the uneasiness occasioned at home, at reports which were circulated about the changes which the Americans intended to introduce into the Prayer Book, An "Episcopal congregation at Boston," he says, "adopted a liturgy formed after the manner of Dr. Clarke and Mr. Lindsay" (p. 315); and the Socinian party flattered themselves that the proceedings of the Convention indicated the same feeling. He adds that "the reports of Socinianism gave great offence to many worthy people" in England, "and more especi-

ally to the bishops, who had been sincerely disposed to promote the Church in America." The leaning which was thus evidenced in the East, was seconded from the South, for at that very Convention, concerning which the above-mentioned report had been circulated, so far was true that Mr. Page of Virginia, afterwards governor of the State, had moved to leave out the first four petitions of the Litany; "and instead of them," says Bishop White, "to introduce a short petition, which he had drawn up (!), more agreeable to his ideas of the Divine Persons recognized in those petitions." He professed not to object to the invocation of our Lord, "which, he thought, might be defended by Scripture;" but "the objection lay to the word Trinity, which he remarked to be unauthorized by Scripture, and a foundation of much unnecessary disputation." But since to admit only the fourth petition would leave the foregoing three liable to the charge of Tritheism, he thought it best on the whole to strike out all four. Nay, the general impression concerning the strength of the Socinianizing party was so strong at the time, that even Bishop Provoost of New York was believed, though, as it has since been shown, without foundation, to have advocated the omission of the fourth petition. This part of the Prayer Book, however, was saved; at the same time another portion of its contents, even more sacred, was sacrificed, the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds; after mentioning which it is little to add that the clause of the Apostles' concerning the descent of Christ into hell was struck out also. On the remonstrance of the English archbishops the Nicene Creed was restored and the article in the Apostles', but the Athanasian remains excluded to this day. Even as much as this was not gained without a conflict. The Virginians instructed their deputies to the general Convention to be held at Philadelphia, to represent to the meeting that though "uniformity of doctrine would unquestionably contribute to the prosperity of the Church," yet they "earnestly wished that this might be pursued with *liberality and moderation.*" "The obstacles," they continued, "which stand in the way of union among Christian societies are too often founded on *matters of mere* form. They are surmountable therefore by those who, breathing the spirit of Christianity, earnestly labour in this pious work. From the Holy Scriptures themselves, rather than the *comments of men*, must we learn the terms of salvation. Creeds therefore ought to be *simple;* and we are not anxious to retain any other than that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed." They proceed—"We will not now decide what ceremonies ought to be retained. We wish, however, that those which exist *may be estimated according to their utility*, and that such as may appear fit to be laid aside, may

no longer be appendages of our Church."* In spite of them, the Nicene Creed, as we have said, was restored; but as to the Athanasian, Bishop White observes that had the English archbishops insisted on its restoration, the pending negociation for obtaining the succession "was desperate, because, although there were some who favoured a compliance, the majority were determined against it; among whom were two members present, *who had been chosen to the Episcopacy, and who voted against the restoration,* as appears on the journal."† Here then we have distinct evidence of the presence of Socinianism, not of course introducing itself *into* the acts of the Church, whether more or less, but exerting an influence *upon* them; and this serious circumstance led us above to view with jealousy, what at first sight might have been welcomed without suspicion, the opinion expressed to Mr. Caswall by the Unitarian of Boston as to the possibility at one time existing, of the Church becoming the religion of his party, instead of the heresy which in fact prevails there. Nor is the following account pleasant which belongs to the date later than that of Mr. Caswall's emigration.

"Here [at Andover] an opening for the Church had been made in a singular manner, and not the most desirable. The majority of the Congregational population having determined to remove their meeting-house to a more convenient situation, the minority were displeased and withdrew from the congregation. For some time it was doubtful whether they would engage a Unitarian or a Universalist minister to preach to them; but ultimately they concluded on becoming Episcopalians, and having drawn up articles of association, they elected a vestry and wardens, and were admitted into union with the Church in Massachusetts. They assembled on Sunday in a school-house to the number of about forty or fifty; but although attentive to the sermon, they generally took slight interest in the worship, and made little use of the Prayer-Book. There were many amiable and worthy people among them, and a few decided Episcopalians; but I soon perceived that nothing but time and perseverance, with Divine help, could succeed in establishing the principles of the Church upon so uncongenial a soil."—pp. 135, 136.

To tell the truth, we think one special enemy to which the American Church, as well as our own, at present lies open is a refined and covert Socinianism. Not that we fear any invasion of that heresy within her pale now, any more than fifty years ago, but it is difficult to be in the neighbourhood of icebergs without being chilled, and the United States is, morally speaking, just in the latitude of ice and snow. Here again, as our remarks will directly show, we mean nothing disrespectful towards our transatlantic relatives. We allude, not to their national character, or to

* White's Memoirs, p. 114. † P. 107.

their form of government, but to their *employments* which we share with them. A trading country is the *habitat* of Socinianism. Mr. Caswall in one place speaks of its "alluring doctrines:" this may seem a strange description of them, but it is perfectly true, as he uses it. There is no accounting for tastes; and there is a moral condition of mind to which this dismal creed *is* alluring. Mr. Caswall's words are as follows:—"At Boston and Salem Unitarianism is very prevalent and great numbers of the *rich and fashionable* are attached to its alluring doctrines."—p. 134. Not to the poor, the forlorn, the dejected, the afflicted, can the Unitarian doctrine be alluring, but to those who are rich and have need of nothing, and know not that they are "miserable and blind and naked;"—to such Unitarianism so-called is just fitted, suited to their need, fulfilling their anticipations of religion, counterpart to their inward temper and their modes of viewing things. Those who have nothing of this world to rely upon need a firm hold of the next, they need a deep religion; they are as if stripped of the body while here,—as if in the unseen state between death and judgment; and as they are even now in one sense what they then shall be, so they need to view God such as they then will view Him; they endure, or rather eagerly desire, the bare vision of Him stripped of disguise, as they are stripped of disguises too; they desire to know that He is eternal, since they feel that they are mortal. Such is the benefit of poverty; as to wealth, its providential corrective is the relative duties which it involves, as in the case of a landlord; but these do not fall upon the trader. He has rank without tangible responsibilities; he has made himself what he is, and becomes self-dependent; he has laboured hard or gone through anxieties, and indulgence is his reward. In many cases he has had little leisure for cultivation of mind, accordingly luxury and splendour will be his *beau ideal* of refinement. If he thinks of religion at all, he will not like from being a great man to become a little one; he bargains for some little sacrifice to his self-satisfaction; some little power of judging or managing, some small permission to have his own way. Commerce is free as air; it knows no distinctions; mutual intercourse is its medium of operation. Exclusiveness, separations, rules of life, observance of days, nice scruples of conscience, are odious to it. We are speaking of the general character of a trading community, not of individuals; and, so speaking, we shall hardly be contradicted. A religion which neither irritates their reason nor makes them uncomfortable, will be all in all in such a society. Severity whether of creed or precept, high mysteries, corrective practices, subjection of whatever kind, whether to a doctrine or to a priest, will be offensive to them. They

need nothing to fill the heart, to feed upon, or to live in, they despise enthusiasm, they abhor fanaticism, they persecute bigotry. They want only so much religion as will satisfy their natural perception of the *propriety* of being religious. Reason teaches them that utter disregard of their Maker is unbecoming, and they determine to be religious, not from love and fear, but from good sense. Now it would be a miserable slander on the American Church to say that she suited such a form of mind as this; how can she, with her deep doctrines of the Apostolic Commission and the Eucharistic Sacrifice; but this is the very point; here we see around her the external influences which have a tendency to stifle her true development, and to make her inconsistent and unreal. If in the English Church the deep sea dried up more or less in the last century, why should it not in the American also? Let the latter dread her extension among the opulent merchants and traders in towns, where her success has principally been. Many undesirable persons will begin to see in the Church what they can find no where else; the Sectarian doctrines are more or less enthusiastic; the Roman Catholic despotic; in the Church there is (or may be) moderation, rationality, decency and order, which are just the cardinal excellences, the highest ἰδέαι of truth, the first and only fair, to which their minds attain. If they are allowed a footing, a sleek gentleman-like religion will grow up within the sacred pale, with well-warmed chapels, softly cushioned pews, and eloquent preachers. The poor and needy, the jewels of the Church, will dwindle away; the clergy will sink in honour, and rich laymen will culminate. Already, Mr. Caswall informs us, "there are churches which rather resemble *splendid drawing-rooms* than houses of worship, and in which *the poor man could hardly feel himself at home.* Handsome *carpets* cover every part of the floor," and "the pews are luxuriously *cushioned* in a manner calculated to invite repose."—p. 289. Again:—"At Chillicothe [in Ohio] the Episcopal Church contains many of the *wealthier and more refined families,* but *has not established itself in the preference of the great mass of the religious people,* who are principally, as in other parts of Ohio, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists."—p. 55. Elsewhere he says, speaking *generally,* not of any particular place:

"*In the congregation there are few, if any, poor persons, so that it is often difficult to dispose of the communion-alms according to the regulations of the Rubric.* The Episcopal congregations are generally composed of highly-intelligent and respectable people, many of whom have received an excellent education. Hence, intellectual sermons are held in great esteem, and elegant composition is duly appreciated. Commonplace discourses are disregarded, and old or borrowed ones are never

tolerated. Some oratorical genius is always necessary to clerical success in republican America."—p. 296.

We are aware it is a bold thing to speak of a Church a hemisphere off us: we are speaking from books not from practical knowledge; but we think we may say without fear of mistake, that pews, carpets, cushions, and fine speaking are not developments of the apostolical succession. Fathers and brethren, we would say, if we might venture a word, dispense with this world when you enter the presence of another. Throw aside your pillows; set wide your closets; break down your partitions; tear away your carpets. Open a space whereon to worship freely, as those to whom worship was the first thing; who come to repent, not to repose; to give thanks, not to reason; to praise, not to enjoy yourselves. Dispense with your props and kneelers; learn to go down on the floor. What has possessed you and us to get into boxes to pray, while we despise Simeon upon his pillar? Why squeeze and huddle together as you neither do, nor would dream of doing, at dinner-table or in a drawing-room? Let the visible be a type of the invisible. You have dispensed with the clerk, you are spared the royal arms; still who would ever recognize in a large double cube, with bare walls, wide windows, high pulpit, capacious reading-desk, galleries projecting, and altar obscured, an outward emblem of the heavenly Jerusalem, the fount of grace, the resort of angels?

Having touched on the circumstances of worship, we may as well here notice some other points connected with it, in which the American Church has not yet carried out her elementary principle.

Mr. Caswall, for instance, tells us that "the communion-table seldom occupies its appropriate place, but is often little more than a narrow board placed in front of the reading-desk, in the situation usually occupied by the clerk in the Church of England."—p. 280. He adds, however, that in some churches of recent erection, the altar occupies a conspicuous and somewhat elevated position in a recess at the extremity of the building opposite to the main entrance. This is a promising symptom of development going on in the Church, in spite of extraneous influences. At present, however, it marks the inconsistent state of things, that even so good a churchman as Mr. Caswall is but partially sensible of the position which the Holy Eucharist occupies in the Christian system. We hear nothing of its celebration in critical times, when we have a right to expect it; and no remark is made upon the omission. When that interesting man, Mr. Gunn, whose history has been given above in Mr. Caswall's words, at length fell in with a clergyman, Mr. Caswall, as our

readers will have observed, thus speaks :—"Once more after an interval of fifteen years, our lay-reader was permitted to *hear the word of life declared* by a commissioned ambassador of Christ."—(p. 97). To hear? and not also to take, eat that living word, which a commissioned priest alone could give him? In Mr. Caswall's sketch of a diocesan convention, where he was present, he tells us "The members assembled at 10, A. M. They took their seats in the front pews, the remainder of the building being occupied by a number of respectable persons attached to the Church. The Bishop entered in his episcopal robes and took his seat within the rails of the communion-table. A clergyman appointed by the Bishop then read morning prayers; the Bishop performed the *ante-communion service,* and a sermon was preached by another clergyman. *After divine service,* the Bishop called the convention to order."—p. 68. The business of the meeting follows; the meeting adjourns till the afternoon; it reassembles; the Bishop reads his annual address. He "urges upon the members the importance of *improving the occasion* by social prayer and *devotional fellowship.*"—Committees make their reports, or are appointed; resolutions pass: so ends the first day. On the second, prayers and a sermon —then business—reports from parishes—"such further accounts as appeared likely to *interest or edify.*" It meets again the third day, divine worship—a canon passed—committee appointed—resolutions—"the members of the convention having been hospitably treated by the inhabitants of the place" (exceedingly proper) a vote of thanks—a psalm sung—the episcopal benediction given —the convention "finally adjourned." Concerning the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, not a word. We speak of this as what happened in a particular case, which we have no right or wish to suppose a general rule. Indeed, in another place Mr. Caswall, speaking of the "regular Sunday services of a clergyman, says that the holy communion is generally administered once a month."—p. 294. And elsewhere he expressly speaks of its celebration at the Convention of Massachusetts in 1833.—p. 121.

The Gospel is a free gift, and in all its developments must take the shape of a free gift: it must not be *bought;* to the giver the receiver offers back of his best, but not as a bargain. What then are we to think of paying for seats in churches? or, if we have inherited the custom, what of extending it to the poor? yet we have the following uncomfortable account of what is taking place in the American Church :—"There are but few free seats in Episcopal churches, and in fact there is not the same necessity. Few persons are so poor, and *still fewer would be willing* to accept it as a gratuity."—p. 282. Why not say at once "few

persons are so poor as to accept the Gospel as a gratuity? Pride in things visible leads to pride in things unseen.

"The ancient practice of bowing at the name of Jesus is disused to a great extent; but some extenuation of this omission may be found in the circumstance that the custom is not enjoined by canon as it is in England."—p. 337.

"The practice of turning to the east when the creed is repeated has been entirely forgotten."—p. 295.

"The burial grounds are generally remote from the churches, and are never consecrated."—p. 283. "In the Table of Vigils &c. (in the Prayer-Book) the vigils are wholly omitted."—p. 243. "There is no place in America in which the service of a Church is performed daily, unless the General Theological Seminary at New York may be regarded an exception."—p. 295. "Some clergymen almost entirely neglect the observance of the feasts and fasts of the Church. I have known a few who have declined to celebrate Ash Wednesday and Good Friday, while they have united with other denominations in monthly meetings of prayer for missions, colleges, or other objects of interest."—p. 337. The saints' days which occur during the week are very frequently left unnoticed, while weekly lectures on the nights of Wednesday or Thursday are very general."—*ibid.* "The service for the churching of women is seldom used, except in the case of English people, who desire to conform to the practice of their ancestors."—p. 299.

Here there is abundance to do in the way of development. If persons neglect the ordinances of the Church, it is because they do not believe their virtue and efficacy. If they thought the Church had a gift of grace, they would be instant in the times and places in which she dispenses it. It is difficult to prove that it is a *duty* to come to church daily; it is easy for a Churchman to feel that it is a *privilege*.

In the American Church bishops do not assume sees, but are named from their dioceses. In spite of whatever precedents may be urged in favour of this usage, we are clear that it is a piece of *purus putus Protestantismus*. It is difficult to analyze its *rationale*, but we have no doubt about the fact. The Church is *in* a country, not *of* it, and takes her seat in a centre. If a bishop has no throne or see, where is the one, ὁ ἀεὶ, the never-dying priest continual, who is the living apostle of the Church? Is a bishop a mere generalization of a diocese, or its foundation? a name or a person? Generalizations are everywhere, persons have a position. Does a bishop depend on his diocese, or his diocese on him? meanwhile the Roman Catholics have located their bishops, and though their succession in the country is later than ours, they have thus given themselves the appearance of being the settlers, not visiters.

On the other hand, we are glad to learn from Mr. Caswall

the following pleasing manifestations of a Catholic spirit in the details on worship;—at Christmas the churches are decorated with evergreens, tastefully hung in festoons. Since holly, box, and laurel cannot be obtained, " boughs of the cedar, pine, and hemlock are employed in their stead. These decorations are commonly arranged by the young ladies of the congregation."—p. 283. This is as it should be; the same interesting class should also employ themselves in working altar cloths, and ornamenting service books, the *modicum* of embellishment which political revolutions have left us. Again:—

" The sign of the cross has lately made its appearance on many churches, agreeably with the early custom. Bishop Onderdonk, of New York, in a charge to his clergy, has commended the good taste displayed in this appropriate decoration; and has declared that only an anti-protestant feeling can consider the sign of the cross as symbolising the corruptions of Romanism."—p. 282.

Both infants and adults are sometimes baptised by immersion, according to the rubric. This, again, is cheering news. In one Episcopal Church in Kentucky the font is in the shape of a large bath, six or seven feet in length. Several persons in Philadelphia have been baptised in the river, pp. 297, 298. Mr. Caswall observes, in another place,

"In baptist neighbourhoods there are episcopal clergymen who greatly desire to see the old English rubric restored, by which all persons were required to be immersed at baptism, except when they were sick and unable to bear it. I am acquainted with a small episcopal congregation situated in the midst of Baptists, in which not a single infant has been presented for baptism during seven years, the parents being greatly influenced by the arguments of the sectarians."—p. 337.

This is a curious instance of " extraneous influences" working the right way.

But leaving these agreeable instances of the expansion of the Apostolical idea, which show that we have every thing to hope of the American Church, we must go on to allude, for our space will hardly allow us to do more, to a much more systematic and overt deflexion from Church principles than any which we have yet mentioned; the power usurped by the laity over the bishop's jurisdiction, which at present is an utter bar to the due development of Catholicity. The Americans boast that their Church is not, like ours, enslaved to the civil power; true, not to the civil power by name and in form, but to the laity, and in a democracy what is that but the civil power in another shape? When Bishop Hobart returned from England he preached and published a Sermon, in which, among other evils in our Church, he freely, but not at all unwarrantably, expressed his regret at what his

biographer truly called "the extraordinary and inappropriate prerogative of the king, *through his ministers*, to designate the persons who shall be chosen for the episcopal office, whose authority is entirely divine, and the *absolute incapacity of the clergy* to exercise their ecclesiastical power independently of the state."—p. 333. He adds, "But here *no secular authority* can interfere with our high ecclesiastical assembly, nor control her legitimate powers." When this Sermon reached England it excited no little annoyance in certain quarters; and in the Quarterly Theological (before it became connected with the British Critic) a very bitter attack appeared, which called forth an answer from a generous friend of the Bishop's, the late Mr. Rose. It is unnecessary to go into the details of his conclusive defence of Bishop Hobart from the uncomfortable reflections which an apparently angry writer had thrown out against him. But it is to our purpose to observe the adroit and natural way in which, while defending a friend, he delicately retorts upon him and his the criticisms which the Bishop's Sermon had directed against us. The Bishop had been absurdly accused of ingratitude to his English hosts, merely for expressing opinions in America which in England he had frankly avowed to *them!* On this Mr. Rose observes,

"For myself I can only say, that if, after a sojourn in America, in speaking of American Episcopacy, I were to urge the strong tendency of an election for the high office of a bishop to produce intrigue, party feeling, and dispute among the clergy—if I were to state my exceeding dislike to make the clergy dependent on the voluntary contributions of the laity for support, and my belief that such a mode of provision would deprive them of that freedom of rebuke which I judge essential to the character of a Christian minister—if I were to object to the mixture of laymen in their Lower House of Convention—if I were to state these things in the honesty of my heart, in a deep conviction that these *were* evils, and in an unaffected regret to see them in a Church, for the excellences of which, as a true Episcopalian, I had the strongest respect, and for whose continuance and extension I devoutly prayed; I should feel both surprised and grieved that any man could be found who would proclaim me an abuse hunter for thus expressing my honest belief."—*Hobart's Life*, pp. 348, 349.

Now, of the three evils here specified Mr. Caswall acknowledges that of the voluntaryism which obtains in his Church, and we have seen that there is a hope of its being in time removed. The evils existing in the elections of bishops he candidly confesses also, though he does not allow that they are necessary or unmixed. He speaks as follows:—

"The American people are accustomed to republican modes of procedure, and, accordingly it has been shown that the American Church is conducted almost entirely on the popular principle. But this is not all. While the benefits of a republican administration are secured to the Church, its evils are not wholly excluded. Hence the conventions, both diocesan and general, have occasionally been the scenes of intrigue, while in the election of a bishop there is sometimes an exhibition of the same party spirit which always accompanies the election of a governor or a president. I am far from asserting that these evils prevail equally in the Church as in the state. On the contrary, Christian courtesy, gentlemanly feeling, and the absence of many conflicting interests, tend greatly to restrain the spirit of faction; I only state the fact, that such an influence is exerted, felt, and acknowledged."—p. 329.

As to the third point, which is the one immediately before us, the introduction of the laity into the conventions, it is implied by the venerable Bishop White, in his Memoirs of the American Church, that that measure originated with him. In the work in question, he admits, that as regards the early Church, there is no ground for saying that the laity was more than "occasionally present" at its synodical deliberations, but "he thinks it evident that in *very* early times, when every Church, that is, the Christian people in every city and convenient district round it, was an ecclesiastical commonwealth, with all the necessary power of self-government, the body of the people had a considerable share in its determinations"—p. 86. And he argues that "the same sanction which the people gave originally in a body, they might lawfully give by representation." He concludes, then, "that if the matter pleaded for be *lawful*, the question of the propriety of adopting it ought to be determined by expediency." And that it is expedient, he determines first, because in the Church of England, which the American Church follows, the parliament has a most considerable synodical power; secondly, from the *difficulty* of introducing into America the Episcopal polity in any other way; and thirdly, from the *impossibility* of getting the laity to *submit* to ecclesiastical laws, (for instance, relating to admission or exclusion from the Lord's Supper,) enacted without their own concurrence. Here we see the operation of "extraneous influences." With all due respect to the memory of the venerable author of the pamphlet, we must express our strong feeling that such views imply an insufficient appreciation of the *developments* of the Apostolical Succession. He advocated them in a pamphlet published without his name in 1783, and the principle of lay government was carried by the Convention. This was *before* the introduction of the succession from England, or Dr. White's own consecration. The only bishop then in America was Dr. Seabury, of Connecticut; and he and his clergy strongly, though

ineffectually, protested against it. He wrote to Dr. Smith, of Maryland, with his characteristic clearness and cogency, sweeping away the doctrine of expediency, and joining issue on the question of historical facts. "The rights of the Christian Church," he said, "arise not from nature or compact, but from the institution of Christ; and we ought not to alter them, but to receive and maintain them, as the Holy Apostles left them. The government, sacraments, faith, and doctrine of the Church are fixed and settled. We have a right to examine what they are, but we must take them as they are. If we new model the government, why not the sacraments, creeds, and doctrines of the Church? But then it would not be Christ's Church, but our Church, and would remain so, call it by what name we please."*

However, leaving the history of this important departure from primitive order, let us avail ourselves of Mr. Caswall's work to trace this element of lay interference though the various functions of American ecclesiastical government at the present time. And, first, as to the Diocesan Convention, which assembles once in the year. It consists of the bishop, all the clergy, and the lay delegates, of whom in some dioceses three, in others one, are sent by every parish. Thus the lay members of the synod are at least equal, and it may be treble the clerical, supposing, as appears to be the case, there is not more than one clergyman to a parish. In the convention at which Mr. Caswall was present, there were about thirty clerical, and about forty lay members. The committees, &c. appointed at the same meeting were constructed as follows: one clergyman and one layman to report on the unfinished business of the last convention; the standing committee of the diocese, three clergymen and three laymen; six clergymen and six laymen to be trustees of the diocesan college; four clergymen and four laymen as representatives of the diocese in the general convention; committees on missions and theological education seem to have been appointed on the same principle. Moreover, the selection of members was not in the hands of the bishop, but made by ballot. Clergy and laity vote together in convention, except there is a demand for what is called "a vote by orders." Then each class votes separately, and a majority of each is necessary for the proposed canon or resolution to pass. Thus the clergy, as Mr. Caswall observes, (p. 72,) can take no important step without the people, or the people without the clergy. In some few dioceses the bishop has a veto upon the acts of the Convention, but its exercise would be so unpopular that it is seldom exercised. It must be added, that among the matters which

* White's Memoirs, p. 291.

come before the convention so constituted, are the mode of trying clergy accused of heresy, the conditions on which parishes should be admitted into the diocese, the qualifications of lay readers, the appointment of missionaries, and the promotion of theological education.

The Standing Committee of the Diocese require a somewhat more distinct notice. It consists, according to the diocese, of five, three, or two, of each order, clergy and laity. It is the council of advice to the bishop; during a vacancy it issues dismissory letters, institutes ecclesiastical trials, and acts, by means of its clerical members, as superintendent of the deacons. No bishop can ordain except such as bring testimonials, signed by a majority of the standing committee. No bishop can be consecrated without the consent of the majority of the standing committees of all the dioceses in the union, or of the general convention.

When clergy are accused of any delinquency, the standing committee of the diocese prosecute; and a jury of five presbyters, chosen by the accused out of eight nominated by the bishop, try the cause, and a majority decides, and specifies the amount of punishment. The bishop may not exceed the sentence adjudged.

When a bishop needs a coadjutor, he is appointed, not by himself, but by his diocese.

The General Convention comes now to be considered. It is divided into two houses; the upper, consisting of the bishops, now seventeen in number; the lower, of clerics and laymen, not exceeding four of each order from every diocese. When demanded by the deputies of any diocese, the voting is by dioceses, the lay representatives of each diocese having one vote, the clerics another. Sometimes the concurrence of both orders is necessary to constitute a vote. The general convention thus formed enacts canons about public worship, makes alterations in the Prayer Book, defines the observance of the Lord's day, directs the publication of the Bible and Prayer Book, and gives leave to bishops to compose extraordinary forms of prayers. It defines to a certain extent the duties of bishops, priests, deacons, candidates for orders, and standing committees. It determines on what conditions a person may be admitted a candidate, how he shall conduct himself during his probation, the due age for consecration and ordination, the attainments requisite, the testimonials, and the times of ordination. It superintends the clergy in preparing their flocks for the bishops' visitation, in catechising, in registrations; it confines their labours within their own province, arbitrates in differences between pastor and flock, and lays down the

law for clerical trial and punishment. It oversees bishops' charges, pastoral letters, visitations, and yearly reports of their acts to their respective diocesan conventions. It arbitrates between dioceses, it provides missionary bishops, it legislates on the ordination of sectarian teachers, it determines the relation of the American with foreign Churches, and it appoints the board of missions. These are the functions of a body constituted so largely of laymen.

Such is the serviceable sketch Mr. Caswall gives us of the constitution of the American Church; according to which, it would appear, without going to more apostolical considerations, that those whose business or profession is not religious, are in matters theological and ecclesiastical put on a level with bishop and clergy. We are quite sure such a constitution cannot work well; and if any one demurs, then we differ from him what *is* well and what is ill. It may throw light upon its practical working to quote a passage from another part of Mr. Caswall's work, which would seem to show that the laity, not to say the presbytery, would have no objection to the same high position in divine ministry, which they are allowed in convention.

"In the reading of the Creed a disagreeable confusion sometimes arises when a stranger officiates. In my own parish, on one occasion, a bishop performed the services in the morning, and two priests in the afternoon and evening. The bishop read the article on the descent into hell, as it stands in the English Prayer Book; the first presbyter read the substitute permitted in America, 'He went into the place of departed spirits;' and the second omitted the article altogether. Very frequently the clergyman says one thing and the congregation another; and occasionally individuals, disapproving of their pastor's choice, repeat with marked emphasis the phrase which he rejects."—p. 295.

In making these remarks upon the system of lay interference, no disrespect is intended towards the venerated person in whom it originated. Every one has his place and his day in the purposes of Providence; and, whatever these may be as regards the American Church, so far seems clear, that, if a more apostolical constitution had been insisted on fifty years since, that Church at this day would not have been in numbers what she is. Mr. Caswall calls him "the Cranmer of the American Church;" comparisons are odious; we hold him to be a great benefactor to his countrymen, and this is plain English, and has a better meaning than metaphors or metonymies. He died within the last year or two, in the eighty-ninth year of his age, the sixty-sixth of his ministry, and the fiftieth of his episcopate; and in proportion as his actions have an essential place, so his death must necessarily be a memorable era, in the history of his Church. The influence

which he exercised so long must be succeeded by other influences, of whatever kind; may the bright day that is past be eclipsed by a brighter on the morrow!

"He was raised up," says Mr. Caswall, "by Providence at a crisis when a person of his description was pre-eminently necessary. Steady and sober from his youth, he was prepared to advise in time of peril and excitement. Conciliatory in his measures, he was a man perfectly adapted to the promotion of harmony, at a time when diversity of opinions, and high claims respecting the independence of dioceses, threatened to rend the Church in pieces. Under the influence of his blended meekness and wisdom, objections to the Liturgy and Articles melted away; and many a root of bitterness was plucked up and allowed to die. The General Convention is the offspring of his prudence and brotherly love; and from its first organization till the last meeting before his death, he was always at hand with his pacific counsels, superior to paltry manœuvre and selfish policy. His humility and piety were evinced more by actions than by words; and he always acted on the maxim, that for any man to assume dictatorial airs, on the ground of ecclesiastical distinction, is in America most unwise, and in every country most unbecoming. Hence while he lived, he was venerated as a patriarch and loved as a man, and when he died, the event was regarded by the Church as an irreparable loss, and by the nation as a public calamity." —pp. 193, 194.

At the General Convention following his death (1838), a resolution was passed, declaratory of their "cherished remembrance of his faithful and uninterrupted services," and of their gratitude to the Great Head of the Church for the long continuance" among them "of one, who by the beauty of his example, the purity of his designs, and the moderation of his councils, contributed for more than half a century to advance the interests, both temporal and spiritual,"* of his communion. Bishop Meade, too, in his sermon at the opening of the Convention, speaks of

"The venerable patriarch of our Zion who lived and died in this city of brotherly love (Philadelphia), to whose peace he so greatly contributed, by whose citizens he was so highly honored, so sincerely beloved,—whose death created a general pause along all its streets, and whose funeral procession was one long unbroken line from the door of his house to the mouth of his sepulchre—May his worth," he continues, "descend not on one of us but on all. Imbibing his truly catholic spirit, adhering to his judicious, moderate, and true interpretation of our standards, avoiding all metaphysical discussions and doubtful disputations, we shall agree on all subjects where agreement is necessary, and readily consent to differ where difference is unimportant."†

* P. 86.

† Vide also the Missionary for August 19, and November 11, 1837, for some interesting accounts of Bishop White.

One other illustration we shall give of the deficiency of development at present observable in the American Church, and so bring these extended remarks to an end. It lies in a saying, we believe, of the excellent Bishop Hobart's, which has a very true and honest sense, but has been much and seriously misunderstood. To write encomiums here upon one whose praise is in all the churches, and whose memory is interesting personally to many around us who saw him when in England, would be beside the purpose; let us confine ourselves to the particular subject in which we consider that he has been misapprehended and his authority abused.

The *celebre dictum* to which we allude is this; that the true motto of a Church is "evangelical truth and apostolical order;" and since these words have been adopted lately by deservedly influential persons among ourselves, there is still greater reason for pointing out what they ought to mean and what they ought not. Bishop Hobart seems to have found in America what we find here, a great deal of energy and warmth of feeling among dissenters and low churchmen, and a consequent and prevalent notion that Church principles were cold, formal, lifeless, external, and therefore unconducive, if not detrimental, to true piety and holiness. Accordingly he laboured, and successfully, to persuade persons so imagining, that true Catholicism did not exclude the exercise of the religious affections, but trained them up to perfection in a right direction and upon a perfect model. The affections are the life of religion; but life does not exist except realized and made substantive in this or that subject; and if it is found in an untoward subject it had better not be at all. Each creature has its own life; life is a blessing or a curse according as it is in this creature or that. And so with moral life; fanaticism implies life, so does bigotry, so does superstition; but none of these is true religion. And so again evangelical truth may be called the matter, and apostolical order the form which make up "the mind of Christ." What is called a sense of sin, an insight into the divine purity, desire of pardon, a belief in the sacrifice provided, and so on, is the matter of religion; but it is not all that is necessary to make a religious man. According as these feelings and views are combined, directed and used, they become fanaticism, enthusiasm, antinomianism, or Christian faith. All depends upon the informing principle: if this be short of the true, all will go to waste; if it be "apostolical order," it will be right. We are not speaking as if we liked the phrase ourselves, we are but explaining its real sense; we do think it liable to misconception; it has met with it; and that misconception is as follows:—Men speak as if "apostolical order" were (to use a homely illustration) like the

roof of a house, or the top of a box, shutting in and making fast and tight "Evangelical Truth." Sectarians of all sorts, who profess the doctrine of Justification by Faith and its concomitants, are considered right as far as they go, only they do not go far enough. When will men learn that the true religious principle is one, and all its parts are parts of one? Apostolicity is not an *addition*, or an ἐκπεπλήρωσις; it is *one side*, one whole *aspect* of Christian truth, and Evangelicity is another side. They are different modes of viewing one and the same thing; a man cannot have the Evangelic principle in purity without the Apostolic, and *vice versâ;* they go together. If he believes the doctrine of Atonement, yet does not believe the doctrine of Baptism, he does not believe in the Atonement uncorruptly; his reception of that doctrine is not such as God claims of him. His faith is corrupt. It may be objected, that this excludes multitudes from having a right faith, who to all appearance are pious excellent men. It does not exclude them; many a man holds *implicitly* what he has not learnt to put into words or had the opportunity of viewing objectively. Many a man is a believer in the Apostolical Succession who does not confess it, inasmuch as he *would* confess it, all but for unavoidable accidents, such as ignorance and misapprehension. So much may be granted; but it never can be granted by any correct thinker that evangelical truth is so distinct from apostolical, that a man may have one without having the other, as he may know geometry without knowing Greek; or that the ordinances of the Church are mere matter of order or arrangement, independent of the substance of the Gospel, instead of being involved in its essential idea. As we know nothing of the atonement except as wrought through Christ's natural body, so we know nothing of justification except as wrought through His mystical: and we may as well call a man an orthodox believer who denies the truth of the incarnation as one who denies the divine appointment of the Church. We are not entering into the question of *degrees* of unbelief; but there is no difference in principle between the two, both imply absence of faith. A man who really has to add the latter article to his creed as not holding it in any sense before, has not merely to add, he has to reform the whole. He has to new-create and leaven his creed with a principle which will affect it in all those other articles which he already after a fashion holds. If evangelical truth (when opportunities have been granted) has not in his mind flowed out and developed into apostolical order, it is because he does not really hold apostolical truth. Till we master this view of religion we shall (to use the poet's simile) be fastening the head of one creature on the body of another: we shall have a made-up, artificial being, not a nature, not a truth,—a mere

dream of the fancy which never existed. A man who is *not only* Evangelical, *but also* Apostolical, is either in heart a mere Calvinist or Wesleyan, and does not firmly hold any thing about "order;" or he is a formalist and has no real warmth in him. If he is both at once, he ceases to be either; he is something deeper; he is not a being made up of two separable things, order and warmth, but he is one, and order and warmth are but qualities of his one faith, which we view separately, but which exist together.

Now, assuming, as we shall do, that this representation is correct, we shall respectfully point out some errors which on both sides the water are the consequences of forgetting it.

It is supposed, for instance, that the two parties in the Church are each right, and have each half of the truth; and that to be quite right each must take the other half. Now that there is a sense in which such a statement is true cannot be doubted; but that, among ourselves for instance, a stiff dry establishment man completes what is wanting in him by adopting what are called evangelical words and practices, or that a Lutheran or Calvinist "perfects his organization," as Mr. Caswall would speak, by taking up the doctrine of Episcopacy as the best and most primitive form of Church government, we utterly deny. Such men become at best, as it has sometimes been expressed, "warm preachers of cold doctrines," or "cold preachers of warm ones," as it may be; yet how much of this sort of change is growing among us, and is hailed as an approximation between parties! And when other persons come and declaim against such union as a mere phantom and a deceit, and attempt to draw attention to the true Catholicism of the ancient Church, they are said to be frustrating one of the most favourable prospects of concord which our Church has ever had, and to be throwing back religion in Europe fifty years. Mr. Caswall seems to us to commit the same paralogism, as far as his words go, (for we do not charge him with more than falling in with the current language of the day,) when he invites American Christians "to return to that pure Protestant Church from which they have generally seceded;" because "here is a form of worship *scriptural in doctrine and orderly in arrangement*, yet sufficiently diversified to meet that appetite for variety which is natural to man."—p. 326. And still more so when he observes that

"Party spirit is by no means so strong as it has been; the high Church generally admitting that the low Church are growing more consistent, and the latter conceding that the former are becoming more 'evangelical.' Both classes have done much in the great work of extending religion; the former by learned and dispassionate arguments for Apostolic truth and order; and the latter by zealous personal efforts, united with direct and faithful addresses to the conscience. The former

labour with energy in the promotion of missions within their own country; and the latter with equal energy in the propagation of the Gospel abroad."—pp. 340, 341.

Again, it seems a favourite form of expression to speak of Presbyterians also and other sectarians as "in an imperfect state," and to use the phrase just above alluded to,—that their organization needs *completing*. For instance, speaking of the declension of the Puritans of New England into Socinianism, Mr. Caswall says that "the Episcopalian discovers its origin in the same causes which he thinks have produced the apostasies in the Protestant Churches of Geneva, France, and Germany, namely, a *defective form of Church government;* and the want of an evangelical liturgy."—p. 127. "The Church," he says, speaking of the time before the Revolution, "was of necessity presented to the people in *an imperfect form*, the rite of confirmation being unpractised and almost unknown."—p. 170. Again, "at length an American bishop had been obtained, and the Church, in one state, appeared in a *complete form*."—p. 177. This is defensible perhaps when used of the Church; but "a parish," he tells us, "consists of all in any given place who *prefer the Episcopal form of worship and government* to any other," &c.—p. 65. And, "there being no Episcopal Church in Andover at the time, we often attended," he says, "the Seminary Chapel on Sundays, where the services were conducted according to the usual *plan* of the Independents: (better to say in plain England, we attended the Independent chapel; to proceed:—) "while I could not but lament the *imperfect ecclesiastical organization* of these worthy people, I admired the energy of religious principle which developed itself among them."—p. 130. Now that they had religious energy and the other excellent points of character which he details we are most glad to hear, and to believe; but we never will violently take it to heart that they or any other people had not a *form* in addition. Either Church organization is far more than a form or it does not call for a great deal of lamentation. There are no mere forms under the Gospel. Apostolic order is an ethical principle, or it is not worth much. These worthy Independents were deficient in an inward element of truth, in a something mental, moral, spiritual, mystical, or they had no great loss, considering they were in unavoidable ignorance. They were not altogether right up to a certain point, and only wanted finishing. They were not dressed all but hat and shoes. Mr. Caswall seems to consider that the Episcopal form is the *last* thing in the idea of a Church, and that therefore a Presbyterian or Independent body may be considered an imperfect sort of Episcopacy. Imperfect! is a mouse an imperfect kind of bat? is it a bat all but the wings?

Could we sew wings on it and make it a bat? Did all the swelling of an ambitious heart develop the frog into the bull? Could it "perfect its defective organization?" So it is with Independency or Presbyterianism viewed in themselves: as forms they are as distinct from the Church as one kind of flesh from another. We are not saying that they are without the privileges and grace of Christianity; that is another matter, we only say they are not the Church, they are not part of the Church, or all but the Church. And as to the individuals under them, they have already Church principles in their hearts if they be real Christians; and if so, they certainly, as individuals, are imperfectly organized and imperfectly developed, and ought to be developed perfectly; but that will not be till stirrings manifest themselves within them which the Church alone can satisfy, a spiritual taste and a hunger of heart which the Church alone can feed, till they join the Church as the correlative of their minds, and gain the perfection of their nature by the gifts imparted to it.

The same unphilosophical view of things leads to misapprehension, of course, as regards the Church of Rome. As Sectarianism is thought to be all inside, so Romanism is thought to be all outside. Sectarianism is the man, and Romanism is his clothes, —of a particular make; clothes by themselves are of no use at all, but it is unbecoming for the man to go into public without them. "In the American Church," says Mr. Caswall, "the Church of Rome is acknowledged, though *corrupt*, to be a *true* Church." (p. 341.) Nothing can be more exactly worded; but if it is a true Church, it must be living, and if living, it must have the gifts of grace, whatever its coruptions may be. It cannot be an outside only. It must have a real faith, and heart, and obedience. It must be in the main orthodox, as it is; for that Church which holds aright the doctrines of the Holy Trinity, Incarnation, Atonement, Original Sin, Regeneration, and the Last Judgment, we take to be in the main orthodox. However, to our surprise, Mr. Caswall, in his enumeration of the "orthodox" bodies in America, includes "most of the Quakers" and "the Dutch Reformed," and bestows upon the Church of Rome the benefit of a most ominous silence.

"In regard to doctrine, I have already remarked that the great majority of American religionists are orthodox. This is most emphatically the case; and affords a strong evidence that the Bible alone is sufficient to impart a knowledge of all truth necessary to salvation. It is a fact, which even a high Churchman can contemplate with pleasure, that the Episcopalians, the Congregationalists, the Dutch Reformed, the German Reformed, the Lutherans, the Methodists, the Moravians, the Presbyterians, and most of the Baptists and Quakers, agree in maintaining

nearly all the truths contained in the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Thirty-nine Articles. Among these denominations is found almost the whole religious energy of the country, and from these the great philanthropic institutions of America derive their prosperity and vigour."—pp. 312, 313.

Now, taking the Thirty-nine Articles as the exactest form of Apostolic truth, still we must consider that the Quakers and Dutch Reformed deviate from them as far as the Roman Catholics.

Another result of the same misconception is an incongruity common with us as well as the Americans, of classing all sorts of persons together as teachers in one school of doctrine, if they happen to have been prominent as religious writers, whatever difference there be in their faith and tone of mind. We have lately been so stunned with hearing of "our Basils and our Baxters, our Gregories and our Greggs, our Jeromes, our Jewels, and our Jays," that really it is with an effort we can appreciate the difference between one sound and another, and can say when notes are in tune together, and when not. It is said, that one may go on sipping first white and then port, till he loses all perception which is which; and it is very great good fortune in this day to manage to escape a parallel misery in theology. What false concords are involved in passages like the following! "The Parish Library, printed at New York, by the Episcopal press," says Mr. Caswall, "contains the works of *Leslie*, West, Sherlock, Cudworth, Walton, Bishops *Jewell*, Gibson, *Sumner*, *Jebb*, *Burnett*, &c., with Chevalier's translation of *Clement*, *Polycarp*, *Ignatius*, and *Justin Martyr*."—p. 330. Again, an eloquent and distinguished preacher, whose sermon is before us, at a late General Convention calls "for thousands of such preachers as Paul, and Barnabas, and Chrysostom, and Cyprian, and Augustine, and Luther, and Calvin, and Melancthon, and Cranmer, and Latimer, and Ridley, and Hooper." Even so considerable a man as Bishop Hobart, in language, true indeed in the letter, but very paralogistic in the sense, speaks of "our Zion," to use the Americanism, "as adorned with the intellect and erudition of Chillingworth, Hooker, and Horsley, by the eloquence of Barrow, Tillotson, and Porteus, and the piety of Andrews, Taylor, and Horne." * But the most remarkable instance of this figure of speech is afforded us by that powerful writer, Dr. Chapman, who, speaking of our Church's champions, enumerates among the archbishops and bishops, "the weight of whose learning and piety no pen can adequately tell, no wealth of words exaggerate," Cranmer, Leigh-

ton, Tillotson, Wake, Andrews, Atterbury, Bull, Burnet, Butler, Hall, Hoadley, Hopkins, Horne, Hurd, Latimer, Louth, Taylor, Tomline, Warburton and Watson. And among "divines inferior to these in dignity alone," Balguy, Barrow, Clarke, Hales, Hammond, Hickes, Jones, Law, Lightfoot, Milner, Paley, Waterford and Whitby.† Let us not seem to bear harshly upon our brethren. It is their kindness and affection towards us which makes them thus speak; they think nothing but good can come from the Church of their fathers; they love us and admire us; alas! that we deserved their affection as fully as they give it us; but we must not in love to them conceal from them what we really are, what our good, and what our evil, lest we be a stumbling block in their way.

We know their brotherly feeling towards us, but we wish it shown in higher and nobler ways. Let the American Church take her place; she is freer than we are; she has but to will, and she can do. Let her, as Mr. Caswall in one place suggests, react upon us, according to the light and power given her. Let her not take our errors and increase them by copying, but let her be, as it were, our shadow before us; the prophecy and omen, the mysterious token and the anticipated fulfilment of those Catholic principles which lie within us more or less latent, waiting for the destined hour of their development.

There are other formulæ popular in the American Church besides that on which we have been principally commenting, which symbolize the same defective apprehension of her true position, and grievously wound our ears. What, for instance, shall we say to the contrast so frequent between "Scripture and "Liturgy," "Protestant" and "Episcopal?" Our brethren speak as if all Protestants were scriptural, but were wanting in the *corona* of a Liturgy; and as if all of themselves were Protestants, but of the Episcopal denomination. Thus Mr. Caswall speaks of large and growing portion of the Church, as "rising up under the full influence of the Liturgy and Episcopacy" (p. 333); and of "the *conservative* influence of the Episcopate and the Liturgy." (p. 335.) But of all combinations, that of Protestant-Episcopal is the least pleasant; yet we are met with this compound everywhere. We hear of the Protestant-Episcopal Church, Protestant-Episcopal creed, Protestant-Episcopal press, Protestant-Episcopal societies, Protestant-Episcopal unions, Protestant-Episcopal clergy, and Protestant-Episcopal bishops. Above all, Mr. Caswall speaks, as a creature indeed of the imagination, but still as a thing *in posse*, of a "Protestant-Episcopal Cathe-

dral!" Well may he doubt whether a cathedral "would strictly comport with the American Episcopal system." (p. 288.) Let him take our word for it, such a vision never can be realized. The eyes of men will never see it. Sooner shall we set eyes on a griffin, or a wivern, than so gross a violation of all the laws of unity and entireness. No possible style of architecture could embrace the idea. Not that the American Church will never have cathedrals, but when she has, as we trust she will, it will be because she is a Church, not because she works with such modern spells and under such unpriestly titles.

It may seem harsh thus to speak of "Episcopacy" and "Episcopalian," yet we hope it will not shock any one if we say that we wish the words, as denoting an opinion and its maintainer, never had been invented. They have done great mischief to their own cause. We are "of the Church," not "of the Episcopal Church;" our bishops are not merely an order in her organization, but the principle of her continuance; and to call ourselves Episcopalians is to imply that we differ from the mass of dissenters mainly in Church government and form, in a matter of doctrine merely, not of fact, whereas the difference is that we are *here*, and they *there:* we in the Church and they out of it.

We are quite sure that all this is not a matter of words; nothing practically is so chill and unnatural, or gives us churchmen such an air of technicality, pedantry, and narrowness with the many, as this insisting so earnestly upon what we own to be a form or point of order added to Evangelical truth, a portion of extraneous and dead matter, which will not graft into Protestantism, but must irritate and inflame it while it remains, and in the event must be cast out. If indeed the Church is to remain a genteel and fashionable communion for the rich and happy, as indeed it has been in its measure in our own large towns for a long while, then it may preserve any incongruity or monstrosity for any length of time; but if it is to be, what we trust it is both in America and among ourselves, *earnest*,—if it is to be real and to encounter the realities of human life, need, sickness, pain, doubt, despair, affliction,—if it is to match the giant evils which it was sent into the world to overcome—it must take up a simple and consistent doctrine, and will make Episcopacy more than a form or an opinion, or will give it up.

So much we are bound to say about Episcopacy; as to "the Liturgy," we have lately taken up one of Mr. Cooper's novels, and we find so apposite an illustration of what we would say, that before concluding we are tempted to quote one or two passages from it. It shows the *impression* produced by the existing American Church system on a clever man who, whatever be his views

on the whole, for we know absolutely nothing of them except from this one novel, evidently has a proper respect and love for the Church.

In a sketch then of a clergyman in a rising colony in the woods, among churchmen and sectarians, squatters and Indians, whom he is trying to "organize" into an Episcopal Protestant parish, we have the following touches. The clergyman says to a stranger:—

"It is so unusual to find one of your age and appearance in these woods, at all acquainted with *our Holy Liturgy*, that it lessens at once the distance between us."—*Pioneers*, p. 125.

"'You have then resided much in the cities, for no other part of this country is so fortunate as to possess the *constant enjoyment of our excellent Liturgy*.' The young hunter smiled as he listened to the divine, &c., but he made no answer. 'I am delighted to meet with you, my young friend, for I think an ingenuous mind, such as I doubt not yours must be, will exhibit all the advantages of a settled doctrine and *devout Liturgy*. * * * To-morrow I purpose administering the Sacrament. Do you commune, my young friend?' 'I believe not, Sir,' returned the youth. 'Each must judge for himself,' said Mr. Grant, 'though I should think that a youth who had never been blown about by the wind of false doctrines, and who has *enjoyed the advantages of our Liturgy* for so many years in its purity, might safely come.'"—*Ibid.* p. 129.

"He seated himself and hid his face between his hands, as they rested on his knees. 'It is the hereditary violence of a native's passion, my child,' said Mr. Grant in a low tone to his affrighted daughter, who was clinging in terror to his arm. 'He is mixed with the blood of the Indians, you have heard: and neither the refinements of education, nor the *advantages of our excellent Liturgy*, have been able entirely to eradicate the evil.'"—*Ibid.* p. 134.

Now Mr. Caswall reminds us that "*excellent* as are its general *arrangements*, and *venerable* as are its services, the Prayer Book in America or in England constitutes no *essential* part of the ecclesiastical fabric. The Church of England, in the Preface to the Prayer Book, has laid down a rule that 'the particular *forms* of divine worship, and the *rites* and *ceremonies* appointed to be read therein, being things in their own nature *indifferent* and *alterable*, and so acknowledged, it is but reasonable, that upon weighty and important considerations, such changes should be made therein as seem either necessary or expedient." (p. 234.) Very well; but if so there is some deficiency somewhere, when what is but an accident of a system, though a necessary accident, and a most salutary provision, assumes in the eyes of the world the appearance of being its one essential characteristic. Every religious body must be known by some badges; but if we must be ridiculed, we had rather it should be for preaching the "Holy

Catholic Church," than for preaching the "Liturgy." If indeed we maintain that the Liturgy *is* necessary and essential, and on the whole, *not* an alterable form, *as we well may*, particularly and singularly as regards portions of our Communion Service, that is another thing; but the incongruity we are insisting on is the confessing that the Liturgy is not *divine* and *necessary*, and yet making it our special characteristic.

We should be able to illustrate more fully what we mean by the scene toward the end of the same novel of the death of an old Indian, at which Mr. Grant is present: but we could not do justice either to the subject, or to our meaning, without using more words than we can do here.

In taking leave of our American brethren, we congratulate both them and our own countrymen on the increased interest which is felt in both countries in the early Fathers of the Church. Two bishops, as far as our knowledge of America extends, have especially exerted themselves in encouraging this most promising symptom of advancement in Christian truth. Dr. Doane, Bishop of New Jersey, has, among other excellent works, published editions of the Apostolical Fathers, Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp; and Bishop Hopkins, of Vermont, is the able author of several works, more or less controversial, with some of which we have headed this article, and one of which has lately been published in England.

We ought not to be sanguine about anything; the right rule is to hope nothing, to fear nothing: to expect anything: to be prepared for everything. The course of religion is guided through the world far otherwise than human conjecture determines. Yet looking at the sincerity, zeal, and activity of the Anglo-Catholic clergy, both here and in America, the pleasing thought will suggest itself to us, that, since to him that hath more is given, they are about to receive a reward for the good thing in them, however poor and worthless it be, by some greater good to come. A fuller gift of Apostolical light may be destined for them in the councils of divine mercy; they shrink from it at present and close their eyes, for it dazzles them. Still in time they may be enabled to bear it: and then it will be seen that in the ranks of popular Protestantism, nay, and of Dissent, there have been many Crypto-Catholics unknown to themselves,—many who, by patient continuance in well doing, are earning for themselves, against their will to be—what they as yet in ignorance condemn, under the names of Papist, or even Pagan—Catholic believers in the Catholic Church of Christ.

ART. III.—*Central Society of Education. Third Publication.* London: Taylor & Walton. 1839.

THE disadvantages of periodical literature have at least this counterpoise,—that plagiarisms are rendered more difficult. Cicero's work "De Gloria" may be irrecoverable, but we run no risk of the destruction of any similar composition to increase the laurels of some modern scholar. Even the escapade of the shuffling and disingenuous Conyers Middleton would scarcely be attempted in the present day. It is instructive to observe the strong tendency to infidelity produced in this unhappy man by the recollection of his successful imposture. "Animum fuisse ejusdem parum candidum ac sincerum," says his brother liberal Dr. Parr, "id vero fateor invitus, dolens, coactus." One or two cases might perhaps be mentioned in which popular English writers of the present day have been indebted to the unacknowledged labours of some plodding German. But of the attempt "his e fontibus irrigasse hortulos suos," to use Parr's words, we remember no such glaring instance as that which we have to point out in the present article.

Before we proceed to our more immediate subject, we must say a word respecting the Society from which this volume emanates. It seems that we have the good fortune of witnessing the fulfilment of one of those golden visions which floated before the imagination of the immortal Bacon. A certain number of persons have banded themselves together, to attain by their voluntary efforts what he expected only from the public counsel of some wise community. In his New Atlantis he describes "the erection and institution of an order or society," called "Solomon's House, the noblest foundation that ever was upon earth, and the lanthern of this kingdom." "Every twelve years" there is "a mission of three of the fellows or brethren of Solomon's House, whose errand" is "to give knowledge of the affairs and state of those countries to which they" are "designed." What is this but a description of the objects which the Central Society of Education undertakes to perform? Other institutions confine themselves to the wearisome and ignoble task of training up those by whom they happen to be surrounded, but the more enlarged view of this society is to gather from every country those treasures of morality, civilization, skill, or knowledge, in which we are judged so inferior to our continental neighbours.

There is but a step from the sublime to the ridiculous. The reader who has made himself acquainted with the tone and manner of some of those young gentlemen, whom the society has

enrolled among its brethren, will be ready to believe that in the sage Bacon's description, there lurked a slight tinge of ridicule at the pretensions of his future imitators. He gives the following account of what was supposed to happen at Bensalem. "The next morning my guide came to me again, joyful, and said there is word come to the governor of the city, that one of the fathers of Solomon's House will be here this day seven-night. We have seen none of them this dozen years. His coming is in state, but the cause of his coming is secret. I will provide you and your fellows of a good standing to see his entry. I thanked him and told him I was most glad of the news. The day being come he made his entry. He was a man of a middle stature and age, comely of person, and *had an aspect as if he pitied men.*" We spare the pomp of his garniture, which the Central Society can never hope to equal, unless it forms an alliance with the club of Odd Fellows. The narrative proceeds, "He sat alone—He held up his bare hand as he went, as blessing the people, but in silence."

There is something infinitely grotesque in comparing this with the entrance of some young aspirant after the office of an assistant poor law commissioner, into a neighbourhood which he is to visit. We can readily fancy the Malvolio air with which he "quenches his familiar smile with an austere regard of control." But the force of the comparison lies in the contumelious spirit with which the young philosopher regards all those ancient institutions which have stood the shock of varied circumstances, and been the real source of his own civilization and knowledge. Because circumstances render him more fluent than the rustics with whom he meets, he fancies that all wisdom begins with him. To those who know the toughness of John Bull's nature, it will appear a hard task to talk him out of what he has found practically beneficial. But the writers employed by the Central Society of Education are not without hope. They clearly anticipate the commencement of some golden era. Education is the universal restorative by which the evils of human nature are to be finally done away. What prophets have said and bards have sung, is to be brought about in a different order, and by an unlooked for hand.

Let us drop irony for a moment. Such expectations as these are in truth but the homage of man's heart to that better system and purer light, of which the only complete examplar is the Church triumphant; but of which the Church on earth displays some faint and feeble reflexion. All the loftier aspirations of man's genius: the designs of the true statesman, the hopes of

the patriot, the dreams of the poet, betray the same ardent longing for a developement of the full capacities of man. Unhappily this feeling sometimes allies itself to a low, calculating, worldly philosophy; a philosophy rather fitted to degrade men below their present level, than to raise them to their proper state. If man be in truth a fallen being, subject to the influence of inward corruption, how impossible is it that mere worldly excitement should work itself free from the influence of moral evil. Mr. Liardet, one of these brethren of the House of Solomon, has made the condition of our rural population his more immediate inquiry. Disciples do not always agree with those from whom they draw their name, and certainly the results in this case are of a kind at which King Solomon would have been in no little astonishment. "Vanity of vanity," says the Preacher, "all is vanity." Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter: "fear God and keep His commandments, for this is the whole duty of man." Mr. Liardet, on the contrary, finds that the great danger under which men labour in country districts, is from fanaticism and enthusiasm. The only escape, as he thinks, from these evils is among those dense masses of men where mind can act readily on the mind of its fellow. Do you wish for the calm dispassionate pursuit of truth? —you must bury yourself among the Chartist population of Birmingham, or seek the society of the people of Manchester when they hold an aggregate meeting. It is not a little astonishing that a person can have gone among the poor, as this gentleman appears to have done, and come back so uninstructed in their true condition and real wants. There are no missionaries who preach the importance of serving God in tones so true and heartfelt, as the poor. Their distresses, their virtues, their very faults —all indicate the need of some higher and better system than that around us, by which the inequalities of mortal being may be remedied, and its miseries allayed. Mr. Liardet really supposes that he can argue men into the expediency of their working 14 hours a day in a factory, by showing them that it leads to the general augmentation of wealth. It was said of a fine spun theory like this, solvitur ambulando. How can Mr. Liardet's reasoning withstand the influence of temptation, backed by the certainty of immediate advantage, and the possibility of ultimate escape? The laws of probability, as Gibbon says, are not more true in general, than they are fallacious in particular. What then is to prevent any man among us from becoming a Masaniello, or even a Cromwell? The odds, it is true, are against it. But is the lot of a hand-loom weaver so eligible, that, leaving the next world out of account, it is not worth his while to put his all

to hazard for such a result. Have we not in our own days seen men succeed in the enterprize.

"Ad summas emergere opes, rerumque potiri."

Yet Mr. Liardet can see nothing to dread for our rural population but enthusiasm and fanaticism. Drunkenness, discontent, irreligion—he knows little of the existence of any such plagues, he cannot trace to them the evils which he witnessed, or the melancholy event which suggested his inquiry. If his mind had not been filled with the idola specus, which he had carried with him from his chambers in London, he would surely have taken a juster view of rural life.

His inquiries were called forth by the disorders produced by the maniac Thoms, in a wild part of Kent. Thoms having been released from confinement by Lord John Russell, in defiance of the authority of the local magistrates and of medical advice, retires into an extraparochial district, where the negligence of past administrations in not providing churches, and the revenue laws which had made smuggling a lucrative employment, had combined to demoralize the people. Here Thoms drew to himself followers. The turbulent he flattered with the assurance that when his party prevailed no one should have less than fifty acres of land; while his mysterious communications won over some weak but pious women. How far this went is not very clear: there may have been those who were even deluded into the follies which Mr. Liardet represents. Experience teaches us that such weaknesses will be found under all circumstances; among infidels as well as believers; among persons of extended acquirements as well as the ignorant. The apostate Julian had his superstitious divinations, and the learned Vossius would believe any fable, however monstrous, provided it had no countenance from the word of God. Indeed Mr. Liardet himself seems to afford an instance of the extraordinary credulity of some sturdy doubters, when he traces the conduct of the Dunkirk smugglers to their excess of religion, not to their want of honesty. For ourselves, we think that the worship of God had far less to do in the matter than the idolatry of Mammon.

We have said the more on this story because so unfair an use has been made of it in various popular assemblies. It is, in truth, rather a curious proof of the importance of religious instruction, that an imposter like Thoms should have found his victims in one of those few localities where our Church system had failed to extend itself. It tells well for the ordinary working of our ancient principles.

If the brethren of the new house of Solomon had gone forth with unbiassed eyes, they could not fail to have been impressed

by this last reflection. But unhappily there is one predominant feature by which all their remarks are pervaded. Whatever they say is of a thoroughly Unenglish character. This is with us a great fault, and especially in what bears reference to rural subjects. We suppose that no churchman can fail for instance to observe the unfairness of Howit's writings, and yet we cannot but allow them the redeeming quality of a genuine English taste. We can observe, indeed, a smack of the Quaker and the Liberal at the bottom of the cask, yet still the liquor is right October. But these modern brethren adopt in their most serious mood, what in Shakespeare's young gallant was only ludicrous. "How oddly they are suited; they get their name from France, their notions of liberty from Germany, their politeness from Holland,—their religion everywhere." And this leads us to the hero of the present volume —Thomas Wyse, Esq., "Chairman of Committees," or as he is entitled in the present volume, p. 141, "*the distinguished Member for Waterford.*"

Every brother of Solomon's house has his own preserve, and Mr. Wyse has taken Prussia for his share. He opened the present session of parliament by referring to the system of education there pursued, as exactly what he wished for in England. He evidently supposed that its cardinal point was the union of children of every religious persuasion in the same school. "For his own part," we are told, "he candidly avowed he greatly preferred united to separate instruction." Then after some remarks, which showed that he considered this the plan which was generally adopted in Germany, "he had himself," he said, "a recent opportunity of witnessing it in action in Rhenish-Prussia."* We will not weary our readers with all that Mr. Wyse had witnessed; this may be safely reserved for his brethren of Solomon's house in one of their secret conclaves: but it is apparent that he entered the House of Commons with the full conviction that in Prussia he had witnessed an experiment which completely realized all his theories. As the session advanced, however, a new light seems to have visited his mind. The facts stated in various debates, and several works published during the session, seem to have taught him that Prussia was far from presenting so clear an instance of mixed instruction. On the contrary, it was proved that in all their training schools the mixture of various confessions was diligently avoided. In their institutions for the poor they were shown to have recourse to this practice as little as possible. The only common case of its employment was found to be in schools of classical instruction, where it is not unfrequently admitted even in this country. Yet even in these cases it has been thought in-

* Hansard's Debates, Feb. 18, 1839.

expedient to mix together instructors of various faiths; and the several gymnasia have been assigned, therefore, exclusively to Romish or Protestant teachers. This provision, of which Mr. Wyse appears to have been altogether unconscious, has been adopted in consequence of the evils which were found to arise from blending instructors of various opinions; and it gives the last seal, therefore, to the singular inaptitude with which the example of Prussia has been introduced. But we do not find that though Mr. Wyse's arguments are impaired, his decisions are affected. He still advocates mixed schools as zealously as if Prussia was not an argument against him, and the present paper contains an attempt to glide off upon the fact, that "in the gymnasium Roman Catholics and Protestants are found constantly side by side."—p. 413.

But enough respecting Mr. Wyse's consistency. We now come to his observations during the visit to Germany, to which he has made such public allusion. "We left Bonn," he says, "on a clear fine morning in October, and after keeping the road to Cologne for a short way, turned to the left, and over a very indifferent by-way at length reached the small town of Brühl." —p. 414. Then follows a lengthened account of the seminary, comprising a large part of the remarks and observations by which the title of the paper, "The present state of Prussian Education," is to be verified. In giving this statement Mr. Wyse has evidently manned himself for some stern attack. He anticipates that the principles and practice which he adduces, are of such a kind that he will assuredly be "gored and tossed" by some sour polemic. "The new system," he says, "'the Prussian system,' 'the government system,' these are the appellations with which the system is honoured: the object is clear, they are intended to mean 'dangerous innovations,' 'foreign despotism,' and 'ministerial interference with civil and religious liberty.'"—p. 376. Mr. Wyse does himself injustice by these groundless apprehensions. The training schools which he describes, instead of being universally abused by the friends of our Church, meet with their general commendation. It is his own friends in the government who give a practical proof of their repugnance, by refusing to imitate what he commends. We desire nothing better than that the Church of England should meet with as much fairness from her Majesty's ministers as the king of Prussia has shown towards the papist establishment of Westphalia. What have we been demanding all last session, but to be allowed to have training schools in connection with our own Church, exactly like those which are described in these pages? Far, therefore, from censuring the institutions which Mr. Wyse commends, we only regret that he

should have given what amounted to a casting vote against them: we grieve that what, as a brother of the house of Solomon, he commends, he should have opposed as a member of the House of Commons.

And yet we have a complaint to make against Mr. Wyse's narrative—a complaint which we shall convey in the words of a well known apothegm. We are told, then, that "the book concerning the deposing King Richard II., supposed to be written by Dr. Hayward, had much incensed Queen Elizabeth. She asked Mr. Bacon whether there was any treason contained in it. Who, intending to do him a pleasure, and to take off the queen's bitterness, with a merry conceit answered, 'No, madam, for treason I cannot deliver opinion that there is any, but very much felony.' The queen, apprehending it gladly, asked, 'How? and wherein?' Mr. Bacon answered, 'Because he hath stolen many of his sentences and conceits out of Cornelius Tacitus.'"

We have already acquitted Mr. Wyse of treason: but is it not a sort of literary felony, that, professing to give the result of his own observation, he should, without acknowledgment, have taken his account verbatim from a work by Professor Thiersch? Our readers will probably share in the surprise which this discovery excited in ourselves. "I am sorry to interrupt so much learning," we said with Dr. Primrose, "but I fancy myself to have heard all this before." A reference to Professor Thiersch's book on Public Instruction in Western Germany, &c. made the cause apparent. Not to mention other passages, (as, for example, page 404,) the whole detail respecting the seminaries at Brühl and Neuwied, extending from page 416 to page 424, is copied directly from the German work. Now it is true that in Lord Bacon's proposed college, provision is made for such a case as this. "We have three," he says, "that collect the experiments, which are in all books. These we call *depredators*." No doubt Mr. Wyse has thought himself safe under such a sanction; but to plunder solely for the public benefit is one thing, to appropriate the credit of the experiment is another. These pilferers of books are expressly distinguished by Lord Bacon from those who bring home the result of their own observations. Besides, we must call Mr. Wyse's attention to another canon of the fraternity. "We do hate all impostures, insomuch as we have severely forbidden it to all our fellows, under pain of ignominy and fines." It is not for us to intrude into the domestic discipline of this august society; we doubt not its justice; and that Mr. Wyse, though chairman of committees, will be visited with punishment no less condign than Lord Bacon himself, when he ventured to turn *depredator* in an illicit manner.

We trust that we are not speaking with undue severity of a literary offence, which seems to require our notice. But we can fancy that it may be urged by indulgent persons that Mr. Wyse has but borrowed the account of a series of objects, which he could express better in Professor Thiersch's words than his own. This is certainly not so gross a case as where one man appropriates to himself the produce of another's invention. Yet still we cannot but feel that there is a measure of unfairness in the proceeding. We say this with less reserve, because we have the satisfaction of believing that Mr. Wyse, whom we understand to be a more respectable man than most of his party, will not himself be reached by our censures. Were he in the habit of profiting by our labours, our review of Thiersch, in December last, could scarcely have escaped his attention. We conclude, therefore, that he is one of those obedient Romanists who read nothing without the imprimatur of their chaplains, and that the British Critic is very wisely held in suspicion by the alumni of Maynooth.

One evil, however, Mr. Wyse has certainly incurred by his conscientious abstinence. Had he chosen to copy Professor Thiersch's words, he might from our pages have copied some of them correctly. This we regret to say he has failed in doing. We remember an overgrown youth, who, being sent to travel by his parents, as the only education of which he was susceptible, was accustomed to borrow the letters, which he was compelled to send home, out of an old Guide Book. He had the good sense, however, to choose one in a language with which he was acquainted. Here Mr. Wyse has been unfortunate. It would seem that he is not master enough of the German tongue to translate with fidelity the book from which he has copied. And this may account for the rudeness, which he describes himself to have met with from the director at Brühl. The Duke of Wellington, after mentioning that a gentleman, who had come to him in France with good recommendations, complained that the French authorities, to whom he was referred for some important information, treated him with neglect, observes, " N. B. The gentleman can't talk French." Perhaps the conduct of the director at Brühl may be accounted for on a similar principle. So true is the old saying, that he who visits a country, without knowing the language, goes to school and not to travel.

But to point out a few of the errors to which we have made allusion. They are not mere verbal inaccuracies, but so darken the whole context, as in many cases to leave no consistent signification. Thus in page 417 we are told, that the pupils in the

but the decision had not taken place." We leave it for others, however, to redeem Coblentz from the disgrace which has been thrown upon it by Mr. Wyse of presenting no candidate worthy of admission into the seminary. It is certainly an instance of impartiality, that he should have selected a place which is almost exclusively popish, as Bœotum in crasso aëre natum. Coblentz, however, has its advantages. Two noble rivers, the neighbouring rock of Ehrenbreitstein—we can think of no place where Lord Bacon would have better loved to see a detachment of Solomon's house established. And considering that in London it has found so unfavourable a soil, that we are assured by Dr. Spry that in September last it was without fixed residence or address—that it had neither local habitation nor name—that it was not known at the post office, [perhaps he addressed his letter " to the Brethren of Solomon's House," whereas by men it may be known as the Central Society,] considering all this, we should strongly recommend that the society, (this " lanthorn of the kingdom,") which has fared so ill at home, should be transferred to the more congenial air of Coblentz. We make this recommendation, on the supposition that for once Mr. Wyse is right, and that, like the Ætolian Tydeus, when he was opposed to fifty Bœotians, the examiners at Coblentz made havoc of these men of Bœotian understanding

> " Those fifty slaughtered in the gloomy vale."—
> *Pope's Homer's Iliad*, iv. 448.

But if, as is infinitely more probable, the fault be altogether on the side of Mr. Wyse, and not at all in the air or inhabitants of Coblentz, some place may, no doubt, be found, where reports may be pirated without fear of criticism, and errors committed without danger of correction.

ART. V.—*The State in its Relations with the Church.* By W. E. Gladstone, Esq. Student of Christ Church, and M. P. for Newark. Third Edition. London: Murray. 1839.

IF we may, without irreverence, form a conjecture on the providential tendency of things as we see them, we should be inclined to say, that in the turn which events have been taking among us, often most contrary to human expectation, for the last ten or eleven years, we may perhaps discern symptoms of two main overruling purposes, such as may hereafter serve as a key to not the least intricate of the chapters of English history. Ever since the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill, perhaps we might say ever since the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, the stream of events seems to have tended, on the one hand, to the permanent elevation of the enemies of the Church in the State, on the other hand, to the preservation, in spite of them, of her substance and framework, as well as to the revival of her spirit among us. How many times during this long struggle has it appeared, that according to all political calculation the Conservative party must be on the point of triumphing! and as often some unexpected event, some caprice or accident which could not be reckoned upon, has disconcerted all man's expectations, and left us just where we were: excepting of course the gradual power which the movement cannot but acquire from its continuance. On the other hand, have we not repeatedly seen measures, which even the defenders of order united more or less with its disturbers in patronizing, unaccountably lingering and impeded, when there was hardly a minority to skirmish with them, and failing, and postponed, session after session, by some defect in form, or other inexplicable forgetfulness. The Cathedral Bill, now three years old, yet hardly born, will occur to every one; and we may mention the Bill for admitting Dissenters to the Universities, the abolition of the See of Sodor and Man, the various Education schemes, and even as we write, we hope we may venture to add, the Church Discipline Bill. There are circumstances in the history of each of these, which, taken together, suggest the idea of a peculiar guardianship over this part of Christ's household, exercised in a trying and perplexing conjuncture to prevent us from inadvertently betraying ourselves. May it be said without presumption, that conjoining them with the other series, the two together seem to point to a high, but trying and perilous destiny, as probably reserved for the coming generation of our Lord's faithful servants in this realm. We may be mistaken: but the review of them seems to us to produce an impression analogous to that, which has been stated to result from a certain cast of features, majestic yet melancholy, such as those of King Charles I.: they

lead, as we contemplate them, in spite of ourselves, to anticipations of violence borne with composure: they seem to bid us hope that our Lord will still have a Church here, yet to warn us, that its existence must be purchased by no slight privation and suffering.

Supposing anticipations somewhat like these to occupy the mind of a thoughtful Churchman, he would probably notice the appearance of such a work as Mr. Gladstone's, as a powerful confirmation both to his fears and hopes. Here we have no village theorizer, no cloistered alarmist, but a public man, and a man of the world, a statesman of the highest talent for business, an orator who commands the ear of the House of Commons; so deeply impressed with the perils of our Church's position at this moment, that he makes time to develope and express his views, deep and manifold, and brought out with serious labour, of the very sacred nature of her connection with the State; if haply he may lead any to think earnestly of it, who have hitherto treated it as a mere party question. We find him writing in a tone, not indeed of despondency, but of very deep and serious alarm; not as one who gave up the defence of a place, but as one who thought the time was come for making a last effort, and calling out those who would not shrink from a forlorn hope.

"I know not," he says, "whether it be presumptuous to say that the changes which have appeared, and which are daily unfolding themselves, in connection with the movement towards the overthrow of National Church Establishments, seem as if they were gradually supplying what yet remained void in those fore-ordered dispensations of the Deity towards man which are traced throughout the history of this wayward world."—ch. viii. 2.

And again:

"In combating the obstinate irreligion of the world, it is something that the authentic permanent convictions of men are declared, beyond dispute, to be with us, by the legalised existence and support of the fixed institutions of religion; but the conclusion, towards which we are now led and driven, threatened and cajoled, will reverse the whole of this beneficial influence, and will throw it into the opposite direction, to co-operate with the scoffer, the profligate, the unbelieving, the indifferent, when it shall be told, amidst the exultation of some and the tears of others, that there was a time when the power of thrones and the paternal functions of government bore witness to the faith of Christ, and that the witness is now withdrawn, and thus the truth emphatically denied."—*ib.* 29.

The cast of these sentences is evidently any thing but sanguine: and considering Mr. Gladstone's character and position, we cannot but regard the simple fact of his allowing himself in such forebodings, as a striking lesson to the too easy friends of Church and State; of whom there are still a good many, who shake their

heads indeed abundantly at each bad measure as it comes on, yet obstinately refuse to contemplate, as a possible contingency, the result of the whole; or any thing else which would disturb the even tenor of their Sundays and week-days, their summer tours and winter dining parties. Surely it were well to look things in the face, and be prepared with some notion what our own duties would be in a case which has been pronounced on such authority so far from impossible.

But further: we find also in Mr. Gladstone's undertaking warrant for the more consolatory part of our own anticipations. He states the more immediate occasion of his work to be an apprehended co-operation of two very different classes in the work of dissolving the Church Establishment. Having mentioned Destructives of various sorts, he adds (c. i. § 2.) that—

"Others of a different stamp are beginning to view the connection of Church and State with an eye of aversion or indifference: men attached to the state, but more affectionately and intimately cleaving to the Church, unwilling to regard the two as in any sense having opposite interests, but wearied, perhaps exasperated, at the injustice done of late years, or rather during recent generations, by the temporal to the spiritual body; injustice, inasmuch as the State has too frequently perverted and abused the institutions of the Church by unworthy patronage, has crippled or suppressed her lawful powers, and has lastly, when these same misdeeds have raised a strong sentiment of disfavour against its ally, evinced an inclination to make a separate peace, and surrender her to the will of her adversaries. Such being the case, we can hardly wonder, though we may lament it, that some attached members of the Church are growing cool in their approbation of the connection"—

We stop the quotation to demur to the next clause, "under the influence of a nascent and unconscious resentment": first, because the feeling in such cases is commonly, we apprehend, far too vivid to be unconscious; it gives warning of itself, and puts men of high principles on their guard very distinctly from the beginning: next because it is begging the question to assume that the scruples referred to are matter of personal feeling, and not of conscientious regard to rights and trusts: and there are other considerations, to be presently mentioned. But we return to the immediate purpose for which we were referring to these expressions: they are consolatory so far as this, that they testify to the existence of no inconsiderable body of men, so deeply rooted in right principles, that instead of fearing lest they should be tempted to compromise the Church itself for the Establishment, sagacious observers are only alarmed lest they too easily forego the advantages of the Establishment for the Church's sake. So that, come what will, we may hope, please God, to have a faithful remnant in our land: and that surely is as much as in any case attentive readers of Church history could well dare expect.

But Mr. Gladstone's publication is also most encouraging in another way: from the earnest it gives us that even in the high places of the State there are those who never will forsake the City of God, and still more from the rare and noble specimen which it exhibits of what sound religious (in which term we include sound ecclesiastical) principles can do for a person in the most dangerous walks of life: how neither political nor intellectual importance can mar the freshness, the simplicity, the generosity, and (more than all, for it lies at the root of all,) the reverential spirit, with which the Church's true scholars enter on these high and delicate practical discussions. We will say no more, for we feel as if this were one of the cases where praise is little better than impertinence: only we must just point out his dedication as an unequivocal instance of the tone which his work preserves throughout, and of the uncompromising desire which he evidently feels to stand in all events irrevocably committed to the cause of primitive truth and order. He inscribes his work to the University of Oxford, "in the hope that the temper of it may be found not alien from her own." To appreciate worthily such an avowal as this, one ought probably to know more of the House of Commons, and of the tone of high metropolitan society at present, than we, or perhaps most of our readers, do: but we should not, it may be, greatly err, if we considered it as an instance of courage akin to that of Jonathan, when he remonstrated with his over-politic and tyrannical father, "who is so faithful among all the King's servants as David?" Or, to take a yet graver example, it may remind us of that highly favored one, who was cast out of the synagogue for saying, "Herein is a marvellous thing, that ye know not from whence He is, and yet He hath opened mine eyes."

It is part of this earnest and thoughtful view, that he has declined the term "Alliance" in the title of his work; as implying too much personal distinction, and suggesting the low and false doctrine that the State is free to choose in such a matter. We are rejoiced to have his high authority in deprecating a mode of speech so apt to mislead: and the need of some such caution is the more apparent, as we perceive that Mr. Gladstone himself has not always been able to avoid it*: and it may perhaps have here and there communicated to his reasonings an unconscious tinge, we will not say of Erastianism, but of State as distinct from Church policy. In other writers, and those too such as we are bound to regard with much gratitude and respect, the ill effect of such phraseology is still more apparent. How, for example, but the inveterate use of it, are we to account for such a sentiment as the following, adopted by way of deprecation of certain complaints of the State's usurpation, by a writer who in other ways has shown so true a sense

* See c. ii. 61, 69; iv. 4, 7, 8, 9.

of the Church's claims? "The Church is not united to the State as Israel to Egypt: it is united as a believing wife to a husband who threatens to apostatize; and as a Christian wife so placed would act, with patience, and love, and tears, and zealous entreaties, and prayers, hoping even against hope, and clinging to the connexion until a law of God dissevered it: so the Church must struggle even now, and save not herself but the State from the crime of a divorce."*

We had thought that the Spouse of the Church was a very different Person from any or all States, and her relation to the State, through him, very unlike that whose duties are summed up in "love, service, cherishing and obedience." And since the one is exclusively of this world, the other essentially of the eternal world, such an alliance as the above sentence describes would have seemed to us not only fatal, but monstrous:

> "Mortua quinetiam jungebat corpora vivis,
> Componeus manibusque manus, atque oribus ora:
> Tormenti genus!"

To us, we confess, the word Incorporation, though Mr. Gladstone at once discards it, would have appeared in the abstract far preferable to Marriage, Alliance, Union, or any other like them: provided always that we understand it as the meaning of the terms requires, of the admission of any particular State, as of any particular individual, into the bosom of the Holy Universal Church: reserving the superiority, according to the idea of a Corporation, to the body adopting, for the benefit of the member adopted.

We are bound in fairness to acknowledge that Mr. Gladstone's theory, though remote from the lax and unworthy notions unwarily sanctioned in the passage just animadverted on, yet seems hardly to come up to our own view of the relations of Church and State. The way in which he arrives at it is briefly this:—for we think it best shortly to analyse his argument, clear as it is, and certain as we deem it that almost all our readers are long since familiar with it. It is the fairest way in reviewing argumentative works, for the same reason that in actual debate it is well to state what you understand to be the drift of the other party, before you allege your own views.—

He begins by a short notice of the most popular among former theories on the relation of the Church to the State: Hooker. Warburton, Paley, Coleridge, Dr. Chalmers. Of these he finds some entirely deficient in principle, such as Warburton and Paley, both of whom in fact deny to the State any conscience in the matter, making it the business of governments to ally themselves, not with that society which Christ established, but with any sect which

* Quarterly Review, No. cxxvi. p. 561.

may suit best their political purposes. Dr. Chalmers sets out on the same road with them, but parts company when the question is started, "what is to be done when the prevalent sect is unevangelical in doctrine?" allowing therefore the principle, that the State has a conscience, and is bound to teach the truth, but denying whatever is high and transcendental in the claims of the Church, *as* a Church, i. e. as the Kingdom of Christ, and not merely a witness of His Truth. With Hooker and Coleridge Mr. Gladstone seems substantially to agree in principle, but he complains that neither of them applies so immediately as might be wished to the exigencies of our present condition; the former treating rather of the terms than of the ground of the Union, and of those with almost an exclusive eye to the controversies of his own day; the latter confining himself to a sketch of his view in the abstract, with hardly any thing of detail or practical application. The extreme theories of Hobbes and Bellarmine, the one making the whole Church the creature of the State, the other the State the slave of the particular Church of Rome, he thinks it enough just to mention, as beacons on opposite sides of the course to be pursued. Hobbes's is in fact the same with that of Machiavelli and others, which Hooker denominates "godless politics:" and is essentially atheistical, at least if it be atheism virtually to deny God's moral government. In our days, the same impiety vents itself in a different kind of policy: instead of counterfeiting one religion to keep in order an ignorant superstitious generation, we are counselled to neglect all, that an enlightened philosophical race may have scope for its energies. A change in the controversy, by no means insignificant among the many symptoms, which seem just now to show which way Modern Europe is verging, in such measure as she has thrown off her reverence for the Holy Catholic Church.

Against this latter form of practical atheism in particular, the notion that the civil magistrate as such has nothing to do with religion, Mr. Gladstone advances in substance the following propositions, which contain what we may call his own theory of the mutual relations of the two societies, and which he addresses to all who believe God's moral government. *First*, Governors, *as individuals*, lie under an obligation to profess and maintain religion in their government as in other parts of their conduct. *Secondly*, The State itself, taken *collectively*, has a personal existence, a duty and a conscience, and is therefore bound, *collectively*, to the same profession and maintenance. *Thirdly*, If externally able and internally qualified, and if the same thing cannot be so well done otherwise, the State ought to extend and propagate the same religion through the nation. But the same thing cannot be so well done otherwise, as the failure of the voluntary system, left alone, proves:

and the State is externally competent, both as having the means of endowment, and as coming to men's minds with authority, and appealing both to their sympathies and interests: and lastly, the government is intrinsically competent, i. e. in proportion as it is good government, it attracts to itself those among the people who are best qualified to choose in matter of religion.

This last statement, it is important to observe, constitutes no necessary part of the argument: as Mr. Gladstone himself has remarked, ch. ii, 47. "Even if we suppose that the government had no such superiority, we are still at liberty to argue that it is bound to establish a religion." And it is well that he has so guarded himself: for undoubtedly a theory would not seem likely to carry much weight, which depended for its practical effect upon the statement, that this or any other government is apt to attract to itself "the best wisdom of the nation:" by which in this instance must be meant the persons best qualified to judge of religious truth. Such a proposition is valid indeed as an *argumentum ad hominem*, when we are reasoning with idolizers of the State; as it is with reformers enamoured of their own power, and expecting all good from the developement of their principles: to them, if reason could silence them, it would be reasonable to say, "By your own account, the improved constitution of England is such as to engage in the actual government of the nation those who are best fitted to make choice, in all important questions, for the rest: you cannot therefore, if you will be consistent, deny them a natural influence in religion also:"—but what if any person, so far from adopting this sanguine view, should believe that according to present arrangements, it is morally impossible, but that unsound and superficial notions even on most of the great temporal questions, should prevail, generally speaking, in the councils of his country? What if he should think that all experience is against the idea, that successful political partizans are commonly good judges of religious truth? What if the very nature of the case exclude them, *as a class?* that there may be splendid exceptions we thankfully allow. Surely it will be difficult to exclude from this subject the application of the text, "Not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called." If the best judges of religious truth are those who most devoutly practise religion; if the high places of the world are eminently unfavourable to the Kingdom of God; if the poor, as such, are "chosen to be rich in faith;" if "the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light;" then whatever favourable exceptions a merciful Providence may at times allow, it does not seem easy even to imagine a country so constituted, that the best judges in matters of religion shall be permanently or commonly the prevailing party in it.

Waiving therefore this portion of the argument, we may yet concur most heartily with Mr. Gladstone in all that he proceeds to say, of the inducements which the State has to employ its means according to its competency, be that competency little or much, for the recommendation and propagation of religious truth, and especially of the Church. Besides the reasons which are commonly alleged on this head, he dwells with unanswerable force on the two following topics: the subjugation of individual will by the discipline of the Church, and the permanency of its doctrines and institutions; which latter again brings this great collateral advantage, that whereas,

"it is most difficult and invidious for governors to select any one form of mere opinion as such, and endow it; or any institution, simply preferred because the doctrines taught in it are agreeable to the views entertained by themselves: the Church professes to be an institution not deduced by human reason from any general declaration of God's will, but actually, and (so to speak) bodily given by God, founded through His direct inspiration, and regularly transmitted in a divinely appointed though human line. The State therefore does not here propose an opinion of its own for the approbation of the people, but a system to which it has itself yielded faith and homage, as of divine authority. The difference is twofold: it is that between inheritance and acquisition: it is that between an attested and a conjectural authority from God."—ii. 61.

Lastly, it is argued, that the support and promotion of the Church, thus on state principles made imperative, must also be *exclusive*, even on the same principles; and still more when her own sacred law of unity is considered. If in any country either the governing body or the whole state be unhappily so divided in religion, that this object cannot be achieved, "we do not here trace out all the consequences, but it has been shown that this involves dereliction of the functions and responsibilities of government; and it is enough, for the present, to have marked it as *a social defect and calamity*."—*ib.* 71.

We are too well aware how little justice we have done, in this brief and meagre summary, to Mr. Gladstone's statement of his leading principles. But his style is so condensed, and so full of matter, that we feel an adequate analysis to be out of the question. A paraphrase, occasionally, seems rather what is wanted, to bring out the connection and relative importance of various portions of the argument, in which the author perhaps has given his readers credit for more of his own thoughtfulness than they are likely to possess. In this as in some other respects he reminds us sometimes of Aristotle's manner in the Ethics: although the tone of strong but subdued feelings, which is the great charm of the Christian statesman's work, be rarely and faintly heard from the heathen moralist.

Taken up Mac

We have mentioned that the treatise has throughout an aspect to two classess of opponents, who are supposed likely to unite in disparaging the Establishment as such: and to the answering of their objections in detail, the author addresses himself in the chapters which follow the second. On the first sort of scruples, however, those, namely, which are felt by Liberals of all classes about the question, whether the State has any thing to do with Religion, it is not our purpose now to dwell, any further than to express our surprise, that any writer of tolerable acuteness should have fancied the affirmative sufficiently disproved, by merely finding out ludicrous analogies for the doctrine of the State's personality, and its having a conscience. It is said,* "At this rate our Railway and Insurance Companies, our agricultural, astronomical, horticultural meetings, nay our cricket and chess clubs, are religious societies, and are bound in conscience to exclude unbelievers, and apply some test to the religious opinions of all whom they employ.

Now, raillery apart, is it not certain that all companies and associations of Christians are in a very true sense religious societies? Would the deviser of these facetious sayings, if seriously asked, himself deny, that each and all of the associations which have been named come within the Apostolical rule, Do all to the glory of God? and that accordingly, if they can any how be any of them turned towards the end of God's kingdom, it is our duty so to turn them? But this once allowed, (and it seems almost an axiom, unless men are content to deny His moral government,) "the rest," as some one has said, "is matter of calculation." The director of a railroad, or coach company, is to consider whether the great end is or is not likely to be promoted by his discouragement of Sunday travelling, of drunkenness and blasphemy, among those who are for the time, and to a certain extent, committed to his charge. The master of a family has to consider, whether or no the interests of morality, i. e. regard to God's will, require him in any particular case to practise what is called invidiously exclusive dealing. The obligation in every such instance, how inferior soever in importance, is the same in kind with that, which in the case of governments appears, to certain philosophic statesmen, mere matter of scorn and ridicule. If they carry their principles out in their domestic arrangements, all we can say is, may our servants keep at a distance from their servants, and our children from their children.

This might be said, even on the lowest view of the origin of civil government, and supposing it no more of divine institution than any of the voluntary combinations above mentioned. But with Mr. Gladstone the province of the statesman is as much

* See Edinburgh Review, April, 1839.

more awful than these and more sacred in its kind, as it is more momentous in reach and extent. The will of God, as made known by the course of universal Providence, and by the unsophisticated feelings of all mankind, is surely his warrant, when he pours himself out, as in the following noble passage, on the true nature of his calling as a political man, and the responsibility which belongs to all who take on themselves any part of the conduct of a nation.

"Habituated to the false or secondary conceptions which arise out of our inveterate political sectarianism, we are very apt to look upon the State in an irreverent or careless temper, and to forget that next to the Church it exhibits the grandest of all combinations of human beings. It is a venerable idea, in which the supremacy of law as opposed to mere will is asserted, by which the sociality and inter-dependence of our nature are proclaimed, and the best acts and thoughts are arrested and perpetuated in institutions, and a collective wisdom is made available for individuals, and the individual is humbled and disciplined by being kept in qualified subordination to the mass. The adoption of a moral principle, or scheme, or institution, by the State, is among the most solemn and the most pregnant of human acts: and although it cannot place what it adopts upon a ground higher than its own, any more than water can rise above its level, yet that ground is one of an order having more of natural justice, more of experimentally demonstrated permanence, more of divine authentication, than any other except the Church, which it feebly though perceptibly imitates; and certainly much more than that private will, which, sooner or later, learns to wanton in the whole spirit and practice of dissent, reversing every fundamental law of the universe, and asserting the isolation, and defying the arbitrary caprice of man."—c. iii. § 39.

We do not envy those who can find in such aspirations as these matter of derision, as if it were all but mere mysticism: nor do we see how, consistently with their view, they can profess to receive as unerring, a Book which declares that by the Wisdom and Word of the Most High—by the Providence of His Son, and under Him;—"kings reign and princes decree justice:" and not only kings and princes, but all who are concerned in the legitimate exercise of government: even "all the judges of the earth:"* which verse, if we read its meaning rightly, (and that we do so we have the concurrent witness of the whole Church in its first and pure ages,) represents to us civil governors, and especially kings, as manifestations, in their several spheres, of our Lord and Saviour; not less really so than his Priests are in his Church, though with different and inferior functions. It can be no light perversion of mind, which would lead any school or any individual to deal with an institution so warranted and originated, as if it were no more sacred in its kind—had no more to do with God's

* Proverbs, viii. 15, 16.

universal government—than any of the fleeting and frivolous assemblages of the day.

Dismissing therefore, as decidedly irreligious, this whole class of objections, we shall address ourselves, in what we have further to say, to the other side, which only, to Churchmen, is the side of practical difficulty. Mr. Gladstone professes to vindicate, not only the abstract principle of establishment, but also the particular form in which the relation of Church and State appears in this country at present; not only the ground, but the terms of the union. In doing so, he has sometimes expressed himself as if he thought that not only the more conscientious sort of Dissenters, but some too who would be accounted High Churchmen, had been led by events to disparage and deprecate the principle itself, of the incorporation of the State in the Church. Now, we must once for all avow, that we know not any where of this combination of opinions. We have never met with—we have never read of—any set of persons admitting the divine origin and paramount claims of the Apostolical Church, yet denying the obligation of the civil magistrate to enter into relations with it. All the scruples and demurs that we have met with in such persons have had reference, not to the principle of incorporation, but to the terms of it in this or that particular instance. We apprehend, therefore, that Mr. Gladstone is mistaken, if he thinks, as some of his expressions appear to imply, that any thing which has happened in the way of wrong done to the Church, or of unworthy compromise on the part of her defenders, has caused *such* religionists to doubt or deny the duty of the State to connect itself with the Church. They are perfectly aware of that duty, and of the danger of falling away from it: as will have been seen by the application of the text in Proverbs, just above (if that may be admitted as a fair statement of their views): they are quite convinced that both Church and State are (though in several ways) of divine appointment: that kings, as well as bishops, are in a manner representatives of Jesus Christ on earth, consequently that our duties to the one, rightly understood, can never, by any possibility, clash with our duties to the other. Nay, they may perhaps be ready to go further than the plan of Mr. Gladstone's work enabled him to do, in asserting, not only the wisdom and rectitude, but the positive divine institution, of a certain relation between the Church and the State. They may think that Holy Scripture distinctly shows us the seal of the Almighty, set to the reasonings of wise men, and the natural feelings of religious men, in favour of that connection; feelings and reasonings, before sufficient to constitute a strong practical obligation, but which, so confirmed, come to us as remembrancers from above of a duty which may not be denied nor evaded. To go no further

for the present in Scripture: such persons might even be content to rest their doctrine on the well-known texts of Isaiah,* which represent the temporal powers as Nursing Fathers and Mothers to the children of the Church: texts which have been often and ably alleged, as virtually containing the terms of the union in question; and which it seems hard for any sophistry to expound, so as that they shall not plainly express a divine sanction and ground for that union. And that which is divinely sanctioned and grounded cannot in itself be a cause of degeneracy and sin. No fear then, lest those who, with the unanswerable Leslie,† interpret those prophetic sayings as a divine intimation of the duty of the State to the Church, should ever give in, as seems to be suspected, to the tenet of the upholders of the modern voluntary system: that *any* positive connection of the Church with the powers of this world, is in the very nature of the case, sure to lower both her doctrine and her morals.

Where then is the point of difference between those who sympathise with such writers as Leslie, and those who really venerate primitive antiquity, yet still continue anxious defenders of things as they are among ourselves? Practically, we apprehend, it comes to this; rather to lessen their satisfaction and confidence with the former in the cause, than to withdraw from the ranks. In elections they will still be found voting for the Conservative candidate; their names will not be wanting, when the proper authorities are to be appealed to, in behalf of such influences as the government still allows the Church to exert on it: they feel that it is the part of resignation and obedience to go on, though in much doubt and perplexity, and keep things quiet as long as ever conscience will allow, but they dare not conceal that they do so with a heavy heart, and in continual fear of giving up truth and duty: they cannot sympathise with the notes of exultation, with which eager partizans and shallow speculators welcome each onward step of what they call the cause of the Church. They feel themselves continually called to the disagreeable duty of protesting against the lax notions and irreverent proceedings of those with whom themselves are acting: of damping unseasonable triumphs, and checking plans of policy and compromise, often devised in good faith, but tending, as they clearly see, to the surrender of something which they dare not give up: of silencing their own scruples and regrets, in deference to the wishes of those who have a right to direct them, when according to all the rules in which they have been instructed, perhaps by those very authorities, the time of passive resistance would seem to be full come: and for half a life perhaps, they have to lie down and rise up in a corroding uncertainty, whether or no they are doing

* Chap. xlix. 22, 23; lx. 3, 4, 10, 12, 16. † Case of the Regale, § 6.

their best, according to their station, to warn their country and their countrymen of the fatal consequences of dealing rudely with God's Church.

Such, it seems to us would be some of the sensations, with which one thoroughly imbued with ancient principles would find himself continually forced to qualify his adherence, under present circumstances, to the supporters of the connexion of Church and State in this kingdom. Nor will any one be surprised at the statement, who will consider how much the trial of us all consists in doubts and perplexities about duty, stationed as we are in paths made intricate by our own sins and errors, and those of our forefathers.

In justice to our own view, we must mention some of the particulars, though to most of our readers they will probably occur of themselves, which may not unnaturally cause a public man to feel dejected and embarrassed, even in asserting a cause which at first glance would seem to combine all that is elevating and ennobling. And if in doing so, we have incidentally to question some of Mr. Gladstone's positions, we shall do so with less scruple, because the influences are to our view so evident, which would lead a person in his circumstances to survey with too favourable an eye the alliance as it exists. A statesman admitted behind the scenes must see, we fear, so much of moral unsoundness and decay in every department, as to make him more than ever unwilling to part with any little relic of homage which may but seem to be still paid to Religion, and he has the same kind of temptation to overvalue it, and pay too dear for it, as clergymen in unmanageable parishes have, to press the outward services of Religion on those who lead unworthy and immoral lives. The nearer the evil is brought to himself, the more does he shrink from realizing it: especially if he have, with Mr. Gladstone, a keen perception of the exceeding sinfulness of the State's disavowing the Church: if he feel that such a step must be, sooner or later,* ruin to the offending party. A public man who reads his Bible, can never overlook the awful sanction, which attends on his country's relation to the Church: "*The nation and kingdom which will not serve thee shall perish, yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted.*" It is not in human nature, but that he should hide his eyes from the fearful conviction that this sentence is virtually passed on the state and country in whose service he himself is engaged. He will go on in hope, believing against hope, after others at a greater distance have seen clearly that the time for hope is over. In his zeal to avert

* *Sooner or later*; and therefore the case of the United States, or of much older countries, which have refused to obey the Church, is no objection to the argument. We see not yet what will come of it.

that final revolt, which he knows must decide the doom of his nation, he will be instinctively disposed to think too slightly of the sacrifice of principle likely to be involved in the successive accommodations which may be proposed to the Church: not perceiving that the sentence has gone forth already, the nation and kingdom *has* refused to serve the Church, when it has once forced on the Church terms which amount to a renunciation of her fundamental rules. Her giving way in such a case can do no good to the nation, nay rather harm, as encouraging it in ill, and lessening its chance of coming to a better mind: and it will include the Church herself in the ruin. Natural then as it may be to do so, yet we must not hide our eyes from the fact, that better had the country be ruined than the Church apostatize; or rather, better had the first fall alone, than drag down the other with it.

The best way perhaps to realize the drift of this, is to put a strong case, such an one as nobody would hesitate in, and then observe how less flagrant cases may insensibly work up to it, and come in the end to the same mischief. Imagine a state then in which liberal principles prevailed, deferring so far to the outcry against supposed human tests, as to make it a condition of the alliance, that the Church should abstain from the use of all the Creeds. This, we take it for granted, would amount, in Mr. Gladstone's view, to a *casus fœderis*. And yet a great many human probabilities might be alleged, unanswerable in their kind, to justify continuing in the alliance, even at that sacrifice. Morality, and faith too, it might be plausibly argued, would be more advanced in the country by the *general* diffusion of the Scriptures and the Sacraments alone, than by their *partial* adoption, under the national sanction, with the safeguard of a pure creed, by those only whom a voluntary system could reach. But no such reasoning would avail with a person trained in the school of the Church. He would be aware that Catholic tradition in fundamentals is divine, and may not be dispensed with for any human views of spiritual expediency.

Imagine next a less startling case: that instead of omitting all the Creeds, we are required to part with all except the Apostles'. Here the student of antiquity, being aware of the irresistible claim of the Nicene Creed to be esteemed a portion of the apostolical tradition, and not knowing how near the silencing the voice of such a council may come to rejecting a part of God's own word, will probably feel little more hesitation than before: but we should not wonder if some of those, who venerate tradition and the Church in general, but have not had leisure to examine details, began even at this point to waver: and still more would they do so at the next, when the question rose about the Creed of St. Athanasius; as is too plainly shown by the example

of the American Church in her formularies, and, as we fear, too generally by that of our own Church, nay, and of the Scottish Church, in their practice. We consider these as cases in point, because we apprehend there can be no doubt that the concessions in question are accommodations to the mind of the laity, and represent so far a kind of state influence.

Now, even by these few imaginary examples, it seems to us not obscure, that the conservative tendencies of the very best public men require to be watched, in this matter of the conditions of an establishment, by persons more exclusively concerned for the spiritual integrity of the Church.

We observe, what greatly confirms us in this idea, that even the high-minded writer before us has not been quite able to keep his language clear of a certain utilitarian tone: we mean not utilitarian in any low or offensive sense, but simply as denoting somewhat too much of regard to intelligible and visible results in our estimate of a system, the purposes whereof we are confessedly so very ignorant of. Thus he writes—

"Her end is 'the greatest holiness of the greatest number.' Her inanimate machinery has no capability of pleasure and pain; has no interests in any intelligible sense. Her living members have all one and the same interest: the aggregate of that interest constitutes the interest of the Church, and it is the production, not of the greatest possible excitement connected with religion, nor of the greatest possible enjoyment connected with religion, nor of the greatest possible appearance of religion; nay, not even the greatest possible quantity of actual religion, at any time or place; but the greatest possible permanent and substantial amount of religion within that sphere over which its means of operation extend. By religion, we would be understood to mean, conformity to the will of God."—c. iii. 23.

And again,—

"Nothing can stand against the proof (if proof could be given) that the diminished amount or deteriorated quality of personal religion is the result of that alliance, which we have affirmed to be not less grounded on the nature and truth of things, than affirmed by the general suffrage of mankind."—c. iii. 1.

Again, he argues for the Presbyterianism of Scotland, that "we have seen it by a long experience to be not without the blessing of God, and operative for good on human character."—vi. 75. May it be said without offence, that sentences of this cast need always to be guarded by the recollection, what inadequate judges we are, either of the manifold ends of the Redeemer's kingdom, or of the degree in which "the greatest holiness of the greatest number," which is but one of them, is affected by any particular measure or system? On this subject all, and especially all who

are in a position to influence others extensively, would do well to study Bishop Butler's admirable sermon, *The Gospel a Witness to all Nations.* It would help them to bear in mind the awful truth, that "the purposes of Providence are carried on by the preaching of the Gospel to those who reject it, as well as to those who receive it."—"Thou shalt speak My words unto them, whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear: for they are most rebellious." It is evident, that sayings such as these point to a very different standard of the proceedings of the witnesses of the Gospel, from the actual degree in which mankind are seen to benefit by them: and that the latter rule will require in practice to be continually checked by the former.

One thing we may be quite sure of: that what God clearly wills, that must in the end be expedient, whether we ever come to discern it or no: and thus it is, that discerning in His word clear indications of His will that the Church should be in a certain sense politically established, we should acquiesce in *such* an establishment, though our human and outward experience led us to anticipate more harm than good at the result of it; and on the other hand, whatever degree of holiness any given arrangement might seem to produce, we could not acquiesce in it, if clearly opposed to the revealed canon on such matters.

Now the life of a statesman must of necessity be spent very much in calculations of expediency, and in measuring things by their visible results: and the habit of thought so generated may sometimes be unfavourable to that particular exercise of faith, the necessity of which in all church questions we have now tried to point out; and especially when he has been used to dwell, affectionately and thankfully, upon the real good results which he can discern. He might be willing to hazard himself, but he fears to hazard others, to hazard even their spiritual interests, upon pure adherence to some portion of God's will, the practical tendency whereof is not perhaps apparent. To make such a venture on a large scale, maturely, wisely, resolutely, charitably, may, for aught we know, be one of the highest acts here on earth of a pure and saintly faith; it may require a completer church education than this age can anywhere supply: yet it may do us all good to recollect that there has been once an Athanasius who "stood against the world, and prevailed;" and that he did so, chiefly by disregarding results when revealed rules and principles were at stake.

But in addition to this scarcely avoidable effect of public life as such, there is a certain personal feeling,—may we be excused for hinting at it?—which we fancy we can discern in that class of statesmen whose views, generally speaking, we suppose to be

embodied in this book: which cannot but unconsciously bias their reasonings on doubtful matters discussed in it. It is natural they should be impressed, as public men, with a deep sense of the desecration of their calling, which they apprehend must follow, should ever the service of the State in this country be authoritatively and formally separated from that of the Church. As it is, there is probably enough, and more than enough, to disgust them and make them fear contamination, in the wear and tear of parliamentary and official life: and when the mitigating circumstances are withdrawn; when no blessing from the Church shall precede the daily labours of the Houses of Parliament; when no holidays, perhaps no Sundays, shall be recognized except on profane and secular grounds; when the notion of doing anything for the Church shall have become as obsolete as is now the notion of confining high office to churchmen; when, above all, they have no longer to accompany them in their most irksome and unsatisfactory toils, the consciousness that all is but part of the price of the continuance of so great a blessing as the presence of the Church in all parts of the realm: then, indeed, we may well believe that their calling may seem perfectly intolerable, their occupation quite gone: while yet in withdrawing from it, the dreary thought will accompany them, that they are giving up their country altogether, and leaving it without hope in the hands of the anti-christian party. Instinctive anticipations of this kind may well render persons slow—we will not say—to allow the separation of Church and State, but, to admit the fact of such separation, after it has virtually taken place; and certainly it does seem almost like asking too much, even of the most devoted children and servants of the Church, to urge on them the continuance of their thankless toil, even in such an extreme case: yet we know the illustrious scripture examples, of persons who served in the courts of heathen monarchs, with an eye, throughout, assuredly, to the welfare of God's people, and were rewarded beyond all personal advancement, by being made instruments of the greatest deliverances to Israel.

But it may be said, Joseph and Daniel condescended to minister, not to apostate but merely to heathen princes: and there was not the same scandal in belonging to their courts, as in persevering to act under a polity which was Christian and has ceased to be so. We reply, Even under Ahab, Obadiah, who "feared the Lord greatly," continued to be over the king's household: nor do we find in the times immediately before the captivity, that the prophets and others whose personal obedience was unsullied, declined to act under or to counsel the fallen kings of Judah. And as the Christians of the three first centuries were

willing to serve in the Pagan courts and armies, only, of course, keeping themselves from all communication with idolatry; so we read not that those of the fourth counted it unlawful to hold civil or military commissions from Constantius, Julian, or Valens, apostates as they were. Undoubtedly the condition will be a most undesirable one, but we can conceive it undertaken and borne in the spirit of a confessor, and bringing with it a great reward.

Or if things should become too bad even for this: if such a state (no unlikely proceeding) should even go on to exclude from her councils the attached members of the Church, imposing, e.g. such a test, under plea of guarding against intolerance, as would amount to disavowal of any exclusive system: then, indeed, the State must be given up, and it would be impossible for a good Christian to serve it; but no reason whatever to despair of the temporal fortunes of the Kingdom of Heaven: then would the manly and dutiful minds, who now least endure the thought of separation, be driven perforce into the direct and avowed service of the Church alone; and who can tell what great results it might please the Almighty to bring about by such a concentration of the noblest energies in the one high and self-denying cause? For aught we know, if human haste and restlessness mar not His gracious purpose, He may have in store for us, by means such as these, a conversion, not of barbarous heathens, but more wonderful yet, of civilized and lapsed Christians, which may once again change the whole face of Christendom as completely as that which ensued on the downfall of the Roman empire. At all events, the last thing which those who would serve Him in faith need fear, is being left out of His ranks, having their place on earth entirely unhallowed. Each day of their trial, as it brings its own task, will bring also its light to shew and its strength to bear that task: and the more they can use themselves to walk by this simple faith, instead of always weighing and measuring visible events, the more competent will they prove to judge correctly of the difficult questions which arise out of the relation of Church and State. As it is, we have to allow for the effect both of their habits of calculation, and of such natural misgivings as we have been describing, and therefore may with less presumption question the full accuracy of some of their views.

We have observed already that the plan of Mr. Gladstone's work did not allow him to dwell much on the scriptural part of the argument, which is the more to be regretted, as all modern views on the subject, and his own among the rest, have the disadvantage of an *ex post facto* law: it is too manifest that they are constructed with an eye to particular cases, and thus they often fail in pro-

curing conviction, even where little or nothing can be said against their truth. The theories, for example, of Hooker, Warburton, Chalmers, perhaps also those of the ultramontane Romanists, are each in turn so nicely adapted to the very state of things in which the writers found themselves placed, that we feel as we examine them somewhat of the same kind of suspicion, as when a disputed will or other document coincides too exactly with the interests of the witnesses who produce it. If a theory can be found antecedent to all experience, it will, by its very date, be free from surmises of this sort: and as we have hinted, such a theory is found in Scripture. It is contained in Isaiah's analogy of the nursing-fathers and nursing-mothers; which, according to the ineffable fulness of Scripture, will be found in its brevity and simplicity, (would men only work it out in good faith), equivalent to a whole code of canon laws for the adjustment of relations often found so intricate.

Some perhaps will think it strange to be referred thus to the Old Testament and to a single text there for an evangelical law of such great practical import. But they may consider that since it was not intended that the Church should, at her first beginning, enter into relations with any state; since that whole order of things was to be but a later developement of something in her original constitution: any rules expressly concerning it could only be prophetic, and the natural place to look for them would be in those portions of the prophetic scriptures, which the Church, from the beginning, knew to have reference to her own later times. Nor would it be hard to find other usages and rules, on which the same remark might be made, viz. that they are developements of something in the original system, for which at first there was no occasion, and accordingly that for the scriptural sanctions of them we have to look in the prophetical and typical Scriptures, rather than in the New Testament itself. Such for example is the penitential discipline of the Church: her earlier and purer times had comparatively little occasion for it; and when it became settled, it was in great measure the developement of precedents and hints from the Jewish history, and the lessons of mortification and penitence in the Psalms and Prophets. Such again is the splendour of churches and church ornaments: the days of our first poverty of course knew it not, but when it came, it found its warrant in the records of Moses, David and Solomon. No prejudice, therefore, need lie against a similar mode of deducing the obligation of the State to establish the Church.

If any one ask, of what particular article or fundamental rule of God's kingdom this theory of Church and State is a develope-

ment, we should answer, of the Holy Catholic Church; *i. e.* of the continued presence and manifestation of Jesus Christ in the world, through the medium of that society which is called His mystical body. The Church is the spouse of Christ, and the mother of His family; and these passages of Isaiah declare what is the especial office of kings and queens in that family; how they in particular stand related to the Church. They are to be her nursing fathers and mothers; *i. e.* as Leslie has explained at large, (and to him we must refer for a thorough and most satisfactory elucidation of the passages), they are among her servants and attendants, trusted by Almighty God with the nourishment of her children; with the training of them, and bearing them safe in their arms. The phrase has acquired a trite and almost a proverbial use, in a very different sense: as though the Church were a helpless infant in the arms of some Defender of the Faith: but the context puts the true force of the image out of question. "Thus saith the Lord GOD, Behold, I will lift up mine hand to the Gentiles, and set up my standard to the people; and they shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders. And kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers; they shall bow down to thee with their face toward the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet; and thou shalt know that I am the Lord; for they shall not be ashamed that wait for me." Isaiah, xlix. 22, 23. Again, in ch. lx. 4, "Thy sons shall come from far, and thy daughters *shall be nursed* at thy side." If in another verse we find, "Thou shalt *suck the milk* of the Gentiles, and thou *shalt suck the breast of kings*;" this cannot be so pressed as to denote childish dependence and obedience, since in the very same prophecy, as well as in the former one, apparently parallel to it, the expressions of humiliation, nay subjection to the Church, on the part of the potentates of the earth, are so very full and unequivocal. "The sons of strangers shall build up thy walls, and *their kings shall minister unto thee.*" "Thy gates shall be open continually, they shall not be shut day nor night, that men may bring unto thee the forces of the Gentiles, *and that their kings may be brought. For the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish: yea those nations shall be utterly wasted.*" These words throw light on one of the distinctive titles given to Jesus Christ in the Apocalypse: "Prince of the Kings of the Earth:" they point out in what sense the *kingdoms of this world* were to *become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ*; and how "the kings of this world" were to "bring their honour and glory into the Holy Jerusalem." And that all this was not so much a prediction as a promulgation of God's will on the subject, is proved unquestionably by the

fearful sanction annexed: perishing and utter wasting to the nation and kingdom that will not serve Zion.

Thus are kings and governors representatives of Jesus Christ, in His protecting particular Providence, whereby He educates those who shall be heirs of salvation: that Providence of which Moses, who "was king in Jeshurun," was a type, when he had to bear God's people, "as a nursing father beareth a sucking child;" which he describes in its application to the whole people, where he says, "The Eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms:" and in its application to Benjamin individually, (*i. e.* to the energetic self-renouncing champions of the Church, such as St. Paul, of whom Benjamin was the appointed image,) in the last clause of that highly descriptive verse, "The beloved of the Lord shall dwell in safety by, (literally, *upon*,) Him, and the Lord shall cover, wrap him up in His garment, and he shall dwell between His shoulders." There cannot be an exacter —if it were uninspired we should add, a sweeter and more engaging—description of a foster-father bearing a young child: and this, we have reason to believe, is the appropriate scriptural image—the sacramental sign, as antiquity would have esteemed it,—of the care due from kings and governors to the children of the Church.*

We will not give way to the thoughts which instinctively arise, on comparing such a description with certain late proceedings in the matter of Christian Education: it is pleasanter and better to turn back the mind's-eye towards the days when the kings and rulers of the world first began to appreciate this highest part of their calling. St. Paul had taught Christians, from the first, that even heathen princes were λειτουργοὶ, "ministers of God to His people for good:" and when they came themselves to be Christians, it never entered their minds that the true and eternal good was the one interest of their people with which they were never to busy themselves. On the contrary, the very word λειτουργὸς suggested to them, as the word minister naturally might to us, the notion of their being, though of course not literally as priests, yet in some analogous way, called to wait on God in His Church: and the prophet's word, "nursing fathers," would at once inform them what that office was. They would well understand that in spiritual matters they were to execute the laws of Christ's Church, not impose laws upon her: except it be the office of a nurse to give directions to a parent, and not rather receive instructions how the child ought to be managed. The strength of this impression on their minds will account for such anecdotes as that of Constantine refusing to take his seat at the council of Nice until he was requested by the bishops to do so; and again declining to receive

* Deut. 33, 5; Num. 11, 12; Deut. 33. 27. 12.

an appeal when tendered by Donatists in an ecclesiastical cause; and also for that remarkable expression, so different from the tone encouraged by the modern doctrine of legal supremacy, in his promulgation of the Nicene Decrees: "By the suggestion of God, I called together to Nice the greater part of the Bishops, with whom *as one of you, I your fellow-servant,*" the fellow-servant of ordinary laymen, "*and rejoicing above measure so to be,* did myself undertake the task of examining the truth." These and the other incidents of the same æra, commonly appealed to by writers on this subject: such as Hosius* and St. Hilary's demurring to the sentence of Constantius, St. Ambrose's resistance to Valentinian and his officers and excommunication of Theodosius, St. Basil's refusal to alter the church formularies, though it might bring Valens into church communion; and still more than the incidents themselves, the manner in which such sacerdotal boldness was received by the several emperors, and the tone in which it is related by contemporary writers, (some of them of the highest authority, St. Athasius, for instance, and St. Gregory Nazianzen), are sufficient indications, not perhaps of any formal compact, such as some appear to dream of, between the ecclesiastical and secular authorities, but of something yet more striking and authoritative; a general consent in the early Christian world, as to the meaning of what Scripture teaches concerning the office of kings in the Church. The notion of nursing fathers—confidential servants entrusted to bring up her children according to her laws—runs through the whole, and accounts for each particular. The voice of the Church was, "We call Christian Emperors happy, if they make their power a handmaid to the majesty of God, for no purpose so much as the propagation of His true religion and worship†." And again: "Whereas it is written, *The sons of strangers shall build up thy walls, and their kings shall minister unto thee*; it may be that by kings he means here literally those who are crowned with the highest honours, and sway the sceptre of royalty, who also are ministers (παρεστηναν) of the Church: *now ministering in this place signifies obedience.*" ‡ The whole doctrine was, and we believe still is, significantly taught in many parts of the Christian world, by the custom which prevails of the sovereign at solemn coronations wearing a deacon's habit, or part of it, under his robes of state: thereby acknowledging himself a servant of the Church, whose anointing and blessing he has just received, and bound to wait on and guard her bishops and priests, somewhat as a deacon should, in their holy offices; and again, (which is another part of

* S. Athanas. Hist. Arian. ad Monach. c. 44; S. Hilar. ad Constant. i. 1; S. Ambros. ad Valentinian. Ep. 21; ad Eugen. Ep. 57; ad Theodos. Ep. 51; S. Greg. Naz. Hom. 20, al. 43, ss. 48—51.

† St. Augustin, de Civ. Dei, v. 24.

‡ St. Cyril of Alex. in loc.

the diaconate), to take care that the Church's children generally be duly taught, and warned of their own part in the service.

Let us now try, by this notion of a nurse's duty, certain particulars in our own Church establishment. It is a test which requires no very complex discussion: plain men, even unlearned ones, are in a great measure competent to apply it; and should it unfortunately happen that we are on some matters conducted to a less favourable point of view, by our scriptural argument, than Mr. Gladstone, by his more philosophical and elaborate one, it will be some compensation for the annoyance, if we come to see at all distinctly what are the points in the church polity of our country, for the amendment of which, if we cannot or must not strive, we may at least humble ourselves and pray—an alternative, sometimes perhaps left too much out of sight, when people are descanting on the unpractical nature of such discussions, and the uselessness of dwelling on grievances which one cannot redress.

The matters then which occur to us as likely to be materially modified in our view by the application of this test, are the obvious ones of our Church's *nationality, as affecting its Catholic character;* the *legislative power* as at present exercised, we fear we must say not *by* but *over* it; and its condition in respect of *discipline.* In compliance with the order of Mr. Gladstone's argument we will take the last of the three first.

One would think, if there were any part of a nursing father's duty, in which he was bound more than in another to look strictly to the wishes and directions of the parent, it would be the moral training of the child—all that bears on reward or punishment. Any obstruction, here, to the paternal will, would appear an especially flagrant dereliction of duty. Now is it not notorious, that the ancient discipline of the Church is at present in abeyance in this country; that the reason commonly assigned for this is the interference of the laws of the land, which under pretence of certain civil results of excommunication, virtually wrest the command of the keys of God's kingdom out of those hands to which our Lord committed them; and that this state of things is contrary, not only to the rule and order of the ancient Church, but to the declared will and desire of the present, which enjoins all her ministers annually and solemnly to declare, that "the restoration of the said discipline is much to be wished?" a sufficiently distinct intimation, surely, on the part of the parent, in what the nursing mother's duty consists. And yet what but the reluctance of the State hinders the accomplishment of this earnest wish? What other will but hers can possibly stand in the Church's way, and thwart her desire, so emphatically and unequivocally expressed? For as to mere popular feeling, however necessary to

be consulted, when state purposes are taken into account, it is not to be supposed that the Church, left to herself, would allow any such consideration to avail against the plain institution of Christ, recognized by herself in all ages.

But if any one really doubt the mind of the State on this subject, let him only put the case to himself, of an uncompromising revival of discipline in any diocese; is it not quite certain, that if the present Statute Book were found insufficient, new and more stringent measures would presently be invented, to check such an effort of priestcraft, and intrusion on liberty?

We are not however without our fears that what we are now deprecating may seem to Mr. Gladstone one of the felicitous results of our present position: at least there are in his third chapter many expressions which at first sight appear somewhat at variance with the wish recorded in the Commination Service:—

"Certainly her faithful members must be content to stand side by side with many who care little for religion; but the promises of Christ may secure them from the danger of contagion; and they may also acquire from their position a livelier remembrance of that lesson, that we may not say one to another, Stand by, for I am holier than thou. I say, the promises of Christ: for the establishment does but fulfil His prophetic declarations, in not attempting any universal separation of the tares from the wheat; of the good fish from the bad: content with the laws of her mixed condition upon earth, emulous of the example of her Lord, who ate with publicans and sinners, and generous as her heavenly Father, who sends rain and light upon the just and the unjust, rendering benefit, but not therefore receiving pollution."—c. iii. 26.

And again:—

"We do not anticipate any evil from that contact which may occur in the discharge of duty; and there is in view the animating prospect of thus arousing many a dormant spirit unto holiness, and rescuing many a tender lamb of the Redeemer from the fangs of the roaring lion."—§ 29.

Yet once more:—

"We are prepared, then, to assert it generally of a national Church, that it brings human and secondary motives to bear upon mankind in favour of religion, with a power greater than that which would belong to it, *cæteris paribus*, when unestablished, because ordinarily it would not occupy the same station in public estimation. The fashion which might, in a wealthy and luxurious country, choose to reject attendance at church, is enlisted in its favour. A narrow and feeble provision, no doubt; but we must not despise the day of small things."—§ 33.

It is not now, be it observed, from abstract views or feelings on the comparative excellence of this or that motive, that we feel inclined to deprecate statements such as these, but we wish it to

be well considered, how they appear when placed side by side with certain clear injunctions of our Saviour, as explained by the recorded practice of his Apostles. For example, when we read among the recommendations of an Establishment, that "the fashion, which might, in a wealthy and luxurious country, choose to reject attendance at church, is enlisted in its favour:" it occurs, whether there be not some little forgetfulness of the caution against "casting pearls before swine." And how would it sound to say, "Her faithful members must be content to stand side by side with many who care little for religion?" immediately after the reading of the Apostolical Canon, 1 Cor. v. 11. "I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner: with such an one no not to eat."

We are, we confess, a little jealous of the seeming accordance of some of Mr. Gladstone's arguments, on this part of his subject, with the opinions attributed to the late Mr. Knox, who is reported to have maintained "that the want of discipline so much complained of was one of the happy features of our Establishment:"* and to have praised it for diffusing universally a low form of religion. Mr. Knox's authority was deservedly great on many points, but in matters where primitive antiquity has a right to be paramount, we can hardly consider him a safe guide, considering that he openly avows a sort of Eclecticism, quite inconsistent with implicit submission to the Holy Catholic Church. "Being bound to nothing," he says,† "I seem to myself to have access to the spirit of every thing. Let it not appear arrogant in me simply to say, that it is as if I saw from a high ground variously fenced-in paths in a valley below, where safety is secured, and guidance obtained, at the expense of confinement and coercion in various ways: in all which, Divine Providence seems most wisely to have consulted the diversified exigencies of weak mortals Now, among these fenced-in paths, that formed by John Wesley interests me peculiarly, &c."

It is no wonder that with this sort of notion, looking on the road of Primitive Christianity as only one among many which led in their time and order to the same point, Mr. Knox should have felt himself free to rejoice, as things are, in the cessation of all church discipline. But Mr. Gladstone has other thoughts of antiquity. Since, however, some of his phraseology may appear to countenance the lax opinion alluded to, it may be well to point out that his own argument in defence of an Establishment does by no means involve any necessity for depriving that Establishment

* Introd. to Burnet's Lives and Characters, edited by Bp. Jebb, p. xxxiv. xxxv.
† Remains, vol. i. 74.

of discipline. He says in effect, "We must have some security for the truth being presented to all, even to those who will profit but little by it: and to secure this, which an establishment does, we must be content to have all sorts of people included in the visible Church." Granted: but it does not follow that all should stand side by side in that Church. To be a subject of excommunication, a man must be of the Church: and excommunication itself, as Hooker has observed, does not so entirely shut a person out as that he shall be thenceforth excluded from the influence of the body. We may be within or around the Holy Place, though the stations of the penitents as compared with the communicants, and of the various orders of the penitents one among another, be ever so religiously observed. It was so in the time of St. Austin and St. Chrysostom; it is or was so, to a considerable extent, of later years, in the Kirk of Scotland; yet in both cases the system had the countenance of the State. National establishments, therefore, need not exclude discipline: and if ours do so, the fault must be somewhere else, and not in the mere circumstance of its nationality.

At the same time we cannot but apprehend, indeed Mr. Gladstone himself seems to be aware, that there is no knowing how much of the alleged effect of the Establishment in bringing home the Church to every one may in fact be due to the catholicity of the Church. All that is said about not neglecting any, evidently belongs to her as well when separate as established: her discipline, in one sense so exclusive, is in another the most comprehensive possible; the difference to her, therefore, between separation and establishment, is reduced to considerations merely temporal; protection, countenance, pecuniary resources; which to reject, as long as they can be innocently accepted, would of course be abusing a talent, and incurring a judgment; but when the question lies between such things on the one hand, and but a probable breach of God's commands, or maiming of His work, on the other, to state what would be the choice of faith, seems a mere truism in Christian casuistry, such as one is almost ashamed to have to set down in words. The Lord's hand is not so shortened.

And on this subject we cannot but regret to find high authority lending itself to the common, but as we think, gratuitous assertion, that—

"Christianity arrived at the summits of society by the miraculous impulses of its original propagation, whose vibrations had been measured, no doubt, with reference to the space they were to traverse, and did not exhaust themselves till they had reached the farthest point to which they were destined."—Ch. ii. § 40.

Where, we would ask, is the warrant for this saying? What Scripture, what Catholic tradition, enables us so to sound the exact depth of the cloud of glorious promises which envelopes the Church? The prophetic word is, "*your iniquities* have separated between you and your God, and *your sins* have hid His face from you, that he will not hear." Let this barrier be removed, let the spirit of martyrdom, the power of Christian self-denial, leaven the whole Church as in the first days; and it is according to God's graciousness, and the wording of His promises, to believe that such miraculous aid as may be needful for her thoroughly fulfilling her office of witness, will not be withheld from her; whether established as in Augustin's time, or persecuted as in Cyprian's, "her sound will go out into all lands, and her words unto the ends of the world;" and in every town in every land, all that pass along the streets will hear by her the voice of Wisdom, and, listen they or forbear, will know that there hath been a prophet among them.

But observe how closely her hope of success in either state is connected with our denying ourselves, and embracing the Cross. Over and above all mysterious ways, in which for aught we know such causes may work such effects, a glance only at the machinery, by which she actually prevailed in former days, is sufficient to show this. When open persecution and martyrdom ceased, voluntary poverty, retirement, and mortification, "the philosophy of the solitaries," as St. Chrysostom delights to call it, which had flourished all along, but had been comparatively obscured by the glories of actual warfare, were brought forward in their power: and by them, it should seem, as much at least as by any direct imperial aid, were the truths and duties of orthodox Christianity propagated among the "dense masses" of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and other such cities. As if on purpose to draw men's attention to this, it was they, the solitaries, whose faithful warnings and sufferings, under the direction of such champions as Athanasius, Basil, Gregory, kept the stream of piety clear, among the body of the people, through more than one heretical and persecuting reign. Nor shall we have any right to despair of the full declaration of the Gospel by the Church to every creature in the vast wildernesses of London and our own manufacturing districts, until a like experiment shall have been tried here, with or without State countenance, and shall have proved ineffectual.

But the voluntary method, it is argued, brings the Church into a worse dependence than that on the State; "it tends to give a preponderating influence, in determining the doctrine which shall be taught, to the less qualified class:"* and therefore is ill

* Ch. 3, 44.

fitted to ensure either permanency of sound doctrine, or acceptance of discipline, which must be often unpalatable.

We ask *which* voluntary method? for this matter is often unfairly argued, as if in the nature of things, and the experience of the Church, no other could be found, than that which prevails among most of our dissenters, Romish as well as Protestant; the method, namely, of making collections for each teacher among his own flock: whereas it is well known that the system of the early Church, voluntary as of course it was, threw no such snare in the way of individual ministers, inasmuch as the whole oblations of the faithful were cast into one sum, whereof the bishop was steward, and at his discretion the portions of the several priests and other ministers were assigned monthly.* In our own times the Churches in Canada and elsewhere, so far as they are supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and also the Wesleyan Methodists, may be cited as exemplifying (more or less imperfectly, it is true,) this ancient arrangement: so ancient, that we may without much hesitation refer its origin to the Mother Church of all Christendom, and to the Apostle's distribution of the gifts which were laid in such abundance at their feet.

But, it may be said, even this method affords but incomplete protection. It exempts indeed each particular minister from suffering in his estate by the caprice or personal feeling of his flock: but it leaves the Church, as a body, subject to the shifting taste of the community, and what may be called the spirit of the times: whereas the terms of an ecclesiastical endowment, once fixed by law, are comparatively permanent. And undoubtedly, *cæteris paribus*, such endowment is desirable: but supposing it to fail, through no fault of the Church, there yet remains a resource for the independence of her ministers, and consequent permanency of her doctrine: one which Mr. Gladstone himself has incidentally referred to. He asks—

"Who does not see that the Apostle himself, in writing to his converts that he has laboured for his own support, because he would not be chargeable unto any of them, affords an express recognition of that truth for which we here contend? namely, that when the Christian flock are placed habitually in the position of paymasters, notions of pride and self-sufficiency will infallibly associate themselves with that function, and men will claim the right to determine upon the doctrine, for whose inculcation they are continually reminded that they supply the pecuniary means?"—ch. iii. 43.

The statement, by the way, is perhaps a little too strong: if

* See Bingham, b. v. ch. 4. § 2, 3; and St. Cyprian, as quoted by him.

the pride and self-sufficiency spoken of were "infallible" results of the ancient voluntary system, St. Paul would scarce have sanctioned it so cordially as he did in the case of the churches of Macedonia; and he would have said more than he has done, by way of recommending his own more common practice to the imitation of bishops and priests in general. But however he clearly indicates a resource, supposing both endowment and voluntary bounty clogged with conditions, virtual or express, such as Christ's servants could not accept. They may *labour, working with their own hands:* nor need this be any degradation or disparagement to the ministry, provided, what is all along supposed, that the ancient discipline were kept up, to meet this among other emergencies, for which it was at the beginning adopted. And as to the continuance of good learning among the clergy: there have been before now fraternities of devoted persons not only maintaining themselves in that way, but earning so much over and above, as enabled some of them at least to find leisure, both for their own studies and for the training of candidates for the ministry.

This, it will be said, is all Utopian: but it is surely within the limits of possibility, and it is enough for our present purpose, if the resource we point out be as likely to succeed, as the need for it to arise: that need being, as we have seen, the failure of endowments and the refusal of voluntary aid except on base conditions.

One word more on the question of Discipline, from which we have too far digressed: it will have been seen that Mr. Gladstone* quotes some of our Lord's parables, such as that of the Tares, and of the Net cast into the Sea; and also the example of our Lord in eating with publicans and sinners; the dispensation also of Almighty God, in sending rain on the just and on the unjust; and the evil mark set on those who say, "Stand off, for I am holier than thou." Here we seem again to perceive the sinister influence of Mr. Knox's reasonings: for these are the very texts, which persons of his way of thinking are apt to allege against all discipline whatsoever.

But whether they have any such force may well be doubted; considering first of all, that they cannot mean any thing inconsistent with the other and plainer texts, which have been already produced in favour of discipline, and with the practice of the Church ensuing. No reason can be given why the Parable of the Tares, for example, should be understood as prohibiting the separation wished for by our Church, which will not make out that it equally

* Ch. iii. § 26.

tells against all separation from notorious sinners, and therefore against St. Paul's canon, "With such an one no not to eat." Nor do we see that such an interpretation of it can be any how reconciled with the authoritative words, "Whose sins ye retain, they are retained." "Retaining of sins" can hardly be imagined without some sort of visible distinction, such as shall prevent persons lying under that sentence from standing exactly "side by side" with those whose sins are remitted. We must therefore look out for some other interpretation, and we have not far to seek: the early expositors will teach us with one voice, that this portion of the parable is directed not against that godly discipline, concerning which the Church prays continually, with Bishop Wilson, that it may be "restored and countenanced," but against that impatient feeling, so natural even to the best of uninstructed men, which would lead them, as St. Cyprian, alluding to this parable, expresses it,* "to claim to themselves what the Father hath reserved to the Son; to imagine themselves already capable of taking fan in hand and purging the floor, or of separating all the tares from the wheat by their human judgment;" an error which uncorrected tends either to schism or persecution; and accordingly, as St. Augustin made large use of this parable against the Puritanism, if so one may describe it, of the Donatists, so St. Chrysostom† distinctly explains it as forbidding to persecute heretics, yet leaving full power to correct them in the way of discipline. "By the saying, Lest you root up also the wheat with them, what else can He mean but this: that if you were to take arms and slaughter the heretics, many of the Saints too must of necessity fall with them; or, that of the tares themselves many in all likelihood will change and become wheat? You see then, if you are too hasty in uprooting, you damage that which is to be wheat, destroying those who may perchance alter and improve. The checking then of heretics, and stopping their mouths, the depriving them of power to speak openly, and dissolving their assemblies and leagues, He forbids not, but the killing and slaughtering them. St. Chrysostom points out, it will be perceived, a significant circumstance in the parable, of itself sufficient to keep us from applying it to check discipline: viz. the reason alleged for not then gathering the tares; "lest ye root up also the wheat with them;" "you are not yet competent judges, which is or will be wheat, and which are mere tares:" whereas all men surely are competent judges, whether or no their neighbour is openly living in any of those ways, which St. Paul says should exclude him from our company.

* Ep. 54, Ed. Fell. † In loco.

With regard both to this parable, and to the other cited by Mr. Gladstone, of the good fish not to be separated from the bad, is there not some appearance of a confusion between precept, rightly so called, and prophecy? Our Lord says, the good and the bad must go on together for a time, but He does not say that it was His work or will, any further than as He permits it; any otherwise than as when He says, that the love of the greater part must wax cold, and that there must be false Christs and false Prophets. As one would not call the fulfilment of such prophecies "His clear intentions," so it may be questioned whether the term be strictly accurate, applied to His intimations of the mixed condition of the Church. It is a serious matter, many times, to confound prediction with precept, and it seems therefore right to note every seeming instance of it. Consider the passage in the 18th of St. Matthew; one of the most peremptory, perhaps, of those intimations. "It is impossible but that τὰ σκάνδαλα, the offences foretold, should come." If our Saviour had stopped there, this also, we suppose, would have been quoted as tending to forbid any judicial strictness in the administration of the Kingdom of Heaven: but it is followed up (and the fact is remarkable), not only by a general "woe" against all by whom the offences come, but also by distinct provisions for the enforcement of that very discipline, which such warnings are supposed to forbid: ending with, "If he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican."

The case is different, when as in the prophecy on which we have been dwelling so much, of the Nursing Fathers, a sanction is annexed, namely, in the verse, "The nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted:" or when from the tone of the prophecy itself, or by comparison with other passages, or in any other way, the Divine approbation is intimated, though but doubtfully.

The mention of the Almighty sending rain upon the just and unjust, and of our Lord Himself eating with publicans and sinners, is not surely much in point, unless it can be shown that granting some benefits necessarily implies reserving none; and that our Lord was in the same relation to those with whom He so condescended as ordinary Christians to an excommunicated person. Observe too, that in the very wording of the law of excommunication the terms "heathen man and publican" are introduced, as if to remind men of these passages, supposed by some inconsistent with that practice, and so to evince, that part of the care and love which is enjoined towards those unhappy persons, consists in treating them with due reserve. Again, the state of mind implied in "Stand off, for I am holier than thou," would

seem less likely to be encouraged by a regular system of authoritative Church censures, which would prescribe for us whom we ought to withdraw from, than by leaving each person to draw the line for himself.

On the whole we greatly wish, that this part of Mr. Gladstone's argument were so expressed, as to give less encouragement to the enemies of Christian discipline. We fear the use which others may make of his statements. It is too true, that Church censures have been practically long disused among us: yet is it something, that the omission is annually lamented in the Prayer Book, and the system recognised in the theory of the ecclesiastical courts. In the effort which is now making to do away, even in respect of delinquent clergy, this last relic of the power of the keys, we see but the natural result of undue concession to the State in former times. We know but too well the order of the destructive process. First, when substantial power is to be surrendered, people are reconciled to it by being told, "it is but an arrangement forced on us for the time: you see we keep the old forms and framework entire, and by and by, should circumstances allow, they may be reanimated." Then, as time rolls on, sober and practical men, men well acquainted with the present Church, and too busy to trouble themselves with obsolete observances, begin to ask, "why retain the shadow when the substance is gone? especially when such scruples are found to stand in the way of real tangible reform." And thus, without deliberate apostacy, we may easily conceive any Church principle whatever completely given up and vanishing from a country in the course of two generations. The reformers of one age contrive to paralyze it, and those of the next think they may as well kill it out of the way. Were such a thing to happen in respect of so sacred a matter as the judicial prerogative of Bishops, it would be a great grief for sincere venerators of the Church, like Mr. Gladstone, to find that they had been unwittingly co-operating in it.

This topic naturally conducts us to the second head, on which, as we think, the excellent author's "wish" has been too clearly "father to his thoughts." How does the present state of the Crown's legislative supremacy in England accord with the prophetic idea of the regal office in the Church? Those who were to sit upon thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel; those who were sent by our Lord, as His Father sent Him; those without whom St. Ignatius thought "nothing ought to be done in the Church;" and by whom, according to St. Cyprian, "every act of the Church was to be guided, and that by a Divine Law;" are not even allowed to be judges how many of their own order the necessities of their own Church require. The Irish Church Bill of 1833, to which in

particular we refer, has been declared on high authority* to be binding on the consciences of Anglican Clergymen, bishops as well as others, by virtue of the oath taken at ordination, that we will administer "the discipline of Christ as this Church and Realm hath received the same." That is, it is consistent with the discipline of Christ, as received in this Church and Realm,—it is one of our constitutional laws,—that bishopricks may be suppressed to any extent, by the sovereign, at the request of a body of laymen, any number of whom may be heretics, contrary to the express protest of the episcopal body. For let it be well understood, that this is the ground upon which the invalidity of that bill, as an ecclesiastical law, was maintained at the time by certain churchmen; viz. the public dissent of those, to whom by the law of Jesus Christ, and as they flattered themselves, by the law of the English Church also, an indispensable authority in all such matters was committed. They imagined therefore, that former unions of dioceses, to which apparently the bishops were consenting, formed no precedent for Lord Stanley's bill, in which the same thing was done in spite of their open and solemn protest. It seems we were mistaken; and if the state of parties should at any time make it expedient to carry the same system a little further;—to suppress, for example, the whole episcopate, with the exception of the four archbishops, or even to leave but one bishop for each of the islands:—whatever may be said against it on the score of piety or public interest, it would not be contrary to Christ's discipline as England has received it, and would be binding therefore on all our consciences, though each and all of our spiritual Fathers had lifted his voice ever so loudly against it. They might remonstrate, but if they disobeyed,—if they took measures for continuing but one of the condemned sees,—they would, on this construction, be disloyal before God, and perjured.

When such is the view taken, in such high quarters, of the actual relation of the Church to the State among us, no wonder if some misgiving arise in those who have learned that the Apostles were to represent Christ in His kingly, as well as His sacerdotal and prophetic offices. They find little resemblance between the attitude of a sovereign and parliament enforcing such laws, and that in which they should be found, if they would fulfil the decree of Him by whom kings reign. It seems to them strange that it should be part of a Nursing Father's prerogative, to cast down at will the thrones of those whom the father has ordained to govern the whole family. In short they cannot get it out of their minds, that an alliance on such terms involves a great sin, not only on the part of the State enforcing, but also on the part of

* By the late Bishop of Ferns, in his Letter to his Clergy.—Brit. Mag. v. 742.

the Church consenting to it; and they could have wished that the State rather had rebelled alone, by casting off the Church for a time, than that our forefathers had yielded (*if they did really yield*) to an arrangement so plainly contrary to the word of God.

Nor does it tend greatly to assuage their misgivings, when they reflect on that other obvious instance of incroachment by our Nursing Fathers, the nomination of the Successors of the Apostles exclusively by the Crown, and enforcement of the same by outlawry, confiscation, and imprisonment. They can understand well enough how Constantius, Julian, or Valens, might desire to force bishops on unwilling electors and consecrators; but they cannot conceive an Ambrose or a Basil, heartily allowing the claim, and maintaining it as part of that discipline of Christ, which every priest in His Church is pledged to maintain. Our Lord called whom He would, and they came unto Him, to be ordained, and as He was sent, so were his Apostles and their successors: could He mean them to have no voice at all—not even a veto—in the designation of those whom they should consecrate?

But this whole topic has been so fully and elaborately argued, that it is unnecessary to do more than just mention it, as completing the view of the Church's condition in respect of legislative power. First, those from whom alone her spiritual laws should emanate, are nominated by a power which may be, and probably for a long time will be, hostile to her rights: next, not even these are allowed so much as an effective protest on matters the most vital to the due execution of their trust.

But it is said, anomalous as all this sounds, and in some respects even profane, yet the system has worked well, and experience happily answers the objections which theory, except by abandoning the principles of the ancient Church, has never yet been able to deal with. This seems to be the ground on which Mr. Gladstone falls back with most confidence.

"The government of England has ever been distinguished in civil matters, less by accuracy of adhesion to any dogmatic and determinate theory, than by the skilful use of natural influences, and a general healthiness of tone and harmony of operation, resulting from a happy and providential fusion of elements, rather than from deliberately advised intention. If this has been the case in civil matters; if our constitution, as viewed by the crude speculatist, consist of a mass of anomalies, threatening perpetual contradiction and collision; if it has wrought rather by provision for the avoidance of such evils than for their subsequent remedy; so also it has been with the Church, whose relations with the State had for many years proceeded rather upon a mutually friendly understanding, than upon precise definitions of rights; and therefore we

cannot expect to exhibit a theory which will bear throughout a critical analysis, in this more than in any other department of our national government."—C. iv. s. 15.

Most true; no considerate reader of our history but must humbly and thankfully confess, that we have been favoured in this, as in other respects, far beyond expectation or desert; yet Mr. Gladstone himself allows that it has all depended on a mutual friendly understanding with the State; and if that be gone, or fast going, the anomalies of course assume a more practical form, and must and will be more thought of than in times of more harmony.

What is more, this answer is irrelevant to the main objection. It is like what is urged in behalf of Presbyterianism in Scotland: "Do you not see how well it all works? it has the blessing of God upon it, and cannot therefore be very wrong." This is arguing by sight, and not by faith. The punishment, for aught we know, may be only deferred; and perhaps, if we looked calmly and deeply, we should detect, in both cases, evident symptoms of mischief, bearing more or less the aspect of judicial inflictions, penal consequences of the surrender of the Church's rights. The only sufficient defence of the arrangements in question, would be to reconcile them, or at least make it doubtful whether they could not be reconciled, with Scripture and the voice of the early Universal Church. No reasoning on apparent results can ever answer that purpose.

It is said again, the supremacy of the State "does not destroy the independence of the Church, because there always remains the remedy of putting an end to the connection."

"The alliance, then, is one *durante bene placito* of *both* the contracting parties. And if the conscience of the Church of England should, by its constituted rulers, require any law, or any meeting to make laws, as essential to its well-being, and such law, or the license of such meeting, should be permanently refused, it would then be her duty to resign her civil privileges and act in her free spiritual capacity; a contingency as improbable, we trust, as it would be deplorable, but one which, opening this extreme remedy, testifies to the real, though dormant and reserved, independence of the Church."—C. iv. s. 3, and s. 9.

Now, we confess ourselves unable to comprehend this line of argument. In the first place, if the English Church is really in such a position with regard to the State, as to have given up, though but for a time, certain inalienable privileges, vested in her by our Lord Himself, which, according to the statement of Bishop Elrington and others, we have reason to think is the case, then is she *pro tanto* in a state of sin, and has reason to feel uneasy and be afraid of God's judgments.

Again, in what sense can it be said that the Church of England retains in her power the remedy of putting an end to the connection? It may be said in the same sense, as we might affirm of a man forcibly detained on ship board, that he has always in his power the remedy of jumping overboard. It cannot be said in the same sense, as of two partners in a mercantile transaction, that either of them when he pleases may dissolve the partnership. At least, we should be much obliged to any lawyer who would point out to us the constitutional process, by which the Church of England might assert her independence, only giving up her temporal advantages, and not incurring the penalties of præmunire, *except she could obtain the consent of the civil government.* Until this be made out, it really appears to us that the remedy which she is here stated to have reserved, is one which no power on earth could have deprived her of; it is just the martyr's and confessor's remedy, leave to suffer, when in conscience she dares not obey.

At the risk of seeming both tedious and quarrelsome, we will add a few remarks on one more head, which may well make an English Churchman anxious, on comparing what he reads of with what he sees. We allude to a feeling already mentioned, the excess of our Church's nationality; the prevalence in it of what perhaps may be called not unfitly a sort of *ultra-Anglican* spirit. Mr. Gladstone, in his valuable chapters on the Abuse of Private Judgment and on Toleration, brings out in a way to us both original and convincing, the fact that Nationality was the leading principle of the English Reformation. That movement, he says, "was the establishment of a national exemption from external restraint in matters of religion. The question between the nation, either through its Church or its State, and the individual," *i. e.* the question of toleration, "was of subsequent growth."—c. v. 61 "The first assertion of religious liberty was for the nation, as against what lay beyond the nation, and not for the private individual, as against all but himself. And the doctrine grew imperceptibly by unconscious and progressive deflections from the rule of arbitrary power."—ib. 62. The preamble of 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12, which act abolishes the papal supremacy, declares that the Spiritualty of the realm of England,

"'usually called the English Church, hath always been thought, and is also at this hour sufficient and meet of itself, without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons, to declare and determine all such doubts, and to administer all such offices and duties, as to their rooms spiritual doth appertain.'

"We have here a clear view of the notion under which separation took place. The nation of England said: We are an organized and in-

tegral whole, both in secular and spiritual matters, capable of self-government and self-direction."—§ 63, 64.

"That the question of the English Reformation was eminently and specially national; that it was raised as between this island of the free on the one hand, and an 'Italian priest' on the other, is a remarkable truth, which derives equally remarkable illustrations from our history. The main subject of contention between the State and the Romanists, or recusants as they were called, was not their adhesion to this or that popish doctrine, but their acknowledgment of an unnational and anti-national head. To meet this case the oath of supremacy was framed."

Nor was this merely the legal and abstract view of the transaction; there are places in Shakespeare, to go no further, which indicate unequivocally the popular feeling to have been the same.

> "What earthly name to interrogatories
> Can task the free breath of a sacred king?
> Thou canst not, Cardinal, devise a name
> So slight, unworthy, and ridiculous,
> To charge me to an answer, as the pope.
> Tell him this tale; and from the mouth of England
> Add thus much more—That no Italian priest
> Shall tithe or toll in our dominions:
> But as we under Heaven are supreme head,
> So, under him, that great supremacy,
> Where we do reign, we will alone uphold,
> Without the assistance of a mortal hand;
> So tell the pope; all reverence set apart,
> To him, and his usurped authority."—*K. John, iii.* 1.

And again,

> "Though you, and all the kings of Christendom,
> Are led so grossly by this meddling priest,
> Dreading the curse that money may bring out;"
> * * * * * * * * *
> "Yet I, alone, alone do me oppose
> Against the pope, and count his friends my foes."

Now it will hardly be denied that some of the above expressions, to an ear versed in the old ecclesiastical language, carry rather an unprimitive, uncatholic sound; they savour a little of the *fastus occidentalium*, the complaint of which is as old as St. Basil. The provocation from Rome was doubtless great; but it is one of the miserable consequences of pride and usurpation, to make those who resist them proud, and usurpers in their turn: and those who reflect on the strict bond of union, which by the law of Christ subsists among all churches everywhere, will find

perhaps something to scruple at in a claim by any one national Church to be considered "an integral whole in spiritual matters," and to exclude "the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons to determine any doubts." In fact, this exclusiveness has been virtually disavowed by those Anglicans, who from time to time have appealed, as Cranmer and Bramhall, to a lawful general council, when such may be had; yet the spirit of it undoubtedly leavens our Church, in some respects with good effect, but in others more entirely than might be wished. We are apt to think more of our nurse than of our mother, and, as might be expected from our insular temper, to be more frightened by the word *un-English*, than by the words sectarian and uncatholic. If it were not for some feeling of this kind, could we have endured to exclude so long from our altars the Bishops and Priests of America and Scotland? Should we not ere now have fallen on some arrangement, whereby all invidious distinctions between their ordinations and ours might be done away? Would those unprohibited ceremonies, such as turning to the east, whereby we may express our desire to be in more perfect communion with the whole Church, excite so much displeasure and suspicion as they do? Would not our missionaries and travellers, and the societies which authorize them, be a little more scrupulous of disquieting foreign Churches, such as the Greek and Abyssinian, by openly slighting their usages, and setting up our own worship as in opposition to theirs? It has been well for England, no doubt, that this sort of stubborn nationality has kept us, as in the days of Edward VI., from the too close intercourse which many desired with foreign schismatical bodies; but the primitive hatred of separation would as effectually have done that, as it would have retained us in communion, or at least in the wish for communion, with all who have not lost the essence of the Church, and of faith. It is curious, and not unimportant, to observe, how this same English self-will extends itself into the detail of our Church arrangements, interfering not a little with reverence, order, and obedience. In such matters, for example, as where we are to be placed in church, and whether we shall sit, stand, or kneel, and whether we will make any responses, and when; and in all our demeanour as subjects of pastoral care, many of us seem anxious to prove ourselves

"penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos:"

and the feeling appears to be respected and encouraged, as English, sound and manly, by persons who would surely find something to deprecate in it, had they not been accustomed to

take their own standard too partially from the 16th century. When one considers on the one hand, the mysterious intenseness of our Lord's Prayer for the unity of his whole Church, and on the other, the present miserable state of Christendom, for want of that unity; when one looks back to the days of general councils, and of letters commendatory between Church and Church, and recollects that they were contemporaneous with the days of uninterrupted order and Catholic consent; our complete separation from other churches will appear no slight drawback on the benefit we have gained by asserting ourselves an "island of the free;" nor will any usage, prejudice or enactment, appear a trifling evil, which tends to that sort of sullen, moody independence.

Reverting then to the divinely suggested standard for adjusting the relation of the State to the Church, it would seem that the Nursing Fathers in God's household cannot in faithfulness either neglect the laws which He has set for the correction of His erring children, or take into their own hands the regulation of the whole family, or separate at their will between the portions of it, when He has ordained that all should live in mutual intercourse; that under all these heads, the State in England is clearly in sin; and that it is at least doubtful how far the Church has made herself a party to that sin. What then follows? are we to separate from her? to become Romanists, or found a new sect? By no means; and for this plain reason, that she is still the Church, the true mystical Body of Jesus Christ, having His commission, His word, and His sacraments, from whom it is unlawful to separate in any case, even though she exacted unlawful terms of communion: we should then only have to bear her censures patiently: and as yet (we cannot be too thankful for it) she does not exact unlawful terms of communion; none of her members are obliged in any way to assent, either to the suppression of discipline, or to the State usurpations of legislative power, or to the virtual excommunication, in part, of the foreign Churches. If indeed we were forced to accept Bishop Elrington's interpretation of the clause in the ordination service; if we believed that a Priest's adherence to "the discipline of Christ as this Church and realm hath received the same," implied the validity of such laws as the Irish Church Bill, passed as it was; then indeed we should think it impossible to be in other than lay communion with the Church in England: but we do not so construe that engagement: we consider that it pledges us to the formularies of the Church, not to the usurpations of the State: and thus convinced, though we thought even more deeply and positively than we do of the Church's part in the transgressions above enumerated, it would not in the least tend to drive us from her communion. It is an

old canon, and settled long ago by the whole Church against the Donatists, that no amount of faultiness in Church governors can make separation cease to be schism. Not to dwell on the argument, so largely unfolded by Mr. Palmer and others, which appears a decisive one, certainly, as against Romanists, that if unscriptural concession in this kind unchurches a community, the Roman Church herself has strayed out of Christ's pale, since no intrusion of the civil power in England can be named, but it may find its parallel in some country of the Roman obedience, and that with formal sanction of papal authority.

What then, it may be inquired, is the use of stirring topics so delicate at all? Is it not an unpractical, gratuitous agitating of consciences? In the first place, there is the great duty of warning and protest, of which our Church herself sets us an example, in the matter of discipline, yearly in the commination service. And may we not venture to expound the second paragraph of the 37th Article as a similar protest against other usurpations of Church authority by the civil power? Be that as it may, the ministers of the Church Catholic, which is the manifestation of the Judge's presence, are bound to denounce all that He will then condemn, whether in individual or corporate members of His body: and it would indeed be an intolerable consequence of our establishment, if it forbade the watchman's putting the trumpet to his mouth.

Again, there is the duty of prayer and intercession, for the due performance of which it is most desirable that we should have, even as private Christians, tolerably correct views of our position as a Church. The great lights of our own Church, the Andrewses, the Wilsons, the Leslies, and the Taylors, have left us models of assiduous prayer on these very subjects: as that sovereigns and their nobles "may have much power for, and none against, the truth;"* that "godly discipline may be restored and countenanced;"† that God would "lay to His hand, now that men have made void His law;"‡ that He would "unite all the members of the Church in faith, hope and charity, and an external communion, when it shall seem good in His eyes."§ If one could succeed in calmly stating the grievances of our Church, so as to make such intercessions general and fervent among her dutiful children; those who believe what the Bible says of prayer will not think slightly of the service so rendered to her.

But further; our views on these important public matters in-

* Bp. Andrews's Devotions.
† Bishop Wilson's Sacra Privata.
‡ Prayer prefixed to Leslie's Case of the Regale.
§ Bishop Taylor's Holy Living.

fluence our personal feelings and conduct more perhaps than we might beforehand imagine. The great question of *Utile* against *Honestum* cannot be once seriously decided, even as a mere speculation, or in a matter of history, without producing a tendency to decide again in the same way on the next occasion, great or small, domestic or national, on which it comes before us. For example; a man has been used to judge this way or that of the conduct of Cranmer or of Laud in the several conjunctures which gave colour to their lives and fortunes: can we doubt that when he himself comes to be tried, on a small scale perhaps, in the government of his parish, or his estate, his own conduct will insensibly take a tinge, he will be either stubborn or compromising, according to what he has been used to admire or condemn? Will not his standard on all other matters, unconsciously to himself, be lowered or elevated? and that more effectually, the more sacred the one point is, which happens first to occasion this trial of his moral sense?

Moreover, there is a sort of confident exulting tone which whenever a man takes in his estimate of his country, and of public measures, it augurs but ill for the tenderness of his conscience in general: and that especially among Englishmen, who are apt, in a strange degree, to identify their own thoughts and feelings with the policy of their country and its parties. Whereas really to feel humbled and alarmed at the thought of the sins of our Church and country, compared with our many and great privileges; to "open our windows in our chamber towards Jerusalem," and bewail the sins we have committed—"we, our kings, our princes and our fathers;"—is both a symptom and an exercise of true personal humiliation, and tends at least to pardon and relief, though small indeed may be our chance of seeing an angel "caused to fly swiftly" with the message of our deliverance. The very doubt we feel so often, both as to the conduct of those we read of, and as to our own conduct in real or possible cases, is a humbling, and therefore a salutary circumstance: it makes us sit looser to a world, which at best we find is very "full of perplexities;" whereas the kind of optimism which would overrule all such misgivings, may nourish under the guise of contentment a good deal of self-satisfaction and love of worldly ease. It has been said, "the outward peace of the Church distils into peace of conscience;"* much more truly, we apprehend, might it be said, that a certain corroding care and fear about her public conduct and interests, occasioned by a deep estimate of her mysterious privileges, is likely to distil into a contrite mistrust and scrupulous watching of a man's own self.

* Bacon's Essays.

More particularly are these contemplations likely to be wholesome to persons in our own condition, because it is so very evident, as far as human eye can discern, that nothing which any of us can do is likely to be of avail, directly, towards the visible deliverance of the Church: we are thrown back, more palpably almost than ever was any former generation, upon the instruments of a warfare merely passive: upon protests, and warnings, and prayer, and humiliation, and self-discipline. We deeply feel that it is a seasonable and friendly hint, which Mr. Gladstone has somewhere given, of the danger of self-will in the *reproducers*, as well as in the creators or inventors, of a system, and trust that it will not be lost on those whom it may concern. Yet the danger, we would hope, is in some degree diminished, when the effort is not voluntary, not the result of scheming and calculation, but is even forced on quiet persons by the seeming imminent and serious peril of God's household. In all but very childish minds, such emergencies, one should think, must subdue the tone of thought, and make men forget self for a while.

Upon the whole, while we deprecate as earnestly as the author, or any of those who think with him, the great national sin of rejecting the Church, there is one thing, we are free to confess, which appears to us yet more to be dreaded: and that is, the Church herself being induced, by fear of public evil or any other cause, to forego any of her sacred principles for the sake of retaining her connection, real or nominal, with the state. The sin of the temporal body would surely never be the less flagrant, for its involving the spiritual body also: nor would the forfeiture of the heavenly blessing prove the less certain or less complete. And however fearful the view which may be taken of a world antichristianized by the downfal of establishments, might not a sadder picture be drawn, and one at least as likely to be realized, of a Church turned antichristian by corrupt establishments?—a State succession of heretical pastors, creeds omitted or corrupted, holy prayers and sacraments profaned, or modified, or cast by at the popular will; and all amid the din of self praise, and high pretensions to evangelical truth, and every corner of the land ringing with gratulations to England, on its containing, beyond question, "the most moral and religious people on the face of the earth?" This is the sort of anticipation which most alarms us; and the more, because it seems to exclude persecution; whereas the violent separation of Church and State almost appears to involve it. There is no blood of martyrs in the former prospect, no seed of future diffusion and victory: but suppose the power of the State in hands which studiously disowned all religious profession, and notwithstanding the liberal vauntings of

the age, we are much mistaken if pains and penalties would not soon be found for the resolute assertors of Church principle. The persons at least, who represent the party which in that case would be uppermost, seem resolved to tolerate every thing but intolerance, and to pronounce the Church, intolerance.

We shall be called sad alarmists: but it is as well, we think, to realize a little the tendencies of things: and we are far indeed from holding out either of the abovementioned miserable consummations as inevitable. One of the Church's best human hopes, under that merciful Providence which has hitherto been so gracious to her in England, lies in the assurance that a chosen band will not be wanting of such persons as the author of the work before us, to assert those principles, which all in their station are so strongly tempted to disown: even as it would be one among her consolations, should this evil age prevail, to know that they were still on her side, realizing, but in a diviner sense, the noble saying of old, *Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares, sed omnes omnium caritates* PATRIA *una complexa est*; that is to say, "the Jerusalem from above, which is" and ought to be "free, the Mother of us all."

ART. V. — 1. *Letters from Lord John Russell to the Lords Lieutenants, and to the Magistrates in Sessions, and to Mayors in Boroughs, in certain Counties.* 1839.

2. *Return to an Address of the Hon. the House of Commons, dated 20th August* 1839; *for a Return of all Associations formed and armed for the Protection of Life and Property, under the Authority of Letters from Lord John Russell to Lords Lieutenant of Counties and to Magistrates, dated the 7th day of May,* 1839.

THE subject of Armed Associations for the protection of life and property may seem, at first sight, rather out of our usual range, but we cannot help recording our objections to a project so contrary to the customs and the character of our country. We feel strongly prepossessed as Englishmen and as Churchmen, and whatever else we delight to be called, against this un-English and un-Churchlike innovation; and as long as we read in the page of Scripture so many recommendations of a peaceful and forbearing *manner* of meeting injuries, whether threatened or done, we shall not think ourselves travelling beyond *our* record, when we are deprecating any free, hasty, or irregular use of the weapons of carnal warfare

First, a few words on that state of things which is imagined by the Home Secretary to justify inviting one part of our town population to arm themselves against the other, leaving the occasion, the number and choice of persons so armed, and other such important questions, to the discretion or indiscretion, as may be, of his worshipful the mayor for the time being. That state of affairs is nothing new. Take any manufacturing town, and half a dozen sentences will describe a cycle of changes, in which its history will evolve *ad infinitum*. One of its phases is as follows. There is a time when every thing is abundant, excepting the supply of labour; for hands are wanted, and the heart of the wealthy man expands with unusual delight at the sight of a multitude. Manufactories are building on all sides, and chimneys are every week outtopping one another. New streets shoot out and radiate and cross one another over the suburban gardens and meadows quick as ice crystals form on the surface of a pool in a calm frosty night. Houses cannot be built fast enough, and are engaged before the turf is moved; nay, the turf is not always moved. But though hundreds are flocking in from the country to exchange the plough for the loom, still the cry is, "Hands are wanted." Capitalists then know not what to do with their money, and they who are not capitalists are able to procure money for any project they please. China and the Indies and a hundred American republics are calling for our wares. But want of hands still clogs the career of speculation. The operatives know their advantage. *They* are then the masters. They can get almost whatever wages they have the modesty to ask. And as, like their employers, they think the present state of things must last for ever, they spend their money as freely as they earn it. They cover their brick floors with carpets, and give their daughters silk frocks and parasols. This is what is called prosperity. The modern philanthropist then walks abroad, and surveys with benignant joy the realization of his fondest hopes. But to the Christian this fair scene is not without alloy. Every form of vice and error then breaks out with tenfold energy; and that numerous class which knows no discipline but need, then rushes headlong to indulgence and to sin. All however may soon perceive that this is a fever, and no healthy state. For a time thy cheek is flushed, the pulse is quick, the veins are full, and every pore is open; but by-and-bye succeed the aching limb and stiffened joint, the flagging circulation, and the chill contracted skin. Before long every day brings tidings that the whole world is surfeited with our commodities, which are rotting in the warehouses of a thousand distant ports; that nations are bankrupt, and our most prized manufactures are hawked about in foreign cities for

a quarter of the sum they cost at home in wages only. A panic ensues: the visionary fabric of commercial credit, adorned with innumerable golden schemes, falls to the ground. New built manufactories are deserted. Scarcely finished machinery, with every point and edge and corner sharp, and every surface bright, is sold for a mere per centage of its contract price. The operative is thrown out of work, or kept on at wages lowered down to the starvation point: for there are always some masters who are wealthy and provident enough to be able to defy the times, and continue their mills going though at a loss, or only a distant prospect of return. At such a time a strike would be, as a leading chartist said the other day, speaking of the projected "sacred month," a real "godsend" to the masters; if at least the operatives could only be induced to confine themselves to meetings, processions, and political agitation. The master then becomes really master. Then the wretched thriftless class of men above described starve, but of course are not content to starve. They rebel against an order of things which does not provide uninterrupted security to the improvident. Debarred from sensual excess they become machine breakers, reformers, or chartists.

Such are the two extremes between which our manufacturing towns are always oscillating; though there are many disturbing forces and counteracting media, that make the extremes themselves comparatively unfrequent, and also give an individual character to the manufacturing annals of each year. Mercantile depressions are often only local, or only in certain branches of trade, whence the distress consequent on them more admits of alleviation, can be traced to a palpable origin, and affords less handle to political misrepresentation. Again, the variations in demand are commonly not so great but that masters and men may differ in their opinions of them, and consequently enter on long and painful struggles on the question of wages, to the great loss of both parties. At one time therefore we find one of these parties in a condition to dictate terms, at another time another; but generally they are more evenly matched. As no party can attain its object against a powerful antagonist without union, so in the instance before us, there is a combination formed on both sides, neither of which perhaps is entirely clear of occasional unfairness.

The mill owners are of course, from their position in society, the first to hear the rising murmur of popular discontent; for they are the great paymasters. It falls to them to make the unwelcome announcements that the mill must be stopped, or half the hands dismissed, or the wages of all reduced, or, what comes to the same thing, not raised, in spite of a general rise

in the price of provisions, or whatever other plan the exigency of the times may require. This is a very painful office. Very painful is it to tell men who work hard and long, and yet in many instances can hardly get the coarsest food for themselves and their families, that they must henceforth live on less. It would be a painful office, even if the master obviously shared the general straitening, and could give ocular proof that he lowered his own profits as well as his workpeople's wages. But to all appearance, though nothing can be more deceitful than appearances in such cases, he still seems to thrive as much as ever, and at least to retain and enjoy the accumulated profits of more successful times: and nothing can be more disagreeable to the master than to be the messenger and administrator of privation and ruin to hundreds in his employ, by the sweat of whose brow he is what he is, while he suffers no visible abatement of his own comforts and luxuries. He feels himself liable to be suspected of lowering their wages from no other reason than the imaginary necessity of maintaining his profits up to some arbitrary standard; a necessity which he is aware will not appear so unavoidable to all parties as to his own mind.

Under these circumstances, therefore, the master manufacturer is sorely tempted to ward off obloquy as well as he may from himself to some other quarter—to direct the attention of the necessitous murmurer to some other class of society, or part of the social frame. And if there should happen to be any laws or institutions, whose direct pressure he feels like so much friction or dead weight or resisting medium imposing stringent limitations to the speed and power of commercial enterprize, the above painful circumstances are but too likely to elicit from him the expression of his secret impatience of them, if indeed it have been secret; however much his reason may acquiesce in the public necessity of those institutions, and however little he may really believe that he, or any body, would in the long run be the better for their removal.

While, therefore, discontent is a constant product of the social system in our great towns, its form and pretence will be found to vary according to very accidental circumstances; and it will be also found that the employers are not the last to give it, if possible, a political turn. We have known master manufacturers, persons of a certain amount of honesty and respectability, advocate on public grounds, without any disguise, this very line of conduct for its own sake, without any reference to the question whether there did exist national grievances which were proper grounds of discontent, and whose removal would be either an act of justice, or any real benefit. It was much insisted on by these

persons, that, not the Reform Bill, but the *popular demand* for the Reform Bill, was the salvation of the country, inasmuch as it happily diverted the minds of the people from certain dangerous projects, foremost among which were some obnoxious schemes for extorting by conspiracy or by violence higher wages than the state of the market allowed. We also remember, that the Birmingham Political Union was much, and we will not say undeservedly, extolled by its wealthy members and friends, on the ground that it furnished method, union, and a political aim, to an excitement which might else have been directed to local objects, and found a vent in personal outrages and desultory agitation. They *avowed* it to be a salutary thing, that a political union menacing and controlling the state should have swallowed up trades unions, operative societies, and a host of private quarrels, which were directly dangerous only to individuals.

We have on one occasion seen the chief authorities of a manufacturing town attempt, though the attempt was vain, to divert a mob engaged in the *indiscriminate* destruction of property, by calling a public meeting for the purpose of resolutions, &c., in favour of the Reform Bill, and when that plan had miscarried, by exposing for signature drafts of petitions to the same purport in the market place, which however turned out equally unsuccessful.

A general turn out is so painful and harassing to the master, is every day that it lasts such a real increasing loss to his trade, is so full of angry menace and actual violence, entails such obloquy and suspicion on the masters, and gives rise to so many interminable heartburns, that, taking human nature as it is, we cannot wonder that the masters should gladly seize opportunities of taking refuge in some counter irritation. We cannot be surprized, whatever opinion we may have of the morality of the scheme, to see them at one time introducing the Professor of Socialism to a population of turn-outs, at another time publicly giving immense sums (one millowner this year as much as a hundred guineas) towards the expenses of an anti-corn-law agitation by itinerant lecturers of the most violent sort, and by other such questionable means. Can we suppose that commercial men, accustomed to calculations at the same time immense and minute, and able to tell at once by intuition the smallest quotients of the largest sums,—whose very manufactories are but so many calculating machines, continually reducing from millions to units, and units to millions, should with so much industry halloo on their dependent masses of men against such a shade of a shadow of a grievance as the Pension list, for example, (which, if its pretended burden were equally distributed by our fiscal system over

the whole population, which it is not, and if it were also true that certain payments out of the public purse to certain persons were necessarily so much loss to all the other members of the nation, which is also very far from being the case, would even then, even on these preposterous suppositions, amount to less than one penny per head yearly), can we suppose these men would do so, except in the hope, nay, rather from the continual necessity, of sending the operative classes on a false scent, in order to cover the pressing difficulties of their own position? All men are not high minded, otherwise we should not call it high-mindedness; and any one who has seen starving thousands protracting for months the struggle between hunger and pride, buoyed up from day to day with the wildest projects and rumours of assistance, of triumph, or revenge, and even debarred by the bitterness of their souls and their increasing poverty, from all the offices and consolations of religion, will not wonder that the small knot of men who have to stand the brunt of an exasperated multitude should think any novelty a relief, any harbour a refuge, any diversion a fair game.

It is as much the policy of these gentlemen to transfer the interest and expectations of the people from local to political questions, as it was the policy of the ancient kings of England to save their tottering thrones by setting their turbulent barons upon schemes of foreign conquest, or as it was the policy of the popes to stir up and gather against the Saracen distracted and rebellious Christendom. And we are disposed to believe that such is the natural leaning of the English character on the authority of rank and wealth, that the working classes would never take up political objects to any formidable extent, without some countenance from their employers, who are driven, as we have described, by the instinct of self defence, to be the chief political agitators. Now this influence may be considered as *external* to the populace, as the *suggestion* of another class, giving only form and pretence to the spirit of dissatisfaction. So also may be considered all the other rebellious influences at work,—the press, and the living agents of revolution pervading the country,—the thousands of miserable men in London, including not a few foreign refugees, who, like vultures, watch from afar the progress of discontent, and eagerly snuff the first scent of rebellion. All these influences act on the working population from without. The same may be said of Spenceanism, the reform mania, socialism, chartism, and all the other schemes for the renovation of our country, produced in such quick succession that time can scarcely keep pace with them; they are devised and propagated by men of other classes and professions than those whose benefit

they pretend;—by men who do but cast the shadows of their own visionary systems on the surface of the unthinking multitude, just as eastern conjurors can throw the vivid forms of men and beasts upon the shapeless vapour and the midnight gloom. But nothing shows more plainly that the shape and colour of the public discontent is something impressed, by extrinsic means, upon the minds of the mass, and should be treated separately from the discontent itself, than the well known fact, that they who suffer most are not they who most complain and who are the most ready for deeds of violence. The secretaries of councils, the presidents and vice-presidents of union-lodges, the delegates and emissaries and all this sort of gentry, are universally men in the superior and more profitable branches of manufacture, or in some still higher profession—men, who either are receiving, or have received comparatively ample incomes: but whose undisciplined tempers, lawless ambition, and utter want of principle, have either thrown them out of employ, or suggested the hope of rising above their present rank by agitation. Whatever they have been, many of them are now living in luxury, seeing the world, and playing the great man, on infamous wages wrung from the trembling grasp of the poor wretches whom they are suffered partly to deceive and partly to oppress.*

We do not deny that political excitement once created is apt to swallow up other grievances. If it had not this tendency it would not answer the employer's purpose to create it. Nor do we deny that it will sometimes continue much longer and go to much further lengths than its promoters anticipated or desired; nor do we deny that the promoters are themselves sometimes carried away by the passions they desire to excite in others, till they are at last in that ambiguous state between deceiving and being deceived which philosophers delight to imagine. Yet we

* Some years ago we chanced to witness the funeral of a unionist, attended by the whole body. The strike had lasted for several months; and as these poor creatures could neither afford christenings nor weddings, and had not clothes to appear at any place of worship, even if they were so disposed, one could not object to their taking this opportunity of showing that they had not utterly forgotten their religion. It was however intended on their part as a manifestation of numerical strength. There were about two thousand men and women, most of them looking very squalid and miserable. Every twentieth rank there came two burley fellows clad in white calico surplices, who, we are told, were the presidents and vice-presidents of the lodges; and *they* formed a palpable exception to the general wretchedness, presenting in their persons and faces rather the reverse of emaciation. Each lodge had established its head quarters at some public house; and as the officers were always on duty, having a good deal of business to transact, and were moreover on the best of understandings with mine host, it is not surprising that at the final closing of the accounts after an unsuccessful campaign, the staff expenses were found to be a very considerable item.

maintain that the question of wages lies at the root of all manufacturing, as much as at the root of all agricultural, commotions; that, from the fluctuating character of trade, such commotions must be always expected; and that their political aspects are always adventitious, given to them, in the first instance at least, by the masters themselves.

We repeat, that what feeds and stimulates discontent in our large towns is nothing else than the mere want of higher remuneration for labour, whether that want be reasonable or otherwise. This want must always exist in more or less degree, and so also must that discontent. Any measures to satisfy or alleviate it, or to check its unruliness, must be regular, constant measures, consistent with the spirit of the constitution of English usage; and calculated rather to unite all classes, than to widen breaches and aggravate differences.

We will now proceed to inquire into the new remedy proposed for these popular disorders, which, as we have endeavoured to show, are matters of constant recurrence, are not political, but purely manufacturing, chiefly arising not from malice but distress, are in their origin questions not between any class or set of men and the common weal, but between them and their masters, —between two classes in one town in daily communication with one another; and which disorders are indebted for such political semblance as they may seem to have, to the suggestions and countenance of the higher class. The following is a copy of a letter lately addressed to the Lords Lieutenant of certain counties:—

"My Lord,—I beg to inform your Lordship that in case riots should take place, or if there should be good cause for apprehending that riots are about to take place in part of the County of , and the principal inhabitants of a disturbed district should be desirous of forming an association for the protection of life and property, and offer their services to government for that purpose, their services will be accepted.

"In case of such an association being formed, I will give orders for providing such arms as may be necessary, at the expense of government.

"I have further to request that the offer to form such an association may be notified to me by your Lordship, as Lord Lieutenant of the County.

"I have, &c.

(Signed) "J. Russell."

Another letter from the same functionary has been sent to the magistrates in sessions, and mayors in boroughs in certain counties, directing them how to proceed for the preservation of the peace in disturbed districts. From this we extract the following passages:—

"In case the magistrates should wish to use as special constables (to be sworn in and employed according to the provisions of the Special Constables Act) any Chelsea pensioners, resident in their district, upon whose services they can rely, I will give orders for their being provided with necessary arms. And if you have reason to believe that riots or disturbances of the peace are likely to occur, and should be of opinion that the constabulary force, or special constables already sworn in, require arms for self-defence, and for the protection of lives and property of the inhabitants, I shall be ready to give orders for supplying the necessary arms to such of them as you consider may be safely trusted with their use."

Such is the pass we are come to after two years destruction and reform. After every demand, just or unjust, constitutional or unconstitutional, has been granted, what is the fruit of concession? That we are told to arm ourselves in defence of our lives and properties. If this were to be done at any time, why not at the first when there was something worth fighting for, at least when there would have been some show of nobility and sacredness in the cause? Is this the golden fulfilment of those fair promises which were so rife ten years since—this the halcyon calm, the age of reason and the reign of justice, the mutual endearments of reconciled factions, and all the other numberless, nameless blessings pledged to us, if we would only consent to give certain politicians a fair trial? Not a few easy, credulous people thought that by this time swords and pistols would be as unknown inconceivable things in the streets of our manufacturing towns as battering trains and men of war. Where, too, are our friends the ten-pound householders, once the object of so much special sympathy, for whose ascription to the constituent roll heaven and earth were moved? Are they to be the subjects or the objects of this "armed association?" In other words, is it for them, or against them? On which side are they to be in this pretty little civil war, whose programme we have just given? Are they to be at the hilt or the point of the cutlasses—the trigger or the muzzle of the pistols? Our rulers have entrusted to them the choice of the national legislature, and of the civic authorities: must the magistrates conclude that they may also be safely trusted with arms?

For nine long years it has been our peculiar happiness to see at the head of affairs the most enlightened body of statesmen on the face of the earth; the *élite* of families renowned through bygone ages for their love of liberty; men of European fame, members of the world's great brotherhood of talent, who have augmented their native wisdom by friendly intercourse with the wise and great of every civilized realm. For half a century previous

to this auspicious era, they had been allowed that calm seclusion from the cares and temptations of office, which is known to be most favourable to the growth of political virtue, and to the sacred work of inchoating and maturing plans of beneficial change. For that long period they could stand upon philosophy's high shore, and speculate upon the wanderings and the shipwrecks of a blind and narrow-minded policy. They could at least learn by the errors of others, and sometimes were solicited to step in awhile and mend them. Meanwhile they cherished in the people the spirit of freedom, and prepared the minds of men for that long-expected day, when a legislature of precarious shifts, of worn out prejudices, of jealous fears and unjust exclusions, would at length exhaust its petty store, and be banished for ever from the public counsels, to the dark haunts of bigotry, corruption, and intrigue. That day has come, and now, for these nine years, the men, whom the eyes and hopes of a whole nation had long designated to be the authors of their deliverance, have had full scope and means to embody in an actual course of administration those eternal principles of truth and virtue, of which the world had been so long defrauded; " ample room and verge enough, &c." They had come to their posts like impatient heirs after a long minority, entering on properties husbanded and augmented by the thrift and parsimony of anxious guardians. They have had the whole constitution, with all its ancient institutions, at their disposal, to repair or to surrender, as might best ameliorate or appease the nation. The prerogative of the Crown has been freely placed, with no more reserve than if it were a garden nosegay, or a plaything, into their hands. They have enjoyed alike, the royal favor and unbounded credit with the people. And deep and boldly, as became them, have they drawn from all these stores. While, if oversight could still be found in men so wise, in systems so matured; if to wisdom of design there could still be wanting skill in execution; and principles so good could possibly be disparaged for lack of a discreet appliance, there has happily been time allowed to learn a statesman's practised hand, and readiness, and variety of resource.

Let us now proceed to inquire what is the last and most perfect work of legislative wisdom, achieved under such favourable circumstances by these exalted men; the finishing stroke of policy, different in kind from all previous modes of governing mankind; a model for all future generations of statesmen. We will suppose that the fame of our wise and beneficent rulers has penetrated the wilds of Scythia, and tempted some Anacharsis to cross the world, and explore for the benefit of his countrymen the fountain head of political wisdom. He lands at the Tower

stairs, and having gazed on the sages who have chosen for their representative the present wise and impartial judge of international law, he asks his way to the seat of government and the assemblies of the people. His anticipations are not abated as he passes through the metropolis, for he is accustomed to look beyond externals, and does not expect to find a whole population exhibiting in their forms and manners the undoubted attributes of perfect virtue. He reflects also, that it must take more than ten years for so exquisite a leaven to work throughout so many millions of men, born and bred under vulgar systems. He therefore does not trust his first impressions, but inquires. He is staggered to hear of popular dissatisfaction, tumults and violence; and he eagerly interrupts the coffee-house acquaintance who is kindly enlightening his barbarism on these points, with the pertinent question—how the far-famed rulers of the land are meeting this unexpected disaster? His friend replies with a paraphrase of the documents quoted above: "The minister," says he, "who undertakes the internal peace of the country, has sent word to all the magistrates to this effect—'Gentlemen, we have done all we can think of to satisfy the people, and have given them every thing which the state could decently or comfortably part with. Nothing, therefore, can now be done for them, and as we must confess ourselves unable to be of any further assistance to you, so, if the people continue troublesome, we recommend you, and all others of the better sort, to take the law into your own hand, and look sharp after your lives and properties for yourselves, as well as you can. You have our full permission to knock all mal-contents on the head, that is, if you can muster strong enough to do so. For this purpose we send you herewith, *viâ* railway, a supply of arms and ammunition, which for your own sakes, we advise you not to trust to every body that asks for them, as we hear these articles are in great request just now. Wishing you well through it, Your's, &c. John Russell." We opine, that our Anacharsis would think within himself that he might have learnt this secret of government without coming so far from home.

We should be doing the Home Secretary great injustice if we denied that there was any precedent for an armed association of this independent and democratic character, not emanating directly from the State. But the only precedent we can find is one of which an enlightened legislator of the 19th century will hardly be proud. Hume describes (Vol. 1, Appendix 1,) a very curious Saxon bond, preserved by Dr. Hickes, and called by him, a *sodalitium*, or confederacy of men, who were of too considerable rank to avail themselves of the patronage of particular noblemen, and not powerful enough to support themselves by their inde-

pendent authority, who therefore composed a kind of separate republic, which rendered itself formidable to all aggressors. It combined various purposes, viz. a kind of benefit society, the prosecution of felons, and the protection of life and property, by whatever means. We commend to the consideration of our rulers some of Hume's remarks upon it, from which it appears that he considered the necessity of such a combination far from creditable to the state of the government. "It is not to be doubted," he says, "but a confederacy of this kind must have been a great source of friendship and attachment, where men lived in perpetual danger from enemies, robbers, and oppressors, and received protection chiefly from their personal valour, and from the assitance of their friends or patrons." * * * "*The civil union being weak*, many private confederacies were entered into *to supply its place*, and to procure men that safety, which the *laws* and their own *innocence* were *not alone able* to insure them." * * * * "Men must guard themselves at any price against insults and injuries; and where they receive not protection from the laws and magistrates, they will seek it by submission to superiors, herding in some inferior confederacy, which acts under the direction of a powerful chieftain. And thus all anarchy is the immediate cause of tyranny, if not over the state, at least over many of the individuals."

It is the part of good government, nay, rather of civilization itself, to give distinctness of character to the various component parts and successive stages of the social state. It divides the light from the darkness, the land from the sea. It is always labouring to define relations, to ascertain rights, to give just method to duties, to clear up ambiguities, to hedge off dangerous proclivities, to surround danger with beacons and preventives, to mark the poison, to bury the sword in the sheath, and the magazine in the vault, and to give to every thing its proper name and outward guise. It endeavours to adorn with a gracious exterior whatever is good, to make evil hateful to the very sight, and if that evil be necessary, at least to array it with befitting circumstance, so that it may never be mistaken. It pronounces it a sin for good and evil to assume one another's clothing. Thus does it design that men shall always be without excuse, and shall not unwarily slide over the lubricous brink of error.

In these respects it is the sister art of language, which gives meaning and articulateness to vocal sounds. It is no easy work; nay, rather energy and deliberation must be applied; for there are many counter forces to be resisted; order being the *perfection* of nature, and therefore, in one sense, not natural to an *imper-*

fect state. Rudeness and violence are always breaking down the barriers of right and wrong, of peace and war, of obedience and rebellion, and other such wholesome distinctions. Fraud is also ever at work to counterfeit, to devise easy gradations, plausible pretences, and unobserved approaches to forbidden things. The human mind indeed cannot but view all things with a certain haze and uncertainty; the moral and political world is always, in some degree, "without form and void;" and it is the great office of a good government and a true religion to clear this mist, and to show things in their true form and colours.

But a strange destiny seems to pervade all the movements of those men who now stand in the stead of rulers over this country. We are under a system of half men and half measures; mongrel plans and non-descript creations; a disastrous twilight of politics, through which stealthily flutters a bat-like generation of statesmen. Nothing is clear, nothing stands confessed. Are our rulers the friends or enemies of the Church, or are they neither? Are they democrats or absolutists? Are they acting freely or under compulsion? Are their propositions the result of their own choice and judgment? Do they affect to originate measures, or merely to reflect the will of a popular party? Their policy seems but a law of confusion, an order of disorder, an attempt to identify opposites, to find a mean between truth and error, and join what cannot be reconciled. They are always secretly removing the landmarks of the constitution, and daubing the fair surface of the state with an envious wash, which makes all the colours run one into another. Whichever way we turn, duplicity meets our eyes. Are we at war with Don Carlos? Was our government compromised in the British legion sent from our metropolis to Spain? Does it observe the rule of non-interference? Are Church and State now united? Is Popery discountenanced or established? Is it accounted rebellion to resist the payment of taxes? Do our ministers support the ballot? Have the poor, by the present law, a *right* to relief? Has government encouraged or tried to suppress the chartists? To none of these questions can a Yes or a No be answered, but some new adverb is wanted for the purposes of the present ministry, with an intermediate signification, if indeed that could ever be determined. The true character of their policy is, as an old woman once described to a clergyman one of his predecessors,—"Neither one sort, nor the other sort, nor yet quite the t'other." It is not perhaps downright war, or downright interference, or downright persecution of the Church, or downright support of Popery, or downright exclusion of the poor from their ancient

rights, but something with a happy proximity to these things, and which may on occasion easily verge into them; something, which, if not these things "hath very ill luck to be so like" these things. Perhaps the policy requires for its correct description a new set of modifying and palliating diminutives, "a little war," a little persecution, &c. To this class of hybrid measures, to this mulish species of legislation, must be referred Lord John Russell's Armed Associations. Are their members private men, or constables, or soldiers? Is it a service of peace or of war? Does each body originate from its own members, or from the civic magistrates, or from the Home Office? For great pains are taken to embarrass the affiliation. What is the particular degree of compulsion, obligation, conviction, persuasion, suggestion, inclination, or "desirousness," under which the members are considered to give in their names, and still more, under which they are considered to serve? If they serve, under whom do they serve, themselves, the mayor, or the sovereign? Are they responsible for the acts of the association? If, on the other hand, they refuse to serve, is it to be considered their fault if they lose in consequence their lives and properties?

If these numerous undecided questions only produced a mental embarrassment, and left the Armed Associations indescribable indeed in terms, but perfectly definite and controllable in deeds, we might trust that, after a few harmless mistakes and misnomers, things would right themselves and find appropriate places and names. But there is nothing in which ambiguity is more pregnant with danger, and in which therefore exact understandings are more peremptorily called for, and by cautious rulers more vigorously exacted, than in the assumption of martial authority and power. Force of arms, however necessary, is still a dreadful, hateful element of the social system: but we justly lose our terror, when we see it a docile slave to civil polity, and stopping, as if by magic, at a single word, or an imaginary line, in the midst of its most furious career. We contemplate it, as we do the movements of some vast machine, within whose range it is immediate death to come; but as that range is limited to a certain hair's breadth's space, and to a certain point of time, we fearlessly admire and gladly use the giant slave. But the new application of the force of arms, which we are now considering, may reasonably recal our fears. We see there an armed force springing up, like an earth-born Titan, from the ground; from no acknowledged parentage, under no adequate authority, and with rules and obligations utterly undefined. We see two or three hundred men appear with arms in our streets, and nothing to distinguish them from two or three hundred other men, who may think fit to do

he same in the cause of rebellion ten years hence, or even to-orrow. We see there ranks unaccustomed to obedience, and fficers new to command; we see an army, which may virtually ave elected its own generals, and that under the guidance of olitical passions; we see those arms, which are usually confided o the implicit obedience of soldiery, put in the hands of that ndependence, or rather license, which is only safe and allowable n the unarmed citizen; we see men made the instruments of leath, who have perhaps been used to think subordination dis-graceful; we see an enrolled multitude, who may perhaps be participators in the very crimes which they are required to sup-press; who may not perhaps always assume their arms when they are summoned as soldiers, or lay them down again the moment hey are dismissed as citizens.

Every time this force is brought into operation, the result will show that it must either be given up or improved, *i. e.* be better armed and trained. The like has often come to pass on other subjects. Most of the "improvements" on which "practical men" so pride themselves, are only so many further departures from principles, which more scrupulous persons could not find it in their heart entirely to surrender. In lax and evil times an unforeseen emergency occurs: an anomalous and unconstitutional remedy is found, which at first is tolerated as an *exception* to the regular order of things, as a temporary expedient, in which it seems superfluous to stickle for principles. At first it is no great scandal, because it is an avowed irregularity, a mere patchwork put together to meet the present necessity: but it is soon found that from that very reason its working is faulty and calls for "improvement." That which is, to men of constitutional views, its only excuse, viz., its mixed and unsystematic character, soon proves to be its chief imperfection; and bye-and-bye it is perfected into a regular and permanent system, at the expense of that much higher order of things on which it has been ingrafted. May it not be so in the instance before us? A few outrages on the part of the Chartists may frighten even judicious people to acquiesce in "the principal men" of the district, or the persons most in the confidence of the mayor, walking about the streets and roads with pistols and cutlasses; and if the mob are good-natured enough to run away from them, shortsighted people will think the Armed Association has done great service, and will laugh at the danger of the precedent. Should it happen, however, that the Chartists are not quite so complaisant, and the association is brought into actual service, then will instantly appear numberless difficulties; a hundred alternatives ramifying into a hundred others. The first word in every body's mouth will be that the thing cannot remain as it is, and there must be some alteration.

Let us suppose Section G. fifty strong, issuing from the Police Office, about an hour after the closing of the manufactories, in full panoply and ripe for action, like Minerva starting from her father's brain. The leader is ordered to clear a certain street; for which purpose, he divides his force into small parties. Now this gentleman ought to be something of a tactician, and the officers of the small parties under him ought to have a little experience of at least the form of fighting. But how are such men to be found for an army, which in a large town may be a thousand or more, especially as soldiers are made, not born? But observe that party of a dozen, headed by a quondam cornet in the disbanded yeomanry, which is marching, compact and steady, bidding the crowds that throng the pavement to "move on." They sullenly obey; but just retiring a few steps from the curb-stone, survey at their leisure the handful of men who are taking this liberty with them. They follow the men at arms without much fear, and bye-and-bye fix their eyes, not on the aristocratical young gentleman at the head of the body, but on the well-known figure of a certain bragging minacious conservative, who is only a private in the column. Even through the dusk they cannot fail to observe his portly person, his white pantaloons, blue frock-coat, and black stock, *a la* George the Fourth. This recognition is doubly inconvenient to the object of it; first, he hears his name denounced, and he draws on his party the special regards of the mob, who proceed to direct a fire of words and missiles, intentionally on him, and incidentally on his comrades; secondly, if in the course of this night's fray a pistol should by chance be fired from this party, there will be twenty witnesses, who will plainly have seen, or will firmly believe, or unhesitatingly swear, that he of the white trowsers and blue surtout was the firer of it, and consequently the murderer of the poor foolish lad on whom the inquest is sitting. There is nothing improbable in all this, as will appear from the following very natural stipulations which have come to our knowledge. One man refused to serve, unless the armed constables were to have a military uniform; another, if a certain person, who chanced at the moment to lie under the wrath of the people, was to be of his party.

Here are some reasons for a uniform, but many more will be found out in practice. The Chartists have plenty of arms, and at present have the advantage over special constables in knowing better how to use them, having been a little drilled. How are the two to be distinguished in a dark night? Yet how necessary it is they should be known at a glance, when the very reason for arming the one side, is that the other is known to be armed already. What dreadful mistakes there will otherwise certainly be, when they come to close quarters, and are mixed with one another, as

has been the case hitherto in all the more serious conflicts. Again, if this new force should unhappily have to use their arms, and that with effect, it will make a most important difference to the feelings of all parties, especially of those unfortunate persons who find themselves the immediate authors of a townsman's death, whether they were at the time in the livery of war or of peace. There are people who would be resolute and decisive enough when outwardly metamorphosed into soldiers; but who would not easily bring themselves to any work of blood in the costume in which they are usually seen conversing with their neighbours, or walking with their wives; and who perhaps could never afterwards be persuaded that they had not committed a murder. We are sure also that the common feeling of mankind will revolt from the sight of men, fresh and unchanged from their desks and their counters, walking about the streets shooting at the human species. The disguise of a red coat makes all the difference between a necessary evil, and an intolerable atrocity.

We are acquainted with an instance of a man in a public office of great trust, and requiring also great severity, whose profession was not the shedding of blood, but who, in a case of absolute necessity, was driven to this extreme. Though he received from all quarters the strongest expressions of praise, and could be blamed by none, yet he lost his peace of mind, and before long, gave up, to the great hurt of his fortune, the situation and residence, which had brought on him this disaster. What is still stranger, he has since appeared to lose the firmness and consistency of character for which he was before remarkable.

If we pass on to the arms and method of warfare, it is equally obvious they will soon be found to want "improvement," and that in the direction of a National Guard. The Home Secretary has sent down arms suited to a scuffle, a close engagement, or a succession of single combats, such as happen in an attack on a gang of smugglers. We believe there could not be a greater cruelty. Pistols and cutlasses require, above all other weapons, skill and strength, neither of which will the special constables have in comparison with their antagonists. Can it really be intended to throw away the vantage possessed by an authorized and organized body, by making them fight with weapons suited only to close quarters?—to risk the valuable lives of the principal inhabitants and most trustworthy persons in our chief cities, on the doubtful issue of a number of desultory conflicts with athletic men, accustomed to manual labour, and many of them armed with similar weapons? A hundred shocking incidents fresh in our memories warn us of what will happen. A man of peace, whom the town clerk has just invested with a little brief authority and converted into a warrior, approaches the rioters, cocks his

pistol, which perhaps does not explode prematurely and kill either himself or his companion before the battle begins, and with nervous haste attacks the foe. He comes upon some man in the very act of plunder or sedition; and finding his words and his strength of arm alike insufficient to reduce the fellow to submission, he points his pistol: a struggle ensues, in the course of which it goes off, and kills either the rioter in question, which is bad enough, or some other rioter standing by, which is worse, or worse still the unfortunate special constable himself, or worst of all some poor creature looking out of the windows of an adjoining house.

A few such mischances would convince all, that if this force is to be kept up, it must not venture on such personal encounters, but must trust mainly to its compactness and strength of front, and act only as a body. Yet what chance will it have with its present accoutrements? How ineffectual will be a phalanx of cutlasses! How ridiculous platoon firing with pistols! The certainty of an "improvement" in this respect being soon found necessary is so obvious that we can hardly give the home secretary credit for seriously intending the Armed Association to continue in its present stage. It is true that he repudiates the idea of a national guard, and withholds the musket and bayonet. But is the present ministry likely to feel any very heartfelt objection to a kind of force which has served their cause so well in other countries? And is it inconsistent with the rest of their policy, that even when doing what best pleases themselves, they should rather appear to be compelled than to dictate?—that they should rather create a seeming necessity and general demand for the thing they inwardly wish, than themselves openly and directly initiate it?—that they should first put forth some mere fragment or embryo stage of their design, which, when people are tolerably reconciled thereto, will bye-and-bye mature and develope into something which it would have been difficult at first to thrust upon the constitutional part of the nation?

We should not think a bit the worse of a man's courage or patriotism, if he altogether refused to enter this anomalous service. He made his choice between a civil and a military life early in youth, when his mind was yet disengaged, and open to the allurements offered by both these courses. He *then* deliberately preferred inglorious labours, and usefulness without distinction. But *now* his ideas are all assimilated to peace, and every part of his condition intervowen with it. Why may he not be allowed to stand by his choice? The most peaceful path of life affords opportunities enough of learning and proving *moral* courage, and of acquiring perhaps more valuable virtues than that of shooting and being shot with coolness and propriety: but a man of trade may

reasonably suspect his physical temperament, and fear that he will perhaps incur ridicule, though not just reproach, if he exposes himself to new and untried circumstances. We are not surprised to hear of a general backwardness to turn soldier at a moment's warning; and cannot blame a man for stipulating, as we know was done in one instance, that he should not be put in the foremost rank. True courage is a matter of experience and habit. That which is a laudable daring in a soldier, would often be only an ignorant rashness in a civilian.

In a rude state of society every man is a soldier; the result is, that barbarism is almost synonymous with cruelty. This confusion of the civil and the military is always found to characterize more or less an imperfect stage of civilization; and consequently to give in it an undue prominence to the military character, to familiarize men's minds with the last appeal, to produce a proud and selfish code of honour, to overpower the voice of reason and religion, to make cruel citizens and disorderly soldiers. These evils are perhaps augmented rather than otherwise when a higher class is armed against a lower, as in a conquered country, and as Lord John Russell proposes in England. Russia is a well-known example of the confusion we deprecate; where all distinctions and honours are merged in the gradations of military rank, and the greatest genius in literature, art, or science, sits below the man that wears a sword. Perhaps also no small portion of what offends an English taste in the American character, is owing to the very common assumption of the name and arms and rank of soldiers, unaccompanied with their peculiar discipline.

In our nation the warlike element is concentrated with some slight exceptions in a regular army. We think it no small blessing that the evils of a military life should be confined to a few thousand men. Perhaps in no other country is the sight and thought of arms so unusual. Thousands in our country villages have not so much as seen a soldier, and only heard of battles. Nay, in the midst of a European war, when other countries seemed only so many nurseries of conscripts, and bred fewer men for the sickle than for the sword, war drained from our labouring classes no more than here and there some unruly and ill-conditioned fellow. We were always more ready to give money than men. We fought Napoleon's steel-clad legions with our factories, our fields, and our collieries; and sent out subsidies, while he was decimating his population. In revenge he called us a nation of shopkeepers,—no small praise we think for Christian men: and we should be sorry to see Lord John Russell adulterate with arms what a conquered foe has called the staple of our nation.

In England every thing hitherto conspires to insulate the pro-

fession of arms. The soldier of every rank must devote himself wholly to his employment. He must be ready to sacrifice all local and domestic ties to public duty, inasmuch as any moment he may be summoned to the tropics or the antipodes. Even at home he is kept continually on the move from England to Ireland, from barrack to barrack, and never knows where he may be six months hence. The army thus becomes as distinct from common social feelings, as hardened against dangerous sympathies, as clear from too familiar associations, as incorruptible, as unflinching, as passive an instrument in the keeping of the civil polity, as the soldier's musket, or the very sword of state borne in the premier's hand before his sovereign. But the new national guard, or whatever else this armed civil force is to be called, is all association, all bias, all political sympathies, all independence. It will be entirely created, modelled, sustained, and directed, by personal, local, political and accidental passions. It will thus be both formidable in itself, and a still worse evil in a moral point of view—it will bring war, if not actual fighting, yet all the hateful circumstances, the irreligious notions, the physical comparisons, the boastful manifestations of war, into our streets, our civic pomps, our holidays, our churches, our schools, and our fire-sides.

A people which pays fifty millions a year to its government has a right to expect that life and property shall be protected without being obliged to fight for them. If any persons are required by the state to defend their lives and properties themselves, they have plainly a right to at least a partial exemption from taxes paid on the very condition of having that done for them. "No taxes, no security," certainly is not a pleasant state of things, but has a pretence of fairness. Whereas "taxes and no security" is neither pleasant nor fair. A man does not expect to pay for insurance, and for his loss by fire at the same time. The Englishman pays heavily for his security from arms, and largely remunerates his national defenders with every kind of return, with maintenance, rank, and praise; he therefore expects that they should do their duty, and entirely relieve him of the burden. It is their place to fight, and his to sit at home. A soldier meets his foe, whether in the plains of Belgium, or in the streets of Bristol, *prepared to die.* A grievous wound disarranges none of his plans. To be shot is the natural termination of his prospects; and is in his case rather an honour than a misfortune; it is the most anticipated, the most provided for, of all martial contingencies; there is nothing sudden in it, nothing shocking or inconsistent; it excites no surprise, no inquiry into causes, or into the motives and responsibilities of the individual, but seems a necessary part of a system. When the soldier falls he makes no vacancy but what is at once filled up; he

is only a unit in the vast sums of war; he leaves no painful mementos either for compassion or revenge; he is remembered with honour by his comrades, and forgotten in the place where he falls; his uniform is his shroud, in which he is always ready to die; his march is but a funeral pageant; and if he returns from the fight, we consider him only spared to another day. But the death of a private citizen by popular violence is an unmixed calamity, an unmitigated horror; it leaves a gap which is never filled, a sore which is never healed, a pollution on the spot where it was perpetrated and on the whole city itself, which is sometimes felt for centuries, and which for centuries seems to demand fresh expiation. It is a terror to one half of the nation, and a guilt to the other; it is the most sudden and unnatural of deaths, coming in the midst of all the circumstances of peace, as a footstep of blood in a garden of flowers; it combines in one the worst misfortunes of families, cities, and nations. If one thing is wanted to aggravate the many grievous features of such a disaster, it is that a citizen should die with arms in his hands, himself, whether justifiably or otherwise, menacing the lives of his fellow townsmen. In which case to the above evils are added those painful questions, that from their nature can never be decided, whether he in any degree deserved or contributed to his own death, by his rashness, his anger, his too great readiness to shed blood, his personal or political antipathies, or any such unworthy feeling.

It has often been observed that an English and a French mob differ remarkably in their dread of a regular military force. A charge of ten dragoons is sufficient to disperse in as many minutes the largest and most threatening body of malcontents ever seen in our cities, as is proved every time the experiment is really tried. Nay, the cry, "The soldiers are coming," or the mere sound of a horse's hoofs will often have the same effect. Whereas the French populace will coolly prepare and steadily maintain their ground against whole armies, and see parks of artillery brought out against them without stirring. This is not owing to any cowardice in our nation, but to several peculiar circumstances much to its credit; such as the following: the English do not *know*, as a matter of experience, that an undisciplined mob *can* make a good fight against regular soldiery; they have a horror of bloodshed; they are utterly unaccustomed to the use and sight and sound of arms; they have an extraordinary value for human life; they are firm believers in a judgment and a future state; they have a deep reverence for the law, a thorough confidence in its administration, and a respectful dread of its ministers and avengers. Now we conceive that the custom, if custom it should unhappily ever become, of leading out against an angry populace a hundred or two of their own fellow

townsmen, all well-known faces, imperfectly armed, and still more imperfectly acquainted with the use of their arms, will be admirably adapted to undo some of these prejudices. The Armed Association will have no magic charm on the imagination; it will produce no exaggerated *phantasia* of strength. The mob will know exactly what Mr. Jones the grocer, or Mr. Wilkins his shopman, or Mr. Edwards the attorney's clerk, are physically worth in a hustle. Operatives will know that they can handle a sword as well as their masters; they will become accustomed to the sight, the sound, the use, and the effects, of deadly weapons; they will see quiet domestic men like themselves walking out, and coolly contemplating, in a certain probable emergency, the shedding of their townsmen's blood; they will be familiarized with the last appeal; they will learn to confound the civilian and the soldier. Instead of the stern vindicators of offended law, clad in the dreadful livery of wrath and power, they will see a number of men, whom they know individually with all their weaknesses and varieties of mind, manner and costume, partizans perhaps of the other side in the quarrel, perhaps, still worse, of their own side; men wholly and solely known in their individual and private capacities.

It is now the practice, whenever a riot is apprehended, for the clerk of the peace to swear in several hundred special constables, who receive each a short heavy staff, as it is called, though not eighteen inches long. They are most of them persons selected for their peaceable habits, who have never struck a blow, or collared a man, or done the smallest act of violence since they left school, and who look with sufficient horror at the piece of wood put into their hands. The chief terror of this mysterious instrument consists in its being painted blue, with the royal initials in yellow, which at a short distance passes for gilt; while to give it and its owner a double chance of keeping company in the *melée* a loop of leather is prudently fixed to the handle to be passed round the wrist. For a handful of such men, with such means of offence and defence, to encounter a furious mob, is of course a considerable act of faith in the triumph of law and order, and as such has generally been rewarded with success. But what can such men possibly do with pistols and cutlasses?

This leads us to that very grave question, whethert hese persons are to be trained? Every thing looks as if they were intended to go through a course of drilling. Nay, in some towns they are being drilled already. They are called Armed Associations, which seems to imply organization, and we should think some kind of *preparation* before the actual emergency which calls them into use. Again, their advocates call them national guards. But putting out of the question what the proposers and originators may chance to

intend or wish, is it not a matter of necessity that a body of men sent to battle with instruments of death in their hands must first *prove* them, must first learn to use them, if it be only that they may not misuse them? Weapons in unpractised hands are in fact the property of the strongest or most numerous party. Colliers and blacksmiths will soon turn the tables on a regiment of lawyers and linen drapers, unless the latter make up with a little acquired skill for their general inferiority in physical developement. But if arms are to be used, their bearers must learn to use them; and if this is not done in public it will be done in private; for nobody will live in the constant expectation of being called upon any evening to bear arms in the service of his country, without preparing himself for so awful an emergency by a little familiarity with his weapons. We believe however there must be a public training of the whole body; as the strength of this force will not consist in the skill and prowess of each individual, but in the phalanx, in the quick, compact, ready movements of the whole. In a word, if an armed force is ever to be used at all, it must be a regularly trained civic militia, i. e. a national guard.

Every step short of a national guard is, we honestly believe, more objectionable in every respect than a national guard; more likely than it to confound peace and war, the civil and the military, the journeyman's tucked-up apron and the glittering blade; more likely to irritate, without overawing the minds of men, to alienate political parties and classes of society, to lead to shocking disasters and irreconcilable animosities. If citizens are to fight, and if there is really no help for it, they ought to be transformed as much as possible into soldiers, in order to keep up these useful distinctions, as well in their own minds, as in the minds of those against whom they are armed. A file of armed men, in the costume of peace and trade, cannot fail to excite more hatred than fear, to stir up a rivalry in their opponents, and remind them that "two can play at that game." When two parties are seen encountering one another in the streets in similar dress and arms, the momentous differences of obedience and rebellion, loyalty and treason, just authority and illegal resistance, will soon be incalculably diminished in the estimation of the people. These armed associations, therefore, must turn into a national guard in a national uniform; and it will soon be found that they must adopt, and mainly depend upon, the most efficacious arms of modern warfare, the musket and the bayonet; since, as we have observed, their strength against a numerous and angry mob will consist in the phalanx.

Government, it is true, does not at present profess to admit this result, and on one occasion, which has come to our know-

ledge, it has refused this more warlike, though, for that very reason, more merciful, description of arms. Let us therefore follow into action the force as it now exists: for it must be remembered that, while we are writing, the magistrates of not a few towns have in their possession a numerous roll of special constables under oath to answer their summons and obey their orders; a list of persons, selected from that roll, and pledged by their own word to bear arms against the populace whenever called upon; parties of men under actual drill; and a magazine of pistols and cutlasses, which they may distribute to this most anomalous force whenever they please.* Let us follow this force into action, and see whether it will not, must not, turn into a national guard. Mr. Mortar is a respectable chemist and druggist, of known conservative predilections, but at present with little opportunity of developing those feelings, except in quietly compassionating the poorer classes of his fellow townsmen; first, for being poor; secondly, for being the dupes of their betters. He usually spends his evenings "in the bosom of his family," which is numerous enough to exempt him in conscience from any service of danger, but not yet enough advanced in years to furnish an adequate substitute. Ten years ago he was sworn in a special constable, in which capacity he has assisted at several grand processions, and been several times summoned to help in restoring the peace after the radical meetings in the town hall, just as doctors are called in after a surfeit, for cure, not for prevention. He is waited upon by two members of the town council, one of them a radical mill owner, who professes himself to be so frightened by the aspect of the times, as to be becoming "quite a conservative;" the other, a conservative surgeon, who talks loud and acts at random, and

* The Return, whose title we have prefixed to these observations, did not appear till some time after they were all on paper. As it was moved for and laid on the table of the House of Commons within twenty-four hours, and that at the close of the session, there would be some excuse for mere partial incompleteness; but we cannot divine on what principle only two associations actually formed, and one attempted, are confessed to, when to our certain knowledge at the time of our writing associations had been formed, and were being formed in several other places, and there had been several long correspondences with the Home Secretary on the subject. At the time of our writing, several bodies of men had been recently enrolled, armed, and were under drill, in consequence of Lord John Russell's letters. The following, however, is the whole of the *public* return, as far at least as we can gather from the newspapers:—

"An association at Pontypool, and another at Monmouth, on the application and recommendation of the lord lieutenant of the county. The members of the associations supplied with cutlasses and pistols by order of the Secretary of State.

"An association was formed at Mansfield, on the recommendation of the lord lieutenant of the county, but separated on the refusal of the Secretary of State to order muskets to be applied for their use—cutlasses and pistols only being offered.

"Whitehall, 21st Aug. 1839." "S. M. PHILIPS."

who is proud of officiating as the corporation's decoy duck on the present occasion. They produce the Home Secretary's wise and pacific design, and by way of a preliminary step towards its fulfilment, they solicit Mr. Mortar, as one who values public order, and his own life and property, to subscribe a written requisition to the mayor and other civic magistrates, urging them to form, without delay, an armed association for the protection of those desirable objects. In this particular interview, they are content to keep in the back-ground the fact, that the measure has been already discussed by the corporation, and warmly embraced to its fullest extent of a national guard, and that the very document they are requesting Mr. Mortar to sign, was drawn up in a private room at the town hall, by able hands, with a most careful reference to the tactics of whiggery. They know full well that nothing coming from that quarter can ever be made to appear either lovely or judicious in conservative eyes. There are, however, other rocks to steer clear of, viz., certain stirring questions of politics and religion, on which the corporation is at this moment designing to act, petition, address, &c. in the directest possible contrariety to Mr. Mortar's known convictions and desires; though it warily defers these obnoxious proceedings just for a few short weeks, till it has secured for the notable scheme in agitation a sufficient number of conservative signatures. Its two emissaries, in accordance with this apparent suspension of hostilities, represent to our friend that this is a time in which all minor differences should be forgotten in comparison with the one paramount object of the public safety; that all respectable men should agree to preserve that in which all are equally interested: and besides these arguments, so familiar to the tongues of men who have a point to carry, they seize such opportunities as may occur for a little personal flattery. They are quite mistaken in their man, yet they succeed. Mr. Mortar distrusts and dislikes the two persons before him, despising the heart of the one and the understanding of the other; with no less suspicion does he view the scheme they are proposing; he inwardly rejects their arguments, and loathes their sinister modes of persuasion. But he is deficient in the power of saying no; and has besides a romantic sense of duty, which makes him hate to be backward when trouble and annoyance are concerned. As a loyal man, he also reasons that the actual governors of his country recommend such associations generally, and the actual authorities of his town consider one necessary to that place in particular; and his sacred obligation to "the powers that be" dictates the conclusion. So eventually his politeness constrains him to tolerate the persons who address him, and his patriotism swallows the plan they propose. They leave

the house with a declaration in black and white of his extreme desire that the corporation will allow him an opportunity of putting his life in jeopardy in defence of them, and the present delectable order of things. The corporation kindly consents, calls a meeting, and enrolls the name of our requisitionist, and some hundred others, who promise to be forthcoming whenever called upon. Mr. Mortar has now time to reflect, and the more he does so, the less he likes what he has done. He ponders over the sweets of ten years' concession; he remembers what persons were the first authors of Chartism and the doctrine of physical force; and what persons he is really going to fight for: while a passing thought on his share in the public honours, viz., total exclusion from office and influence, with a plentiful allowance of danger, reminds him of the homely proverb, "More kicks than ha'pence." But he is a man of honour, and does not retract. His thoughts now very naturally turn to the propriety of some kind of preparation, that his services to the state may be as efficient as possible, not to speak of his own safety. He has hitherto never handled any more dangerous weapon than the pestle or the spatula, with an occasional attempt at the lancet; and he has had nothing to do with powder, except in making up medical prescriptions, and concocting the effervescent description of beverages. How is he then to prepare? He feels this to be a serious question, especially when he reflects that one of the arguments used to procure his name, was that the enemy possessed arms, and was already in full drill. No surgeon, he reflects, ever practises on even an unresisting patient, without a previous training, much more is a little dexterity and experience necessary for that very ticklish class of operations, in which the relative position of operator and patient is not yet admitted by both parties, and in fact the very question to be decided is, which shall be the operator and which the patient. The mayor only undertakes to find time and opportunity, and contemporaneously with them the weapons of war, but kindly leaves to Mr. Mortar to find himself and his own military education. Having therefore an occasion to send an order to his cutler at Sheffield for divers surgical instruments, he appends the following unusual item, being the articles in which, after some inquiry, he finds he would do well to acquire a little expertness. "Also a cutlass, and a brace of pistols, not hair-triggers, and warranted not to burst." The box arrives, and, contrary to custom, is opened, not by the apprentice in the shop, but by the master in his bed-chamber, not without an undefined sense of guilt. His next step is to engage the services of the very respectable drill-serjeant who attends a neighbouring boarding-school, to impart to its fair occupants those graces of deportment, which

the religious views of that establishment will not allow to be learnt by the more ordinary exercise of dancing. Under his able, and frequently painful instructions, Mr. Mortar makes sufficient progress to lose all confidence in himself, to discover that swords are of no use except in the hand of a soldier, and to be still more thankful than ever for his own early choice of a more peaceful profession. But his attainments, whatever they be, are soon brought to a severe test. A periodical fit of sedition seizes the town; and our chivalrous friend is summoned to the service, with the threat of a fine in case of non-compliance. He is ordered, with others, to parade a certain district, at first without arms, and by the time he has done this every evening for a week, he has just scraped together the following particulars respecting the army in which he is serving, in addition to what he has known all along, viz., that the commander-in-chief, *i. e.* the mayor, is a man without an atom of principle or discretion: he ascertains that he is himself No. 35, Section D, in South Bridge Ward; that the leader of his ward, whose commission by-the-bye is just five days old, is a certain dissenting brewer, by whom he has lost money, and the leader of his section is a well-known seditious butcher; that his comrades are a motley collection of prentice lads, old pensioners, footmen and gardeners, with a sprinkling of people of his own class, all like him conservatives, but none of them more to be depended on in the hour of battle than he is conscious of being himself. Not a few of his section he finds, to his discomfort, are, with scarce an attempt at concealment, Chartists, or "sympathisers" with that cause. Bye-and-bye the mob, which has hitherto confined itself to flags, speeches, firing pistols in the air, and such ominous menaces, is incited to more overt acts. Whereupon the special constables are suddenly armed; Section D. is sent at 10 o'clock P.M. to a distant part of the town to assist in quelling a riot, and before No. 35 has time to look about him, he finds himself under orders, with the rest, to clear a crowded street sword in hand. Section D. advances, and the mob retreats to the right and the left up the side lanes, from which it keeps up a constant fire of missiles. Some of the constables fire their pistols, but happily without effect. Our hero is hastily detached, with a dozen others, into one of the side lanes. He encounters a shower of sharp broken stones picked up, as fast they are thrown, from one of those convenient magazines of destruction, Mr. M'Adam's road heaps. While some of his comrades are stunned, some maimed, some lamed, some blinded, and all are thrown into confusion and brought to a halt, his own valour urges him on till he finds himself, and is found by the foe, all alone. He immediately becomes the object of unenviable distinction, "the

observed of all observers," and is surrounded. Driven to bay, his first impulse is to keep off the multitude by pointing his pistol with one hand, and his sword with the other, (most fatal unreservedness of resources!) and then revolving like a tetotum, so as, if possible, to front all sides at once. This extempore improvement on the worthy non-commissioned officer's instructions fails of the success it deserves. The mob at first recoils a little from the desperate man; but seeing a something in his movements, terrible as they are, which still indicates a fear of hurting any body, and betrays that "tenderness still blunts the edge of wrath," they close upon him; and the next moment he lies on his back, with a tremendous hydrostatic pressure of Chartists on all sides of him, and nothing within him to sustain that pressure but the magnanimity of his soul. Now we verily believe that any man, especially a fellow townsman, who should fall into such a predicament in the very act of using deadly weapons against an unarmed mob, would stand little chance of his life: so strongly is mankind possessed with the maxim that it is quite fair to make an ill device recoil upon its user's head. But we will not needlessly shock our reader with so serious a conclusion. We will suppose an English mob, rough and violent, and reckless of property, as it is, still to retain its instinctive horror of blood; and Mr. Mortar to be only very handsomely pounded; so much so, indeed, that he does not know where he is for four and twenty hours, it is a week before all his senses have come straggling in, and by the end of six months he is only just able to stand behind his counter. But the worst remains to be told. His calamity is itself an unhappy distinction. It is remembered as long as he lives that he once bore arms against the people, towards whom however he never felt the smallest spark of maliguity: and the next time the mayor, who has perhaps himself in his un-official days urged the people to the use of physical force, and perhaps even offered to supply them with "the right sort" at twelve and sixpence a piece, leaves the town in a state of riot, to which he has thus himself been instrumental, and orders the police not to act in his absence, the populace take advantage of the golden moment, and make a general illumination at the expense of Mr. Mortar's house and furniture.

A Roman emperor was once present at the combats in the amphitheatre. The usual number of gladiators and wild beasts had fought with the usual variety of combinations, and the usual alternations of success. But even carnage, as well as preaching, is apt to fatigue the attention, if continued beyond just limits; and the emperor's eyes began to wander over the crowded benches of the spectators in quest of some new interest. They chanced to

rest on a sleek and merry citizen, who surrounded by his wife and children was watching the bloody scene with an unabated eagerness of curiosity, and an unsubdued expression of delight, which indicated that the costly spectacle was really a treat to him, and a real relief to the dull monotony of his usual avocations. The man was evidently enjoying to the full that secure contemplation of the mortal dangers of others, which Lucretius describes as so highly pleasurable. The philosophic poet does not add that some minds feel a corresponding pain when they witness pleasures in which they have themselves no share. However that may be, certain it was that in the present instance, the imperial *ennuyé* was moved with envy at the sight before him, and pointing out the unfortunate citizen to his attendants, said, "Put a sword into that man's hand, and let him fight a lion." We forget the result, but the odds must have been sufficiently in favour of the quadruped, to make the biped very uneasy at the sudden change in his prospects. The Conservatives are now pretty much, it appears to us, in the predicament of this poor man. A liberal despotism has been turning the kingdom upside down for this last nine years, moving, encouraging, and rewarding every species of rebellion to effect their ends, and has now enjoyed the sweets of office almost to satiety. To relieve their tedium they first deliberately let loose the Chartist in our streets, and while the Conservatives are flattering themselves, deluded wretches! that excluded as they are from the race for power and honour, they have at least some compensation in the security and irresponsibility of private life, Emperor Lord John Russell sends word to the magistrates that if the principal inhabitants, i. e. the Conservatives, wish to preserve their lives and properties, they must take swords in their hands and fight the mob.

The true state of the case is as follows. Some years ago a few highly respectable gentlemen of rank and fashion, and another set of gentlemen quite as respectable, but rather more numerous, in the lower walks of life, had been for some time arriving at a pretty strong conviction, sufficiently strong as they thought to justify acting upon it, that the country was not governed quite as well as it might be, and that they saw a way of conducting that business better than the old fashioned folks then at the head of affairs. Feeling therefore persuaded that their own private advancement had become identical with the good of the country, they put their heads together, and by alternately coaxing and bullying, promising and threatening, they contrived by hook or by crook to oust the old stagers, and to seat themselves very comfortably in their places. At first they were a good deal incommoded and straitened in their movements by their predecessors,

who, having a sort of liking for the spot where they had been settled so long, kept hanging about, looking in at the windows, and trying the handle of the door. At last however the party in possession, which proved in their case nine-tenths of the law, made "a long pull, &c." and lugged in the Reform Bill, or "the people's charter," as it was humorously called at the time, which settled things very comfortably, and what was still better entirely settled the Tories for the present at least. The latter gentry indeed fell to such a terrible discount, that like a coach which has got a bad character on the road and does not fill, they were soon ashamed of their name, and called themselves Conservatives. This looked like coming round to the Whigs, as much as to say, "There is no such great difference between us; your principle being 'Get what you can,' ours 'Keep what you've got.'" But whatever this trick was meant for, it did not answer, or as our friends at New York would say, "they took no change by it." So they went to a little distance and stood with their hands in their pockets, waiting to see what would come of it, and thinking it not unlikely that the other party being rather new at the work, might make a few mistakes, or perhaps quarrel about the division of spoil. The Whigs meanwhile, and their respectable friends the Radicals, who were no more ashamed of their name than a bull dog is of his peculiar physiognomy, had time to look about them, and set to work. As might be expected the presence of consummate virtue and discretion was soon perceived in every department of government, and in all the institutions of the country, such at least as were suffered to remain; for as many of them were found very old and a good deal the worse for wear, it was thought less trouble and expense to sell them for what the materials would fetch, and have new ones altogether with the latest improvements. But it is a strange thing that people cannot go on long without something uncomfortable happening. Do what they would, these gentlemen could not perform all they undertook, though they had promised nothing but what was all right and proper. Nobody could tell how it was; whether it was that the Conservatives, who were up to all kinds of tricks, "put something into it," or whether there is something wrong in the nature of things, which prevents good plans from working as they ought to do; for it is not at all likely the Whigs should make any mistake about it, who had gone over the calculation so often, and knew that it must come true. It is just possible indeed that as they say, "It's wonderful how little wisdom the world is governed with," so the Whigs may have used a little too much of that article in the business, and may have rather overdone the thing with philosophy. We all know that philosophy, especially when it is

got very pure and strong at the best shops, such as the *Edinburgh* and *Westminster Review*, is somewhat like pepper in soup, and cinnamon in puddings. Cooks should be careful how they use it, as a very little does. All this of course is the world's fault, not the Whigs': and perhaps it must be confessed that that heavy old animal is not quite sound, and therefore ought to be driven rather gently over the stones. One thing that stood in their way was, that they could not get all the nations of the earth to take our manufactures and pay for them also. It was no wonder indeed that so bigoted a nation as China, that is as old as the time of Noah, and has got more and more stupid every day, should refuse to dress like Christians, and get their things from Leeds and Manchester: but even the United States, who are, next ourselves, the most virtuous and enlightened people on the face of the earth, requited our liberal government a shrewd turn for its sympathies. The whole nation suddenly broke altogether by common consent, paid not quite sixpence in the pound for a year's supply of our commodities, and most exceedingly astonished our merchants and manufacturers. To make the matter worse, they spent all the money gained by this transaction in buying up the cotton, whether in doors, or out of doors, whether grown, growing, or to be grown, that they could lay their hands upon; which they now will not let us have at any price, so that our manufactories are almost forced to stand idle. Our merchants, it is true, have found out a weak point in those stubborn Chinese, and are turning an honest penny by drugging them with opium; as also by supplying the negro nations with muskets and powder to be exchanged for slaves; but had it not been for these pieces of luck, we should have had scarcely any place to send our ships to. The result of all this has been plenty of starvation, the victims of which have the equivocal consolation of being assured that, as is always said when a steam-engine blows up, it is nobody's fault, it could not be helped or provided against, and may happen again any moment without the least warning. So far, meanwhile, from the Whigs keeping to their first understanding of dividing with their radical brethren, in case of a famine, all the ship's provisions, "share and share alike," they have dealt them harder measure than was ever dreamed of under the obsolete system; and have shut up all who wanted bread, like so many lepers, in certain piles of brick, to which the poor have given a name more expressive of their own antipathies, than of the benevolent intentions of the founders. To be sure, the operatives were assured on the best authority that this was only to inculcate that independence which they had all along been demanding: and if the Tories chanced to act otherwise, it was only from their tyrannical principle of oppressing and gagging all who showed

the least spark of proper spirit; and then thinking to make up for it by encouraging in a base dependence a set of servile, helpless, destitute wretches, old men and women and little children, merely because they could not wag a tongue against them. But still hunger prevailed over reason: the operatives rebelled, and resorted as of old to the teaching of demagogues. For some time their quondam allies tried to stifle their murmurs by promoting the most notorious and influential of the said demagogues to riches and honour, making them, in the plenitude of their power, commissioners, mayors, aldermen, &c.; but it was soon found that this was as ineffectual as the attempt to clear a grass plat of plantain weed. From the roots of every one thus raised from the ranks of sedition, ten new ones sprang up. So after every thing else had been tried in vain, and the Radicals were only worse, and on the very point of lending a helping hand to the Conservatives, the Whigs thought nothing remained to be done, but to show fight to their old friends: they also reflected that it would not be unwise, if feasible, to draw their inveterate enemies the Conservatives into standing the brunt of the battle. It has indeed, till this most delectable era, been the invariable rule of mankind, that public wealth and rank, and public care and danger, should go together. Thus Sarpedon reminds his colleague Glaucus that they were bound in common decency to expose their lives in the front of the Lycian host, at the storming of the Grecian camp; because they two were enjoying the highest honours at home, in precedence, in a double portion of meat at the public entertainments and the size of their goblets, possessing also large domains of vineyard, oliveyard, and arable, and moreover honoured as divinities: and he further suggests that they must not expect to escape envy for these distinctions, if they do not take a pre-eminence and double share in danger as well as in honour. Such was the old rule. But our present ministers, with their still more powerful partizans in the cities and boroughs, reserve to themselves the sweet kernel of dignity and authority, modestly proposing that the principal and most trustworthy people of the land shall stand as the rough husk about it. A council of Radicals and semi-Chartists is to be perched aloft in the town hall, arranging the affairs of the town at their pleasure, levying enormous rates to be spent in jobbing and litigation, selling the churches and plundering their ancient incomes, cashiering the lecturers and suppressing the lectures themselves, seizing the charitable funds left by church people for the use of distressed members of their communion, turning out the stipendiaries of the old corporation, and if a flaw can be found in the act of parliament defrauding them of their legal compensation, besides not a few

other acts of folly and injustice, and sending the mayor with civic pomp to the Unitarian meeting-house; while the principal inhabitants of the town, the pillars of society, men of real substance, ability, and moral worth, are forsooth to stand guard to their high-and-mightinesses, the mayor, aldermen, and common council, and to exchange blows, sabre cuts, and bullets with the rabble below.

This is but scurvy usage of the simple-minded Radicals. The aristocratic gentlemen we have been speaking of had fraternized with them, written confidential and affectionate letters to their secretaries, franked their correspondence, graciously received their deputations, puffed off their great meetings, declaring them to be a legitimate mode of influencing the legislature, and, besides that, had given a heap of promises, which it would take from this to doomsday, and absolute controul over the elements, to fulfil; but when the bills became due, and the dupes were eagerly expecting "a substantial reform of all real grievances," namely, hunger, thirst, cold, and nakedness,—their old friends in Downing Street suddenly turn round and give them the cut direct, protest they have not the pleasure of their acquaintance, treat them as if they were so many mad dogs, and call out to the Conservatives to come and help in knocking them on the head, and cutting them to pieces.

But who are meant by the principal and most trustworthy inhabitants of towns and populous districts? The noble writer of the letters we have quoted evidently means by the terms a class numerous enough to furnish a regiment within easy distance of the probable scenes of riot,—"an Armed Association;" and accordingly they to whom the letters are addressed, and who must be presumed to interpret them correctly, understand even operatives to be comprehended in the terms. But it is easier to say who are *not* meant, than who are; in other words, it is easier to say who will *not* enrol, than who will. The loudest talkers for the project, and the most zealous recruiting officers, are observed to be just those who from age, infirmity, office or profession, are necessarily exempt from service. The magistrates of course cannot serve, and the whole corporation is generally disposed to shield themselves under their judicial or legislative character. No mill-owner in his senses will bear arms against his own men, or openly compromise himself in this plan, though he may perhaps be glad enough to see it kindly undertaken by others. His factory, to which his thoughts are always turned with more than maternal anxiety, is sufficient pledge to the populace for his good behaviour towards them. He also generally has either himself been an operative to begin with, or is only one or two generations removed from that class; and he is, moreover, disposed to sympathize

with them on most political questions. Again, though Homer's physicians, Podalirius and Machaon, fought with the rest, our medical men very justly think themselves better occupied in healing wounds than in giving or receiving them. We suspect also that the lawyers will in general be found to prefer a consultation to a fight. The more numerous class of shopkeepers are dependent for their living on the good-will and custom of those very men, against whom the armed association is directed: and nearly all the operatives, even the most respectable, are under a system of terror, and are generally forced contributors to a Chartist, or some similar fund. That most needful precaution that arms shall not get into the wrong hands will suggest a very spare and select application to this latter class. We believe it will be found that none but persons in peculiar circumstances; —here and there a man who happens to be somewhat independent of the peculiar system and connections of a manufacturing town will be either proper or willing members of the civic corps. And who can deny that such men will, almost to a man, be found Conservatives? In one instance an influential Conservative, who on former occasions had distinguished himself by his successful efforts in the maintenance of the public peace, was urged by the authorities of a Whig corporation to officiate as a recruiting serjeant for the purpose we are discussing. He first wished to stipulate for a Whig colleague in the task, but none could be found. He therefore took good pains to inculcate, wherever he went, that he was acting only as the agent of the magistrates. But he was eventually obliged to resign his undertaking, on finding that, after all, none but Conservatives were chivalrous enough to enter a service of such thankless trouble and danger. As long as the Armed Association is confined to its first, its most unpleasant, and most dangerous object, viz. preserving life and property from popular outrage, it will be maintained, if it is persisted in, chiefly by Conservatives. When it becomes more than this, a trained militia, a warlike display, a rebellious boast, a threat in the face of religion or royalty, then we shall see what share Conservatives are allowed to retain in it.

But there is a part of our subject which deserves a fuller consideration than the few passing allusions we have already made. We mean the *moral* effect of introducing war into our streets, and that war in a common form and civil class:—the change for the worse which familiarity with arms is likely to bring about in the English character.

We will premise that man is by nature an inoffensive animal. He has neither sting, nor tusks, nor claws, nor hoofs, nor horns. Every part and function of his body seems directed to peace and

usefulness. He is able, of course, to improve his natural powers to some extent into means of offence, to clench his fists and so forth; but in order to be very hurtful and destructive, he must *add* by art to his existing means, and, so to speak, increase the number of his organs. He can wear a sword or a pistol; and when he does this, having been born a lamb, he becomes by art a wild boar or a tiger. When the additional member is once assumed, nature adapts herself to it with wonderful ease and perfection. Habit, they say, is second nature; and an instrument of death habitually worn, whatever it is, be it bow, or rifle, or bludgeon, or sword, or dagger, or pistol, becomes to all intents and purposes part of the body. In the moment of anger or alarm, thought and passion fly at once to the weapon as the most congenial part of the system, and long to vent themselves in a thrust or blow; as in Virgil's bull, which learns to directs its fury towards its horns (*irasci in cornua discit*). The body is even quicker than the mind, and is independent of it, in this act. Charles XII. was found with his hand on his sword, though in his case death was its own messenger, and he had not time to know that he was struck: from long use it had become a habit of the body for the hand to fly to the hilt in such emergencies. Thus, as is often said, a soldier's arms are part of his body; just as our clothing becomes in effect a natural integument. He feels himself to be mutilated or naked without them. This acquired sympathy or adaptation of the body to the use of an offensive instrument pervades the whole system, and especially the most spiritual parts, the face, the voice, and the carriage, which are of course the most susceptible of such influences. For there is a certain law in the habits of body and mind, like that observed by comparative anatomists, by which the difference of a tooth, or a claw, or a particular kind of food, is known to imply a corresponding difference in every other joint and organ of the whole animal structure. A man who always has a brace of loaded pistols about him, becomes altogether different, i. e. the whole of his bodily and mental system changes into unison with the adscititious organ. He alters his species. He ceases to be simply a man, and becomes a wearer of pistols. His features and his tone of voice express readiness to shed blood; just as Providence has imprinted ferocity in the aspect and roar of a lion. Hence that kind of freemasonry by which wearers of arms seem to know one another, and to find one another out in the crowd. The minds of such men retain always a certain pervading consciousness of their being armed, whether with the actual weapon or with skill in the use of it, which moulds all their thoughts and feelings. Their imaginations dwell on extreme cases, on acts of offence

and defence. Not only in the very moment of actual menace, insult, or danger, but in the contemplation of these things, they habitually conceive only one way of encountering them, viz. the point, or the bullet: they overleap, they overlook, all the other ways of meeting such accidents familiar to Christian men, such as forgiveness, concession, explanation, mental dexterity, soft words and the like. Thus it comes to pass that men in the habit of wearing arms ever so secretly, seem, somehow, without any apparent fault of their own, but as it were by a kind of fatality, to get into more scrapes than other people: a fact so notorious, that as a matter of common calculation the best way of escaping danger and insult appears to be not to provide against them. Men who have learnt the use of their fists or other means of offence, are sure to recommend the accomplishment to others, by declaring how frequently it has stood them in good service. In truth such gifts are seldom thrown away. The possessor, having always a secret inclination to use them, will be sure sometimes to feel an adequate stimulus, or find a fitting occasion.

For it must be confessed, that in the corrupt fountain of human nature there exists a large amount of destructiveness, which a very little encouragement will bring into action. After an elementary course of sticks and stones, many a schoolboy's earliest object of ambition is a pistol, which he learns to point at a tree or a sign-post, in the pleasing imagination that it is a fellow creature whom he is justified in slaying. Bye and bye succeed the murderous sports of the field, which are so strong a passion in many men, that some writers have not hesitated to say that man is naturally an animal of prey, intended to live by chase. That enormous folly, which will have been perpetrated at Eglintoun Castle when these pages are before the public eye, and for which we are tempted, from the kindest feelings, to wish all the evil that wind and weather can do it, is proof enough that the most peaceful and luxurious times cannot efface the love of violence and bloodshed, if it be only palliated by some fair disguise. We cannot help asking, by the way, in what respect does such an exhibition differ from a prize-fight? and whether it is not equally contrary to the law of the land, and under the cognizance of the justices of the peace? It is strange that the only restoration of antique usages which the fashionable world will tolerate is one which the written word of God, and the frequent and express decrees of the Catholic Church, agree in denouncing. But to resume; as another sad proof how large a magazine of mischief there is in the human heart, and how small a train may explode it, we will mention the sad effects left in the minds of even the quieter sort of people, by having witnessed mob outrages, and

being under the apparent necessity of making some provision against them. The seeming justifiableness of the occasion painfully discloses the inward appetite for destruction and revenge; and the kindest and most peaceable men begin to talk of grape and canister, besides various private devices for slaughter on a large scale, as if their miserable fellow townsmen were only so many wild ducks, or a gang of the most murderous brigands.

England, however, is comparatively clear of this sin, and long may it so continue, spite of the un-English men who, by the mysterious dispensations of Providence, are now permitted to tamper with the national character. We have not space for the inquiry whence we derive this happiness. We do not owe it to the peculiarity of an insular position, and remoteness from the great scene of war;—circumstances, which we see in the case of Ireland, only serve to coop up, and render more vindictive and bloody the two miserable factions always in arms, either secret or open, against one another. However it is, though we have our crying sins, blood-guiltiness does not yet seem the defilement of our land. Life is precious here, and is rarely aimed at either in public or private quarrels. Knives and daggers indeed, as instruments of private revenge, have of late years been making their appearance, we know not how or whence;—a fearful sort of prodigy, a foreign wonder, breaking out like a plague among us in many places all at once, with no visible source or train of infection; or as if it were a scent from the grave, ominous of some coming era of strife and bloodshed. But, judging from past experience, an English mob always vents its rage on property, and *never* deliberately murders, very rarely even hurts the person. A thousand years of our history will scarcely furnish an instance of a massacre by the people; and perhaps for nearly two centuries there has never been such danger to any individual as to make flight necessary. We know not whether we may go back still further. In general a man may sit quietly in his parlour, till every window of his house is broken, or even walk out at the front door in the face of his assailants without any serious molestation. When, as sometimes unhappily has occurred at elections and other times of excitement, men have conceived their lives to be in danger, and have accordingly prepared themselves with arms to exhibit in case of need, the weapon of death has been wrested from them with universal horror as soon as seen, and immediately the parties have changed sides; an outrageous and seemingly lawless mob becomes at once the righteous appellant, and he who was their victim stands confessed the culprit. In such cases the mob has been known to desist in a moment from further violence or insult, and instead of seeking revenge, have

thought they had revenge enough in a triumph of law and humanity. But, we earnestly inquire, how long are these noble feelings likely to last, if ever the populace should see the wealthier classes armed against them, master against man, broadcloth against fustian, the ten-pounders against the unrepresented? Could any one have thought it possible that men who had been employed so many years in the attempt, or pretended attempt, to close the long and harrowing series of retaliation in Ireland and in Spain, and who therefore ought to know how hard a thing it is to stay, when once begun, should wantonly originate a like series, open the detestable fountain of a like river of blood in this hitherto bloodless country! Let us consider what has actually been done in many of our manufacturing towns and districts. A magazine of arms has been procured, and is now in constant readiness to be employed against the operatives by the principal inhabitants and such resident householders as the mayor or the magistrates feel most confidence in. Can any one suppose that the operatives will suffer the balance of preparation to be against them in this respect, especially when we remember *where* in England arms are made, and who the persons are that make them?* By the bye, it is only a few years since that various depots of arms about the country were transferred for safety to the Tower. Those provincial depots were under the care of small detachments of the regulars. Is the country in a less excited state now than it was then? Are the malcontents fewer or less to be dreaded, or less disposed to such a precious capture; or the custody of these new magazines, viz. the fidelity, courage, and discretion of the new civic magistrates, more to be depended on?†

* The following resolution passed at a meeting of the Conventionists is a very fair satire on the project we are canvassing, and in our opinion speaks favourably for the good humour of these wrong-headed people:—

"That the National Convention, being an association for the protection of life and property, deems it its duty to apply to Lord John Russell, according to his notification, for the necessary sum for providing 1,250,000 stand of arms, with commissariat, ammunition, &c., suitable to the emergency."

† The new corporations certainly have shown but little of that ability to stand "the pressure from without," which is found so necessary to men in office, and which the old corporations for centuries possessed so thoroughly that nobody gave them credit for it: just as Atlas bears the world so easily on his shoulders that nobody thinks it can be much of a burden to him. Mr. Scholefield, the first mayor of Birmingham, has just offered a sad illustration of the truth that successful agitators are apt to turn out indifferent rulers, and speechmakers are seldom practical men. On the occasion we refer to he has exhibited considerably more of that subtlety which shines in argument, than of the sound discretion whose proper sphere is action. We know not whether our readers are likely to have seen his letter to the Home Office, vindicating his rather extraordinary behaviour. It is too long to insert here, but the following are the chief topics of his defence. 1st, That he had *not* given to the superintendent of the London police the alleged instructions to do nothing without orders from the magistrates. 2ndly, That though he did give these instructions to the superintendent,

But to proceed,—parties of "principal inhabitants" are being drilled under written orders from the mayors, and in one town, Barnsley, we believe, have been actually informed against for infringement of the act. Who can doubt, that if one side drills, the other will also, and ten times the more for having the example set them? Before long, blood will be shed in our streets. Shocking though it be, we really think it would be better for the peace of the country that it should be the blood of those who were the first openly to arm and to drill, viz. the "Armed Associations." If any of the Chartists fall by their pistols and cutlasses, we predict a melancholy series, whose infinitely increasing terms it will take all the clerks in the Home Department and Treasury besides to calculate. And when the future poet asks (*τίς τ' ἄρ σφῶϊ θεῶν κ.τ.λ.*) Who set them first together by the ears? the answer will be, Lord John Russell. A pretty employment, forsooth, for a peacemaking home secretary, a man of foolscap and red tape, to be sowing dragon's teeth in the streets of our cities! A most suitable termination, truly, of those fatal concessions began ten years ago for the very purpose of preventing a civil war in Ireland!

A due regard to the infinite preciousness of life compared with property seems to require that the means in ordinary use to protect the latter shall not endanger the former, even though it be the life of the aggressor. This principle has been lately recognized in many important instances. It is no longer considered right to award the extreme punishment of death in cases where it is not warranted by divine authority, or on such secular grounds as the frequency or the facility of the offence. We no longer sacrifice our fellow-creatures for the preservation of commercial credit, or set them against horses and sheep, or shoot them down, and mangle them in traps, like vermin, for the sake of pheasants and hares. Of course such offences against property as directly involve the probable destruction of life, partake of the character of murder; we may therefore both punish them with death, and provide against them with means dangerous to the life of the offender. Now we maintain, that our manufacturing populace,

the latter, under the particular circumstances, ought not to have obeyed them. 3rdly, That though he had not given the superintendent those instructions, still, under the circumstances, the police were quite right in not interfering with the mob, as it was much too strong for them.

This reminds us of a famous American defence. A man charged his neighbour with returning spoilt a kettle which he had lent him sound. On which the said neighbour puts into court the following pleas, leaving them to settle with one another as well as they can. 1st, That the kettle was spoilt before he borrowed it. 2ndly, That it was sound when he returned it. 3rdly, That the kettle had never been lent to him at all.

though it may on occasion be suddenly excited to outrages of the latter class, viz. those directly against property, but dangerous also to life, does nevertheless ordinarily, as a body, shrink from personal violence. During the frequent general strikes of late years, thousands have been known to starve for months on the wretched pittances doled out from the precarious funds of the unions, while the masters with whom they were at variance might walk the streets at all hours secure from either hurt or insult. The war was carried on not in the streets, but in the columns of newspapers. The masters formed an array of signatures, and kept up a fire of manifestos against the operatives, who, confusing their hostility to the same weapons, suffered themselves at last to be beaten by the arguments, or starved out by the patience, of the enemy. We are not aware that it is now so much as pretended that any man's life is in danger. Whatever one or two Chartist leaders may say, or intend, whom, by the bye, a few months' reflection at the tread wheel would soon bring to their senses, we do not believe that the populace think of arms, except as means of securing from interruption their fancied liberty of public meetings. It appears then unwise and unchristian to use against them means of defence more dangerous and destructive than the occasion requires. We do not feel our lives to be really menaced, therefore we have no legitimate call to menace the lives of our assailants. Here is no public enemy, but a rabble of deluded men quarrelling with the existing arrangements of wealth and political privileges. They are, it is true, prepared to deal rather recklessly with "vested interests," as it is the fashion now to call our houses and our fields, in the pursuit of their wild schemes; and we admit, it is not unlikely that if they had their way one month, our lives would not be worth another month's purchase. Still they are not as yet seeking our lives, and are not now in the mind to take our lives even if they could; and by arming ourselves against them we only make the matter worse, we precipitate the quarrel, we ripen hostility, we change the subject from property to life, and hasten things onward to a stage in which we might wish our hearts out, and wish in vain, that we could retrace our steps to where we now stand, and had never touched a weapon of death. In the present state of the case, when our lives are not in real and imminent danger, but only our property, it does seem, according to the humane principles now admitted into our penal enactments, that any sacrifice of life by us will hardly be free from the guilt of murder. *Protective* means should be as little destructive as possible, for even in war it is the rule of civilized nations to hurt no more than is absolutely necessary. The "Armed Association for the Protec-

tion of Life and Property," if it be brought into action, will seem at once to belie its name, like that horrid little instrument designated we suppose, *quasi lucus*, &c., a life-preserver, but which has really much more right to be called a life destroyer.

From what we have said, we shall readily be believed, when we say that we think the strong arm, or rather steel and bullet, the very worst way of extinguishing popular disorders, even at the best, i. e. when conducted in the most expert, merciful and palatable manner, by regular soldiery: like the amputation of a limb, though it be ever so unavoidable, that circumstance does not prevent it from being a grievous injury. It cannot but harden and embitter the hearts of men. It is dreadful to reflect on a general order being issued by the commander-in-chief with regard to our fellow townsmen, which one shudders to think of, even where Napoleon's legions are the subject of it,—the order to aim at the middle of the person. And yet that was really a merciful and necessary order. Blank cartridges only encourage the mob to further resistance, and make them incredulous of peril when the wolf is really come. Firing over the head is a deliberate murder of the innocent instead of the guilty. But in whatever way it comes to pass, the loss of life or limb has always been chiefly of this character: women with children in their arms, prentice lads, and unconcerned spectators have generally fallen instead of the actual ringleaders and workers of sedition, who know better what they are about and what turn things are taking, and so are better able to dodge the military. Folly and idle curiosity, or, at most, love of mischief has suffered instead of rebellion. When force however must be resorted to, there are many considerations in favour of the regular military over any civil force which could be devised. For example, it does its work well and clean in a mechanical point of view, by its perfect discipline. As the first, the most frequent and most obvious purpose of its existence is the protection of the realm from foreign foes, it seems diverted from its purpose, and used accidentally and irregularly in domestic troubles; it is not therefore, in the very sight of it, a memento and provocation of internal disunion. When it *is* used on such melancholy occasions it acts simply as preserver of the public peace, and cannot be viewed in the obnoxious aspect of a vindicator of private interest, a political or local partizan. The Home Secretary has indeed adduced many arguments against the use of the regulars for the suppression of popular menace and outrage, even in the case of their mere presence being likely to accomplish the desired effect; arguments chiefly founded on the danger of the soldiers falling into a bad state of discipline by being quartered out of barracks; as if they were a book in too handsome a binding to be

ever read, or a pair of scissors too highly polished to be trusted out of its case. He has also so far acted on these reasons, as to refuse for months repeated applications for a few soldiers, from places where the Chartists had all that time been making and distributing arms, and openly designing against the peace of the realm, where also the civil power was from circumstances manifestly and confessedly inadequate to their suppression. But as we have intimated above, we believe his lordship is determined to create an apparent necessity and a general call for a national guard.

Delightful residence will England be, should that fair vision of a national guard be ever realized! Most secure keeping, most shady protection, most delicious pasture, and refreshing waters will the Church enjoy under the wise controul and delicate attention of a commonalty in arms! With citizen soldiers for her guardian angels what new and untried paths of blessedness may she not essay! Once in the year throughout the land the enlightened ten pound householders will hold their solemn *comitia*, in many a sacred field of Mars; and summoned by turns to the mystic box will tender there, with a wise secrecy and silent gravity, their well weighed and unbiassed suffrages. There will they fill up alike the ranks of the national assemblies, the municipal councils, the civic guard;—perhaps also the congregations of the saints. Little need then will there be of that old jealousy which banishes the soldiers from the very sight and sound of a free election, for the people then, like the barons of Runnymede, will frequent the national assemblies, themselves in armed array. They will elect at once their representatives, their mayor and the military commandant; unless indeed to procure a perfect unison between the will and the power of the people, these two last shall be one. For surely the man of liberal views, the object of a free city's choice, must needs, like the *sapiens* of our ancient sect, be not only philosopher, and king, and wise, and brave, but a good general also. At one time he will impartially poise the balance of equity, at another, like the virtuous Camillus, he will throw the sword into the scale. For a year he will reign the firm and cautious Æolus of the popular breezes which have buoyed him up to his brief elevation. Justice and freedom will then be unfettered, for they will be identical with power. All will then be harmony, for when there are not two wills, there are no grievances, no collisions. If any remnants of obsolete prejudice still remain, and jar with envious discord freedom's ear, a mild yet vigorous magistracy will know when to tolerate and when to suppress; when with condescending grace to hold the ægis of the state between the malignant traitors to the people's sovereignty, and the justly offended

citizens, and when to leave to their deserved fate and to a people's fury, men, who by ostentatiously obtruding their exploded follies, dare to insult the understanding, and to outrage the feelings of an enlightened age.

If that portion of the community, whose virtue and the rent of their houses are not sufficient to admit them to the rank of citizens, should still continue to harass the legislature, as they do now, with tumultuous assemblage and words of complaint, the civic guards throughout the kingdom happily uniting in their ranks both the political wisdom and the arms, both the moral and the physical force, of cities, will lend an attentive ear to the voice of remonstrance, and deliberately decide with judgments that cannot be contravened, whether it shall be their's to fraternize with a constitutional ruler or the unconstitutionally oppressed. Such a power will be the best security to the people against official corruption or violence; and in cases of undoubted delinquency it will know when it is advisable to expedite the tardy course of national justice, and anticipate the precarious results of formal tribunals, by opening the prison doors and delivering up to the hands of the public avenger such wretched men, as may either have tyrannized over the weakness, or abused the confidence, of the people.

Ample return will that people render for the power entrusted to them, and amply will it fructify in their hands! They will learn to regard their rulers with a filial affection untainted with slavish fear; they will no longer watch with anxious jealousy the progress of legislation which they will be able at their pleasure to controul or undo; they will no longer occupy the ears of statesmen with importunate petitions for what they can take without asking. Every city and borough in the realm will then become an assembly of statesmen, a school of arms, a deposit of power, wherein the citizen may learn to advise, to govern, and to defend his country; and from which, in the hour of national weakness or error, the needful supplies of strength and wisdom will be generously offered, and, doubtless, promptly received.

ART. VI.—1. *Ancient Christianity, and the Doctrines of the Oxford Tracts.* By the Author of "Spiritual Despotism." Part I. London. Jackson & Walford. 1839.

2. *Brief Memoirs of Nicolas Ferrar, M.A., Founder of a Protestant Religious Establishment; chiefly collected from a Narrative by the Right Rev. Dr. Turner, formerly Lord Bishop of Ely, and now edited with Additions.* By the Rev. T. A. Macdonogh, Vicar of Bovingdon. Second Edition. London: Nisbet. 1837.

WE do not intend here to make any formal examination of Mr. Taylor's work, though the first part of it figures in the heading of the article. It is not yet finished; and we are not sure *where* it will end, and what turns and windings it will pursue meanwhile. We see many marks of inconsistency in him already, as might be expected in one who is rather writing against something which he dislikes than possessed of any particular liking for any thing very definite instead of it. His second fasciculus has in some points contradicted his first; and his first contradicts itself. He may be considered then at present under a course of self-refutation; and perhaps like some wonderful performers in a less dignified line, he may finish his exhibition by eating up himself, and save us the trouble of undertaking him. At first we had proposed to leave him for the present to his own tender mercies, and wished him no worse enemy than himself. We consider we understand his position in the controversy perfectly well; he has come to the light of day in his own time, as leaves in the spring; and in his own time he will become sear, crumple up and drift, as other great theologians, who for a while have been in request during the pending controversy. We had intended then to reserve him; but being not quite sure he will *keep*, we shall say just a very little now upon his first part, and that because it was our intention otherwise to notice a composition, the subject of which is closely connected with what he has selected for his special animadversion in the writings of the Fathers.

The life of Nicolas Ferrar attracts us, by all the eloquence of facts, to certain saintly principles and practices, from which Mr. Taylor would fain frighten us, by all the eloquence of words. The latter gentleman indeed is an alarmist of the first water; nor does he diminish his claims to be considered so, because he writes in a professedly candid tone, and with sufficient freedom from the alarm he seeks to inspire to be able to cultivate the graces of style. He does, undoubtedly, evidence considerable talent all through his work; what, indeed, but a consciousness of power, and a desire, like Milo, of showing it, could have induced him

to undertake any thing so difficult as the particular thesis in which he has indulged in his first number? Any candid person, on hearing what it is, will feel at once that victory, under such circumstances, is not necessary to make a great general. On such a field of battle it is a great thing to have fought; it is a great thing to have retreated safely. It is a feather in the cap even to have hit upon such a position, that is, in the case of a Protestant; for we believe it is not new ground to Romanists. This ground is no other than this, that Christianity, as exhibited in the Church of Rome during what are sometimes called the dark ages and downwards, is, in what the writer considers its essential characters, an *improvement* upon the Christianity of the Primitive Church; not meaning thereby the Church of the fifth or sixth centuries, but of the age of Ignatius and Cyprian. We have no wish to be thought to misrepresent, which certainly will be our lot, if we do not forthwith back up this statement with some quotations from the author; which shall now be done.

"What, then, I am peculiarly desirous to place in a conspicuous position, is the fact that, instead of a regular and slow development of error, there was a *very early* expansion of false and pernicious notions, in their mature proportions, and these attended by some of their worst fruits. This, then, is the very point and hinge of our argument; and in making good the weighty allegation, I shall use not only all requisite diligence of research, but, as I trust, a strict and conscientious impartiality. It may be, indeed, that later writers express themselves in more fulsome terms, or in worse taste than the earlier, and it may be that the popes and saints of the middle ages exhibit less acquaintance with the classic models of style than was the boast of the well-taught doctors of the third and fourth centuries; but in the substance of their religious system, and *in extent of moral obliquity*, they do not, I venture to say, a whit surpass them."—p. 66.

"This, then, is the gist of our present argument—that there is *absolutely nothing* in the ripe popery of the times of Saint Dominic, (certain elaborate modes of proceeding excepted,) which is not to be found in the Christianity of the times of Cyprian or of Tertullian."—p. 71.

"There is *no degradation of the intellect, no bondage of the moral sentiments, no fatal substitution of forms for realities;* there is *no ineffable drivelling* belonging to the middle age monkery, *that may not be matched*, to the full, in the monkery of the bright times of Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Augustine."—p. 99.

"I would be bold to express my belief that, if we exclude certain crazed fanatics of our times, the least esteemed community of orthodox Christians among us, whichever that may be, if taken in the mass, and fairly measured against the Church Catholic of the first two centuries, would *outweigh it decisively* in each of these qualities; I mean, in *Christian wisdom*, in *common discretion*, in *purity of manners*, and in *purity of creed*. Nay, I am strongly tempted to think that, if our Oxford divines

themselves could but be blindfolded and were fairly set down in the midst of the pristine Church at Carthage, or at Alexandria, at Rome, or at Antioch, they would be fain to make their escape with all possible celerity towards their own times and country."—p. 117.

Such is the wonderful language of a Protestant writer, not a Romanist, not a Unitarian. Let us hear him once more.

"I firmly believe that it were, on the whole, better for a community to submit itself, without conditions, to the well known tridentine popery, than to take up the Christianity of Ambrose, Basil, Gregory Nyssen, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine. Personally I would rather be a Christian after the fashion of Pascal and Arnold, than after that of Cyprian or Macarius; *but how much rather after that of our own Protestant worthies.*"—p. 126.

The last clause, which we have put in italics, we consider to have been an after-thought, and doubtless in the MS. was interlined. Bating the salvo it contains, the idea of the whole passage seems better expressed in the following statement of one of the Tridentine Fathers themselves. "To speak candidly," says he, in a well known passage, "I had rather trust one pope in matters touching the mysteries of faith, than a thousand Augustines, Jeromes, or Gregories."

We shall not do full justice to the qualities of mind, which the foregoing extracts evidence in the author under review, if we do not advert to another and somewhat different exhibition of them, which he makes in the course of a dedication and some prefatory remarks. He there intimates as clearly as modesty will permit, his own special fitness for the task he has undertaken. He enlarges upon its difficulties, observing not only that no one has hitherto successfully opposed certain "formidable, accomplished, and flushed antagonists," but that no one is likely to be able to do so, present company of course being always excepted. He is evidently a man of extensive reading, of enlarged and liberal notions, fettered by no prejudices, intimately acquainted with the bearings of the question, and taking a deep philosophical view of the course and issue of the present controversy. It is impossible to doubt it; and, in consequence, he does not shrink from attempting what others have failed in. It might indeed be pardoned, if, in embarking in such a perilous controversy, he desired to engage on his side all the aid he could, or at any rate to sink minor differences and propitiate the sympathies of others to judge favourably of his own essay. By no means. He disdains any such pusillanimous compromise. He will do it all by himself; nor only so, but he fairly acquaints others, of whatever religious party, what poor creatures they are, and how in-

competent in such matters. The staunch Church of Englandmen, who admire the Fathers of the English Reformation, for going as far as they did, and no further, cannot, he considers, stand their ground, inasmuch as they ought in consistency to go "the whole hog" with the Oxford writers in their veneration for the Primitive Church. Much less can another division of the old high Church party, whom he at once dismisses as mere Erastian establishment men. Neither are the so-called Evangelicals in better case, of whom indeed he speaks with a kind of sly compassion. Indeed he warns them against entering into close controversy concerning externals in church authority, lest they be driven back unawares upon "the dead levels of political expediency, or the swamps of dissent;" it being only a happy delusion, which blinds them to the fact, that they hold opinions foreign to their principles and discipline of their church. Lastly, the Dissenters are in his judgment quite *hors de combat*, as being far too ignorant to enter upon it hopefully. What then is left for the world but the appearance of a Deus è machinâ, or a Jack the Giant Killer?

That there may be no chance of his being interfered with in his great work, our author adds a word of advice to these respective parties, assuring them of their extraordinary shallowness, and of the absurd figure they will one and all present, should they venture within the lines of controversy. And thus having rid himself of rivals, he sets to work in earnest himself.

Now we suspect that Mr. Taylor has been far more careful to be rid of friends than to secure a foe, which is an indispensable requisite when a man is determined to fight. It is a question whether he is not even supporting the Oxford writers in one chief point in which he thinks he is overwhelming them. What he maintains, we conceive, is, that as the Church was after Constantine, such in substance it was from the first; that we cannot take a period in history so *early* as not to find what are commonly considered the peculiarities of *later* times. Now this surely is just what writers of the Oxford school have distinctly asserted; the difference between them and him lying in this, not whether the early and later times have substantially agreed in doctrine, but whether that substance is good or bad; and again, whether, where earlier and later disagree, the later have or have not improved upon the earlier. Mr. Taylor considers these additions to be improvements; the Oxford writers consider them corruptions; but the substantial identity of the two systems, at least some of them, distinctly maintain. We refer chiefly to a writer in the British Magazine, undoubtedly of their way of thinking, who, in a series of papers on the Church of the Fathers, uses language which it is worth

while quoting:—"If," he says, "the Church system be not apostolic, it must, some time or other, have been introduced; and then comes the question, *when?* We maintain, that the known circumstances of the previous history are such *as to preclude the possibility of any time being assigned, ever so close upon the Apostles, at which it did not exist.* Not only cannot a time be shown when the free-and-easy system now in fashion did generally exist, but *no time* can be shown in which there is not evidence of the existence of the Church system."—*Brit. Mag.* vol. x. p. 282. And what the writer *includes* in the Church system is quite plain a little further on. Speaking of Origen as persecuted in his day by his bishop, and condemned as heterodox afterwards, he says, "here is a man who was persecuted by his bishop, and driven out of his country; and whose name after his death has been dishonourably mentioned both by councils and fathers. He surely was not in the episcopal conspiracy at least; and perchance may give the Latitudinarian, the Anabaptist, the Erastian, and the Utilitarian some countenance. Far from it; he is as high and as keen, as removed from softness and mawkishness, as *ascetic* and as reverential, as any bishop among them. He is as *superstitious*, as men now talk, as *fanatical*, as *formal*, as *Athanasius* or *Augustine*." The more clearly then Mr. Taylor proves a substantial agreement in doctrine between the respective ages of Ignatius, Cyprian, Ambrose, Pope Gregory, Hildebrand, and Bernard, the better he seems likely to please such writers as this; and if he is eager for controversy with them, it is a pity he has not taken the other side. As it is, however, he comes into direct collision with Mr. Faber and other respected divines of a different school, who draw a line between the creeds of the second and fifth centuries; and doubtless he will have cause to repent his temerity.

We will notice in passing another mistake committed by our author, if he wanted to reach the parties at whom he aims. In order to disparage the ancient system of doctrine and ordinance, he attempts to depreciate the character of certain ancient writers. Now, if there is one thing more than another on which his opponents have insisted it is this: that they did not rest their cause on individuals, however eminent, and had no need to do so; that Catholicism was an historical *fact*, like any other historical fact, not a creed such as the Lutheran or Calvinistic, originating in this or that teacher, or in any conspiracy of teachers. If our author wished really to engage with them, he ought to have joined issue on this point; and before writing against the Fathers, to have shown, what many others have asserted, but

which he is too sharp-sighted to undertake, that the Catholic system was a gradual corruption *through* the Fathers.

And now as to his attack on the Fathers itself. The point he has selected is the view entertained in the early Church respecting celibacy, as being in itself, when religiously used, a higher state of life than the married state; and this as regards Christians in general, not concerning the clergy in particular. The evil of this doctrine having been made apparent, next he would maintain, that from the very earliest times, indeed from the very age of the Apostles, "The notions and practices connected with the superlative merit of religious celibacy, were at once the causes and the effects of errors in theology, of perverted moral sentiments, of superstitious usages, of hierarchical usurpations:" and that the attendant abuses of this system were nearly or quite as flagrant in early as in later times. The line of argument which he pursues is this. He quotes passages in which the honour of celibacy is glowingly declared, and rules laid down for the guidance of persons devoted to it, in their conduct in the plain practical matters of dress, conversation, places of resort, and the like. He also quotes passages reprehensive, in very strong terms, of irregularities in these particulars in the case of parties so circumstanced. It would seem too, that in some cases the most serious guilt was incurred by these persons; and therefore, as the author of Ancient Christianity appears to argue, it was quite common among them. However, not to insist upon minor defects of reasoning, an argument is raised upon the foregoing foundation, in substance something like the following. The most ancient Christian writers are clear in their praise of celibacy above the married state—persons endeavouring to keep themselves in this estate fell, nevertheless, into grievous sins contrary to their profession; therefore those sins were caused by that opinion. Let us illustrate this reasoning. The commandment says,—Thou shalt not steal: many persons, under vow too, to keep that commandment, nevertheless break it, therefore the command is to be blamed as the cause of their sin. St. Paul puts the matter in a different point of view: "Is the law sin?" he says, "Was that which is good made death unto me?—God forbid." Yet he grants, "I had not known sin, but by the law." Or to take a case exactly apposite concerning another "counsel of perfection," not binding, but yet recommended by apostolic practice. St. Barnabas and others placed the whole of their private fortunes at the disposal of the Apostles. To emulate the honour of their self-denying charity, and to gain credit for what in their hearts they did not purpose, Ananias and Sapphira made a false pretence of so devoting their property. Therefore the

example of St. Barnabas and others was the cause of the great sin of their brethren.

Another equally felicitous mode of drawing conclusions, on which great stress is laid by Mr. Taylor, is the following. Passages are quoted, in which persons, resolved to abide in the celibate, are cautioned about love of dress, against entering gay society, and taking part in light conversations. From these it is inferred, what bad sort of people, how inclined to break loose, must they have been who needed to be seriously and earnestly warned on such points.* For instance, what very ill disposed people the Ephesian Christians must have been, since St. Paul warns them as he does at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth chapters; what bad bishops must have been in St. Paul's day, considering his twice repeated injunction, that a bishop should be not "given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre!" The Apostle is actually obliged to charge Timothy not to elect a drunkard, a brawler, or covetous person to the office; which he would never have done had he not observed instances of the kind among his brethren, or at any rate a strong inclination to them.

The truth is, there is an open undisguised plainness, a searching truth and severity, in the writings of the Fathers upon all points of morals, which does offend readers; and which requires some painful reflection and self-humiliation rightly to understand and apply. At first we may be inclined to think that we are more refined and pure than they were, afterwards we may come to see, that what crossed us as tokens of greater refinement and purity in our age, are in truth symptoms of the very opposite character of mind. Surely it might be well had we a Cyprian in our age to write a tract "de habitu virginum." Look into one of the modern novels which are praised for the just notion they give of fashionable society, its words and ways, and will it be affirmed that such words and ways are suitable for maidens to have part in? Or look into a modern ball room, and what candid person will say, that there is nothing in the dress of those who give it its brilliancy and life unbecoming Christian maidens, no desire of admiration in drawing the eyes of men, unbecoming in itself, more unbecoming still in the means employed? "It seems," says the excellent Hammond, "a piece of Christian chastity there is required of women in this kind, that is not generally thought of." And if this is so in general, how much more does it become a duty in those who purpose in their own minds to continue single, in the hope that they may in that state better serve God, and please Him more?

* *Vide* p. 76, 80.

The author of Ancient Christianity, however, seems to think that persons can be chaste and pure without vigilance and effort; and that the primitive Christians evidently were impure, because they took precautions against impurity. Religious obedience can only be learnt by little things: practical precepts must descend to details; yet the writer in question can bear to be ironical and jocose upon the Fathers, because they used "plainness of speech," like men in earnest, and he thinks he better respects "every pure and manly feeling which shall belong to one who is himself a husband and a father," by talking in a light way both of criminality and of the measures employed for preventing and for punishing it. Unchaste women he calls "loose ladies;" a bishop's solemn trial of suspected parties, he calls "gaining warranty to religious character from the report of the obstetrix;" (p. 74.) Because Christian writers, imbued with the Scriptures, are led to inculcate purity by the example of St. Mary, he calls her "this Cybele of the Fathers," (p. 86), and describes one of them as "a most gallant admirer of the Queen of heaven;" (p. 85.) Even Gibbon, amid his sneers against the early Christians, at the lapses of some through vain confidence of their strength, allows the purity of their lives in general; but they meet with less indulgence from the hands of a professed brother. However, Mr. Taylor, as we have hinted above, is not always reconcilable with himself; and it may be as well to notice, before we turn from him, some of the inconsistencies into which his flowing pen has betrayed him. In spite of his bad opinion of the morals of the early Christians, he speaks of them in one place as follows:—

"Our brethren of the early Church may well challenge our respect as well as affection, for theirs was the fervour of a steady faith in things unseen and eternal; theirs a meek patience and humility, under the most grievous wrongs; theirs the courage to maintain a good profession before the frowning face of philosophy, of secular tyranny, and of splendid superstition; theirs was abstractedness from the world, and a painful self-denial; theirs the most arduous and costly labours of love; theirs a munificence in charity altogether without example; theirs was a reverent and scrupulous care for the sacred writings. * * * * * While the near coming of their Lord was firmly expected, and while nothing had happened of which He had not given His people an intimation, then, and during that fresh morning hour of the Church, there belonged to the followers of Christ generally, a fulness of faith in the realities of the unseen world, such as, in later ages, has been reached only by a very few eminent and meditative individuals;—the thousands then felt a persuasion, which now is felt only by the two or three."

Now, who would believe that men who so *lived up* to the primitive truth, which they had received from Apostles and apostolic

men, should, nevertheless, have drifted off from that very truth without being themselves aware of it, and without any being raised up by God's providence to recall them from their error? That all at once there started up in all parts of the Church this full grown corruption, which he considers their notions to be on the subject of celibacy? Yet *audi alteram partem.*

"I boldly say, that Popery, *foul as it is*, and ever has been, in the mass, might yet fairly represent itself as a *reform* upon *early* Christianity."—p. 79.

But perhaps our author is here reprobating the primitive *system*, and would fairly allow the *men* were much better than their system, and good in spite of their evil opinions. Well, let us try again. We have quoted successively page 38 and page 79, let us see what we find in page 60, half way between the two.

"If it were allowed, which I think it must be, that some periods have very far excelled others in *piety* and wisdom, I should still demur to the allegation, that the era immediately following the death of the apostles can claim any such pre-eminence. Nay, I am compelled to say, that the general impression left upon my mind by the actual evidence, is *altogether of a contrary kind.*"

One more specimen and we have done.

"I shall, as I confidently hope, succeed in affording the most convincing proof of the fact, that the Christian teachers, *from the very first,*" (the italics are his own) "while they held the formal elements of truth, or, as it is called, orthodoxy, grossly misapprehended the genius and purport of Christianity; and as a consequence of this misapprehension, turned out of its course every Christian institute, and *put on a false foundation every principle of virtue:* and thus transmuted the Christian system into a scheme, which could find no other fixed form than that of a *foul superstition* and a *lawless despotism.*" (P. 123.)

Are we not justified in the anticipation which we have already expressed, that this writer may in due time finish his performance by the brilliant feat, sometimes advertised on the bills of less intellectual artists, of swallowing himself, and so ridding us of the trouble and disgust of closing with him in so odious a controversy?

It is indeed pleasant to turn from him to a work of a very different description, and which affords a practical answer to his loose and vulgar merriment on the subject of virginity, better than any of those which logic or learning can supply. This writer will find he has arrayed against him not only the whole ancient Church, but he must also number among his opponents some of the best and most revered names in our own: nay, that among moderns too he must make account to find opponents

besides the Oxford writers, whom he singles out—men, like the editor of the excellent piece of biography to which we are about to call attention, whom independent thought and reading will not suffer to acquiesce in the shallow views of these nineteenth-century men.

Nicholas Ferrar, the subject of this little memoir, was one of the most remarkable men of his age. He was the son of a wealthy London merchant, and born in 1592. At as early an age as six, not only his great talents, but his deep religious feelings became very observable. Blessed with excellent parents, particularly a mother of rare understanding and piety, none of these beginnings were let fall to the ground, or wanted careful attention. They were also eminently successful in their choice of a school for him; and in his thirteenth year his master, declaring him "more than ripe for the University," accompanied him to Cambridge and settled him at Clare Hall. In 1610 he was unanimously chosen fellow. So well known were his attainments and character by that time, that Dr. Lindsell, his tutor, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, was wont to exclaim "May God keep him in his right mind! for if he should turn schismatic or heretic, he would make work for all the world. Such a head! such power of argument! such a tongue! such a pen! such a memory withal he hath, with indefatigable pains, that all these joined together, I know not who would be able to contend with him!" His health at this time was so delicate, that, by advice of physicians, he was recommended to travel abroad, as the only means of preserving his life. He travelled in Holland, Germany, Italy, and Spain. Wherever he went his active mind found subjects of interest and inquiry. Not only such general subjects as language, government, manners, and the state of religion, but the strength of fortresses, magnitude of arsenals and magazines, trade, commerce, revenues, expense of garrisons and navies, system of ship-building, on all these he was curious in collecting information. Painters, weavers, dyers, smiths, and other mechanics were much at his lodgings, and he entered eagerly into details of their craft, so completely did he throw himself into all practical matters of real life. How thorough a man of business he was is shown in the following particulars of his life. His travels were suddenly cut short by news which reached him in Spain of great pecuniary embarrassments in which his father was involved. He hastened home, and by his able management the affairs of the house were honourably and successfully arranged. At this time also, through his father, he became interested in the affairs of a company formed for the colonization of Virginia and conversion of the natives. Many of the nobility and leading merchants were

promoters of this scheme, but the conduct of the whole details of the company's business gradually came under Ferrar's management. He drew up the letters of instruction for the government and trade of the colony, which having been examined by the Privy Council, before which certain accusations were laid against the company by the Lord Treasurer Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, and other powerful persons, received the commendation of many there "for their soundness of matter with respect both to religion and policy, and for their uncommon elegance of language." Even down to the victualling and equipment of the company's ships he was manager. In the year 1624, he was elected member of the House of Commons. And when, in that session, the Earl of Middlesex was impeached, Ferrar, with Lord Cavendish and Sir Edwin Sandys, were ordered by the House to draw up the charge, and Mr. Ferrar was deputed to bring it in. He used to reproach himself afterwards much for his active part in this transaction, as it was known to be against the wishes of the king, and because also of some free speeches, made, as it would seem, by him against the will of his prince; so much so, that he was heard to say, stretching out his right hand, "I would I were assured of the pardon of that sin, though on the condition that this hand were cut off." Perhaps this regret hastened a resolution he had made some time before. This he executed in the following year, retiring with his mother and her children, grand-children, and other near relations, to an estate which she had purchased at Little Gidding, near Huntingdon, and passing the remainder of his life in a monastic seclusion, and almost exclusively given to devotional exercises. He began at once with a regular course, at Church and in the house, dividing the family into parties for the performance of the domestic services. They were in all about forty persons, "of whom above twenty were so descended from Mrs. Ferrar, that they kneeled to her morning and evening for her blessing."

Mr. Ferrar obtained leave of the bishop of the diocese, in consideration of the plague still raging, to use the Litany every day in the Church; and having once introduced it he had licence to retain it after the plague. They had three distinct daily services. Besides this, each hour of the day had a certain proportion of Psalms allotted to be said in it, by some part or division in the family: so that the whole Psalter was duly and devoutly said over by them, verse by verse, interchangeably, within the compass of the twenty-four hours. These household services for the different hours were so framed that the collect, the Psalm, the Gospel and all, lasted but a quarter of an hour. This system was commenced in the summer of 1625.

A little before Whitsuntide in the following year, Mr. Ferrar went to London with his mother for some settlement of their affairs, and on Trinity Sunday he was ordained deacon by Bishop Laud, being presented by his former college tutor, Dr. Lindsell, "by whom the bishop was prepared to receive him with tokens of particular esteem, and with a great deal of joy that he was to lay hands on so extraordinary a person:" his purpose being, as he told his mother when he returned home to her in the evening, to separate himself to serve God in this holy calling, namely, to be the Levite himself in his own house, and to make his own relations, who were many, his cure of souls."

Here then we have a person from his earliest years distinguished for remarkable piety—no fanatic—not disorderly in his zeal, for his biographer records of him, that while at Cambridge (under 20 years of age be it remembered), judgment and discretion were qualities he possessed in a more transcendent degree, his age considered, than any one of his other eminent virtues—with a most powerful mind and prodigious industry—born to a plentiful fortune—one, who had seen the world far more than most of his day—keen in his desire for knowledge upon the most various subjects—moving in good society—a member of parliament, with considerable reputation in the political world—a person in no way disposed to be eccentric, but conforming, in things indifferent, to the ways of those among whom he lived, and, which is also to be observed, a person of very rare modesty and humility, and devotedly attached to the Church of England; we see such a person deliberately resolving in the prime of life to continue in celibacy, and retire from the world as a higher line than that from which he withdrew. Nor was this resolution hastily adopted or formed upon some sudden impulse. There is proof that he had determined upon it some years before. A rich merchant, one of his brother directors in the Virginian Company, who had an only daughter (who is described by the Bishop of Ely, his biographer, as "a very agreeable person, and a great fortune withal"), became so attached to Ferrar that he quite courted him for her, and when he still pressed him, after Ferrar had endeavoured playfully to turn off the subject, he at last told him, that his resolution was "not to marry at all." His intention to form his family into a kind of monastic society appears also in this, which the bishop, his biographer, has recorded, that "the habit of the young women was a black stuff, all of one grave fashion, and always the same." Thus we have Ferrar's own view pretty clearly marked as to the celibate, and the accordance of societies of a monastic character with the genius of our Church.

But we may next look to the opinion of churchmen of his day

concerning this experiment, for that it would be much canvassed and discussed may be conceived, were it only from Ferrar's extensive acquaintance, and his intimacy with some of the leading men of the day. For, conceive in our time, if a young man well known for his great abilities, and industry, and success, of high character during his university career, of independent fortune, a member of parliament, to whom many looked as likely to hold a distinguished place in the councils of the state, in case of a change in the government,—conceive if he were to put in execution such a design as Ferrar's; would it not be the talk of the day, a subject for articles in newspapers? Would not all sorts of reports, always exaggerated, be spread about his proceedings? Would not clergy, and thoughtful laymen who attend the London Religious Societies be quite alive and aghast at the news? Yet about nine months after Ferrar had followed this system—quite time enough for news of all to travel to London, without losing any thing on the road—he was ordained by Bishop Laud, who expressed singular satisfaction thereat, and Ferrar was introduced by Lindsell, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough. Here then is the testimony of two bishops. We may add Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, his diocesan and visitor of the little academy, who gave him his company at Gidding several times, and highly approved their order and manner of living. And, on one occasion, at his departure gave them all his paternal benediction, and affectionately embracing Mr. Ferrar, took his leave of him with this hearty prayer: "Deus tibi animum istum, et animo isti tempus longissimum concedat." Cosin also, then Master of Peterhouse, afterwards Bishop of Durham, with Archbishop Laud, presented to the King a work of the religious society's execution, and communicated with them about the execution of another piece; from which we imagine thus much may be fairly inferred, that he did not think Ferrar held views of dangerous tendency, or not allowable in a minister of the English Church. Turner, Bishop of Ely, was his biographer, and calls his life "not only admirable, but *imitable*—by the gentry especially, or by his fellow-citizens, who gain plentiful estates, and then retire into the country:" and he says, one design of writing his life was, "as an illustrious example of a more illuminate man in the Church of England, than any, I believe, they can show us in the Church of Rome, if they will tell us nothing but the honest truth; or any other sect whatever." To descend to others of lower note, the clergyman of the neighbouring parish of Steeple Gidding was on most cordial terms with him, coming over always on Sunday morning, bringing his own flock with him, to preach at Little Gidding Church. Their country neighbours, of the better sort,

were not afraid of the Ferrar family, nor were they, on their part, forgetful of due civilities to them.—

" Whenever they were pleased to afford their company at Gidding, (which for the novelty of the thing many frequently did) they were received with all the obligingness, and treated with all the respect to which, according to the rules of Christian politeness and courtesy, they were entitled. The more substantial marks of hospitality also were not wanting; the refreshments of wine or a tankard of ale, with a piece of cake, were offered to all comers of any note; but though many of high quality lingered there, as if desirous to stay their meals, or take up their lodging with them, yet they took it not amiss at their departure, that no invitation was given them, finding that it was not their custom to entertain strangers in that indiscriminate manner, except in cases of manifest necessity or charity Hardly one day passed in which some distinguished person, either friend or stranger, did not come to pay him reverence. He always gave orders, that if any one came to speak with him, though he were at his studies, he should be informed of it."

Sir Edwin Sandys, son of the Archbishop of York, a pupil of Hooker, was one of his intimate friends. Kennet, in his Book on Impropriations, bestows praise on their society. King Charles I., no mean judge of what the spirit of that Church allowed, for which he was a martyr, on an occasion, after much discourse about an harmony of the Books of Kings and Chronicles, which by his request they had executed for him, and regarding their manner of living, concluded thus: " How happy a prince were I, if there were many such families in my kingdom, who would employ themselves as these do at Gidding." His funeral sermon was preached by the Dean of Ely. And lastly, we have reserved to say, that George Herbert, the model of a Church of England country parson, had a warm regard and very great respect for him, and such opinion of his judgment, that he sent " the Temple," to him before publication, desiring him to read it, " and then, if he think it may turn to the advantage of any poor dejected soul, let it be made public: if not let him burn it;" and Mr. Ferrar contributed a preface to it.

It will not be supposed, that a family like that of the Ferrars could hold on their way in such a course as they followed, without being censured and condemned by many. They had their share of such critics of their system. They were vilified as papists and puritans, their establishment was denounced, even to parliament, as an " Arminian Nunnery," in an inflammatory pamphlet full of invective, malignity, and falsehood. The humility of his whole life would be sufficient answer to the imputation, that he placed any reliance on the merit of his works. Two little incidents in his last illness, which remind us of the last days

of the excellent Hammond, shall be mentioned. A visitor suggesting that he must have great joy at the many alms-deeds he had done, was hastily interrupted: "What speak you of such things? It had been but a suitable return for me to have given all I had, instead of scattering a few crumbs here and there: God forgive me!" Another time, one reading from the Visitation Service by his bed side, "For what cause soever this sickness is sent unto you, whether it be to try your patience for the example of others," went on, "or *for our punishment.*" At the unauthorised addition of these words he was much displeased, beseeching him to speak at that rate no more, for he was "a most miserable sinner." That his views were clear and well defined, and in no way approximated to the peculiarities of Rome, is shown in the following anecdotes. Three learned priests of that Church visited him once at Gidding, and they had a conference, in which (it is said) "they traversed every essential point of difference between Protestant and Papist;" and one of them was heard to say afterwards, that "if he (Mr. Ferrar) lived to make himself known to the world, he would give their Church her hands full to answer him, and trouble them in another manner than Luther had done." Another time, being asked what he would do, if mass were celebrated in his house without his leave or knowledge? he said, "he would pull down that room, though he built another." We doubt whether the zeal of many of our modern Protestants would carry them so far. As in other respects they might say he showed narrow-minded bigotry in approaching too near to Romanism, so in this in being over-fearful and abhorrent of it. Such acts as these are more than enough to answer the vague charges brought against him; and while the latter have fallen to the ground, Ferrar's example remains. His life has been written and rewritten; and the little volume from which we have made our extracts is the second edition in this modernized form. It is a good sign of a love for what is good and holy, and above our age, that there should be a demand for such a work; and let it never be forgotten, that, notwithstanding the objections raised to him in his day, he had, upon the whole, the approbation of the rulers of the Church, and of the wise and good, not simply as if his life were allowable, but praiseworthy for those who could receive it; though it intimated on the face of it the persuasion that the single state given to devotion was the higher line to choose. For it is evident that every one would have understood this to have been the view of a family so living together and so ordered.

Nicolas Ferrar is the picture of no ordinary Christian—one, who in all times of the Church, and in all countries, would be

at once recognizable by his life and manners—his faith and word. Whether brought up at the feet of an Apostle, or, like St. Antony, settled in the solitudes of Egypt, or with Basil, in the more monastic retirement in Pontus—with Chrysostom, in Constantinople—or with Augustine in Africa, or with Ambrose in Italy; whether in the first, or third, or sixth century, or in the "dark ages" —or at the Reformation—or in our own bright days of Hooker, Herbert and Laud—a Christian every where, and in every age, and in all his life: a Christian, such as the author of Ancient Christianity cannot tolerate, and who was guilty of holding most of those views, which Mr. Taylor asserts tend to all sorts of immorality, to narrow formalism, to a reliance on externals, to a neglect of inward purity of heart, to pride and presumption. Certainly, he and his seem to have been singularly preserved from their imminent danger.

Since we are upon the subject, it may be satisfactory to add the testimony of two of our principal devotional writers, of very different schools of divinity, and in estimation among very distinct sections of the church, who appear to hold the doctrine which Ferrar practised. It was, in the judgment of Leighton, "*the great and fatal error* of the Reformation, that more of those (religious) houses, and of that course of life, free from the entanglement of vows, and other mixtures, was not preserved. So that the Protestant Churches had neither places of education nor retreat for men of mortified tempers."* Thus Leighton thought the great and fatal error of the Reformation to be the doing away those very institutions which we are now told are so very corrupt in all their forms. Jeremy Taylor, in the most popular of his works, distinctly recognizes it, and used terms to designate that state, and lays down rules precisely of a kind which move the scorn and indignation of our modern writers against the Fathers. The following will be enough: "Natural virginity, of itself, is not a state more acceptable to God; but that which is chosen and voluntary, in order to the conveniences of religion, and separated from worldly incumbrances, is therefore better than the married life,—not that it is more holy, but that it is a freedom from cares, an opportunity to spend more time in spiritual employments; it is not alloyed with businesses and attendance upon lower affairs: and if it be a chosen condition to these ends, it containeth in it a victory over lusts, and greater desires of religion and self-denial, and therefore is more excellent than the married life, in that degree in which it hath greater religion and a greater mortification, a less satisfaction of natural desires, and a greater fulness of the

* Burnet's Lives, Ed. Bishop Jebb, p. 288.

spiritual: and just so is to expect that little coronet or special reward, which God hath prepared (extraordinary, and besides the great crown of all faithful souls) for those 'who have not defiled themselves with women, but follow the Virgin Lamb for ever.'"

Such is the judgment of the seventeenth century; but strange things are circulated in the nineteenth. We hear, for instance, a wish has been expressed, that bishops should not prefer any one in their respective dioceses who should ever speak ministerially in favor of celibacy. The next step, we suppose, would be that a matrimonial engagement should be a necessary title for orders; or an extract from the marriage register might be one of the ordinary papers sent in together with the Si quis, or College testimonial. Expectations, we hear, have been entertained of the effect of the first open avowal of opinion on the subject of celibacy on the part of those who are said to be favourable to it. It is hoped that whenever broached by them, it will be protested against and put down by the "good sense" of the people of England with indignation and abhorrence. It may be so. Meanwhile we would observe that that same English "good sense" is not infallible, particularly in church matters. At least we suspect that the "good sense" of the majority of intelligent men who had never thought on the subject, would at first sight decide that 2000*l.* is ample provision for a bishop, or that it would be an improvement to admit Dissenters to power and station in our Universities. On the other hand, sorry as we are to disturb the peace of mind of many comfortable family men, we are not oversure that the "common sense" of the nation *would* be altogether opposed to the course under consideration. We are not so sure, that the notion of persons abstaining from marriage in order to give themselves more to God, and not to be entangled with the affairs of this life, or from fear of becoming indolent amid domestic comforts, or covetous from anxieties about a family; or in order to devote themselves to works of charity and self-denial; nay, as a kind of severity towards themselves for trifling and thoughtlessness in times past, would offend people's common sense, at least if they were people who knew what the Bible said on the subject, and especially when they were informed, that persons did not bind this in themselves by a vow, but only purposed in themselves so to abide, if God give them grace to do so.

It is well that this subject should be brought before the public mind. We do not know whither the necessities of our times are tending. There is a strong and awakened sense of the appalling spiritual destitution of our great towns. The public mind is more and more drawn to it. Facts and figures are coming out; and men are beginning to realize this oppressing subject with

definite statistical notions of its enormous magnitude, and the difficulty, and yet the absolute necessity for a remedy. Men of all ranks and professions are making sacrifices of money: other personal sacrifices will follow. The more the subject is brought out, the more will it be forced upon the public mind, that our existing parochial system (humanly speaking) is utterly powerless for making head against the tide of irreligion that sets in. But lately, there was a meeting for providing schools and churches for a single district in one corner of London, at which this fearful fact is stated, that there are 700,000 souls, and church accommodation for but 5000. The Bishop of London, as everywhere, was forward with his munificent contribution. But what a time it must be before money can be raised, and churches built, and clergymen settled to begin labour among these Christian souls. Specially then, we envy the lot of him who may have boldness to make trial of associating a number of young men as a collegiate body, for the cheaper supply of an efficient ministry to operate on these dense and dark masses of sin and ignorance, to live with him, not tied by vows, but purposing in their hearts, by God's grace, not to entangle themselves in the affairs of this life, that they may the more devote themselves to this great work. One word from that active prelate, and we doubt not some one would be found, under his sanction and encouragement, to make the attempt, some one perhaps with chance advantages of local connections, which would prevent the experiment being scorned as not respectable, but might from such chance influence, as it were, command a fair trial. It would be a noble addition to the praise of his lordship's munificent charity, to have brought into practice a plan, by which, under God's providence, so much might be done, and which, if judiciously managed under his advice and patronage, would soon be adopted elsewhere, so that his name might go down to posterity as the *Christianizer of the great Towns of our Land.*

ART. VII.—1. *Helps to the Building of Churches and Parsonage Houses; containing Plans, Elevations, Specifications, &c.* By the Rev. William Carus Wilson, M.A. Rector of Whittington, Perpetual Curate of Casterton, and Chaplain to His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex. London. 1835.

2. *A Letter on Ecclesiastical Architecture, as applicable to Modern Churches: addressed to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London.* By John Shaw, Architect. London: Weale. 1839.

3. *Twenty Lithographic Views of Ecclesiastical Edifices in the Borough of Stroud.* By Alfred Smith, Artist; with Short Notices appended to each Drawing. Stroud: Brisley. 1838.

4. *Designs for Rural Churches.* By George E. Hamilton, Architect. London. Weale: 1836.

THERE is a kind of natural alliance between the science of architecture and the sentiment of philanthropy, by which both have ever been purified and ennobled. Philanthropy wearies at length of satisfying only the wants of the day, of administering comforts which serve only to make the sad and certain tenor of poverty still more felt, of trying to fill the sieve-like purse of improvidence, of letting the weakness and the vices of mankind be the only rule and measure of its bounties; it longs to emerge from matters of food and raiment to man's higher destinies, from gratifications to utilities, from the dark alley to the public thoroughfare, from individuals and classes to the universal state, and from the passing hour to distant generations. Architecture then comes forward and presents the most obvious and most palpable means of satisfying the craving after permanent, noble, public and systematic benefits. It writes the various social charities of men on a durable and dignified material, which Providence seems to have furnished for this very purpose; it gives a visible identity to past and future ages, to cities, and the commonweal. The town-hall with its lofty portico overshadowing the crowded mart, the palace-like infirmary, the classic library, the secluded college, the bridge's bold and graceful span, the massive river walls of the spacious quay, the causeway stretching across the marshy plain and over the sevenfold stream, the breakwater, or the mountain road, are all lasting, general, and undoubted deeds of kindness, with a sort of heroic grace about them, whether the work of men or of a whole generation of benefactors. To a truly generous, that is a truly social mind, no occasion is so fair and honourable as the public need—no gift so gracious as what is given to

he state—no property so sacred as what belongs to all. It is rue that private edifices are not without their charm; but no mall part of that charm is derived from the political associations vith which they are enveloped in our minds—from the rank and place the holders occupy in society, and from the duties and relaions which are therein implied. Viewed as abodes of selfish ease nd luxury, of individual display, or as designed for the narrow ospitalities of a class, they sink below the peasant's hut in mental nterest. But at the best they have no charm, if we know anyhing of the current feelings of mankind, to compare with that of trictly public structures, which are the fair front and ornament f cities, the turreted crown of the state, the memorials, not of amilies, but of our common forefathers, the emblems of union nd of mutual obligations, the connecting points of mind and nemory in fellow townsmen separated by ever so great an interal of condition, space or time.

Such being their charm and moral interest, we cannot wonder t the great ambition of many men to be the adorners of their ative towns or other places dear to them. If this be not more ustly described as the desire of all men, unless they are debased y selfishness, or hindered by calls upon their means and affecions still nearer home, or alienated by party differences, it may t least be called the ambition of a superior class of minds. It s most honourable that men should desire to leave permanent ootsteps of their earthly sojourn, and to be still seen and known n their works as they were always wont to be. Notwithstanding he eccentricities frequently found to disguise benevolence, we hink few moral pictures more agreeable than that not unfrequent ne of men apparently devoted by early habit to the accumulation f wealth, yet without the ordinary objects that render wealth desirable; denied by Providence a natural channel of affection, and ept by their one engrossing occupation from expensive pleasures, et in the seeming isolation of their minds secretly cherishing, vith a strength unknown to the many, the finest tastes and noblest nstincts of patriotism, and dying content that poverty, distress, nd ignorance should be their heirs. We know it is the fashion to epreciate such benevolences, and ascribe them to any lower feelngs which may by possibility have marred the deed. But is indness no longer kind because it asks for thankfulness? Is the ift no real gift if the giver wishes to be known, or if he seem omewhat arbitrary and capricious in the conditions of his bounty? As we would wish to receive a merciful judgment on our own best deeds, so should we look on the infirmities of good doers more as the accidental peculiarities than the very groundwork of their actions. Yet after all, how few of our ancient benefactors

have stipulated for a name! The origin and the first authors of many of the greatest works and institutions of this country are utterly unrecorded and unknown.

Men of common humbleness are apt to be overwhelmed in the decline of life by the consciousness of the vast benefits they have received from society, and the little return they have made. When, as life advances, recollection takes the place of hope, and late repentance comes instead of the sanguine schemes of youth, their memories recal with painful faithfulness the many opportunities of serving their generation which they have neglected, and the many perhaps everlasting injuries they have through wilfulness or inadvertence inflicted on it. If it may possibly be helped they cannot bear to die in debt to mankind, and with their whole soul they yearn to discharge a vast obligation which nature itself suggests may still press upon them in a world where it can no longer be paid or diminished. Something of this feeling it is which is expressed by Plato in that well-known passage of his Republic, where Socrates says to a wealthy old man—

"'But I will venture to ask you one other question, What do you consider the greatest advantage you have derived from the possession of an ample fortune?' On which Cephalus replies, 'One advantage which I dare say few persons would give me credit for feeling so strongly. Take my word for it, Socrates, that when a man finds he cannot calculate on staying here much longer, he begins to be sensible of certain fears and anxieties which he never knew before. However much he may hitherto have been disposed to slight the stories that are told of those who are in hell, and the doctrine that such as do ill in this life suffer retribution there, they then present themselves to him with fearful force, and torment his soul with the thought that they may perhaps be true. Whether it be from the weakness of old age, or because he is now somewhat more near to that future world, he begins to contemplate it steadily. He becomes therefore full of misgiving and dread; takes account of his life, and considers whether he has done any injury to any one. If in the course of this examination he convicts himself of any wrongful deeds, then he falls a prey to terror, he starts up even in his sleep like a child, and lives with an evil hope. Whereas the man who is conscious of no iniquity enjoys the perpetual presence of a sweet hope, the kind and comfortable nurse of his old age, as Pindar says. With what beauty, Socrates, does he express the state of a man who has passed a life of justice and peace.

'Ye mortals, that your lot complain,
That seek for peace and seek in vain,
Hear ye at length his envied meed
Who lives in just and holy deed;
Who never from his word has strayed
By weakness or by will betrayed;

Whom no temptation e'er could move
From promised vow or claim of love
To man below or God above.

A consolation, all unknown
To gilded pomp or purple throne,
To iron rule or victor's bays,
Shall still be his as strength decays,
Shall still attend his latest days.

Him *sweetest hope, the nurse of age,*
Shall *cheer* thro' life's long pilgrimage,
And *sooth* his *heart* with healing balm
To nought but virtue given;
Hope, that a *thousand wanderings* past,
Still *guides us* through the *stormy waste*
To distant shores of endless calm,
And *steers the bark* to heaven.'*

" Well said, indeed, and with a force that all must feel. For my own part, at least, I consider that the chief value of wealth, not indeed to any man, but to a man of ordinary goodness, consists in its affording the means of satisfying a burdened conscience, and procuring that ease of mind which Pindar alludes to. For wealth is a great security against even unwillingly defrauding or breaking one's word, and then leaving this world for another with the fearful consciousness of unfulfilled vows of sacrifice to God, and undischarged debts to man. There are indeed many other great conveniences in wealth; but comparing one with another, Socrates, I should consider this to be the most valuable of all, at any rate to a man of reflection.' "

We need scarcely observe that we quote this passage as illustrating a heathen's notion of one particular religious use of wealth, when Providence has placed it at our disposal. Neither Socrates nor Plato are compromised in the sentiment put into the mouth of a pious Athenian, that wealth is in any wise necessary to peace of mind.

But all the above incentives to public works of benevolence bear with vastly concentrated force on religious foundations. Nothing can be so sacred, so public, so permanent, so really benevolent, so truly gracious an offering, as a building devoted to the worship of the Living God. By what other work of man's hands can any one so securely perpetuate his love to God and man? Churches once built, as far as we can judge, never cease to exist, and to be as great a benefit as at first. Other buildings may lose their utility from changes in the wants of men and in the construc-

* The fragment from Pindar is paraphrased, and the sense completed from the contents of Plato. The words in italics are the whole of the original.

tion of society. But the wants of religion are always the same. A wonderful charm seems heretofore to have preserved the ten thousand parish churches of the land; structures, many of them scarcely superior to the surrounding cottages, of masonry so rude that the merest village architect would be ashamed to own it, and a farmer would not tolerate it for a cow-shed: yet they stand by a more than adamantine strength, the same as ever, as though the holiness of their purpose were a more durable thing than stone, and the prayers of their founders more binding than mortar. Since these churches were first built, the deep foundations of ten thousand castles and mansions have been laid, and again dug up and scattered abroad, yet the very wood work and the ornaments of those simple records of our forefathers' piety still survives.

We are speaking only of parish churches, being too well aware that several times their number of conventual establishments, and chapels attached to private houses and estates, have disappeared. But as we are not at the present moment recommending any one to build *these*, we may put them out of the question. Parish churches do stand, and that by a miracle, when we take into account the fragile character of the structures, and the manifold decays and violences to which they are liable. How far beyond the most sanguine hopes of the founders must be the benefits of these simple structures! Little could it then be anticipated, that for a whole millenium they should be, wherever they stood, the one great blessing of the neighbourhood, a heaven on earth, the home of every holy feeling, the centre all men's affections, the palaces of the poor: and at the end of that millenium, be still all this and more.

Eagerly do men cleave to any temporal perpetuity—gladly do they seize any means of protracting their identity, and entailing on any line whatever, so as it may seem another self, the property, the dignity and station, which they are forced to leave behind. But what freehold is so ancient as the Church's, the antiquity of whose material structures has by this time become an impressive type of our everlasting inheritance?

So far from there being any thing great or heroic in dedicating thus superfluous wealth to such a purpose, one might rather suppose it the most obvious outlet of human creativeness, and of that natural desire above referred to, of continuing to do good in the world, even when one's own days are numbered.

But in addition to this craving of nature, the Christian lives in hope, and by his very vocation looks to the future rather than to the present. He stands on the rock of ages, and delights to lay thereon the foundations of the eternal city. He feels that his Church is of the living, and of the dead, and of those that are

yet unborn. He has ever before him the vision of that vast assembly that shall stand before the judgment seat, made up, not only of all kindreds, but of all generations. He therefore abhors what is transient; he dreads to connect the chief works of his life with the stream of temporal things, which shall pass away and their place be no where found; and he clings to that which shall still endure. Then what a gracious permission, what a blessed opportunity, what an incredible privilege it seems, that men *may* build a House of God, that they *may* open a gate to heaven, that they *may* draw the waters of life from the flinty rock.

It is then an unusual and unnatural, and a monstrous state of feeling which for many generations has now prevailed in this country on the subject of church-building. For a long time it has been thought that *genuine* zeal for the Church was something so rare, and, even when found so feeble in its actual results, that churches could only be built and endowed either by compulsion, or from superstitious feelings. The nation judged, as Hume would have us, by experience. It found that it did not itself desire to build churches, and taking for granted that its own dispositions were the average of the Christian character, it concluded that our forefathers, who had acted otherwise, must have done so, not as Christians, but as Papists, or something of that sort. It found nothing of the kind in its own Christianity, and not being ashamed of its own position, considered the *onus probandi* to lie on our forefathers, whom, not being able to speak for themselves, it condemned of being zealous on unchristian principles. That the churches of this country have not increased, but rather diminished, for the three centuries previous to our generation, and that the actual *passion* for religious foundations has been suspended during that period, is owing to accidental circumstances—to the enormous and wanton destruction of houses of God at the Reformation, which naturally discouraged the building of more; to the consequent extinction of the science and taste of Catholic architecture; to the fact, that after all that demolition there was still a supply of parish churches in advance of the population; to the timid jealousy and wooden inelasticity of our Parliamentary system; to the irreverence of the Puritans; and last, not least, to the grievous judgment of 1688, which cast out of the Church prudence, zeal, and knowledge, for more than a century. The Church is now returning to herself, and feels somewhat of her first love awakened in her bosom by her immensely increasing necessities, by the sad sight of her children torn away by hostile communions, and, not a little, by being rejected of the State, and thrown on her own resources.

We feel it a great blessing that we are now justified in assum-

ing our fellow Christians to be zealous on this point; that there are multitudes whom we need no longer exhort to be liberal with their purses and time. We may now venture to ask our Church founders for rule and method, and may attempt to refine the popular taste without danger of damping the energies of churchmen, and diminishing the result. Now that the work *is* being done, we may safely begin to ask that it may be well done.

Perhaps there never was a time when some rigorous censure, or some influential school of architecture, was more required than now. We say this advisedly. Till the present age there has been always some *one* style, which was universally adopted with exceptions not worth mentioning. Architecture was like the language of the country: as there was only one English language, so there was only one style of building in use at a time, which underwent a progressive change as that language also did. In one century every body used the Anglo-Norman style, with semicircular windows; in the next century the style we call early English, viz. lancet windows, &c., was as universal—then the florid, and so on; nay, further, *one* style only was in use throughout the greater part of last century, viz. the Italian. An architect therefore had only one *style* to learn, and could easily master its grammar and its vocabulary: he could "get an ear for it." There was no more danger of his jumbling the terms and idioms of two different styles, than of an Englishman inadvertently talking French or Spanish. The living style he considered unquestionably the last, and the others obsolete, dead, and unworthy of notice. A builder of the fifteenth century called upon to enlarge a church of the eleventh century, or to insert a window in it, treated the decorations of the original structure as if they were so much dead wall, and probably would have been as unskilful in attempting to preserve the character of the building, as if he had tried to speak the language of its founder.

But the present age has no vernacular style of architecture, that is, no one style in which its ideas naturally flow and express themselves, and which is inseparably connected with its taste and feelings. Architecture is become a literature. We learn a number of styles as we do a number of dead languages. The exact scholar may with much labour and watchfulness just contrive to make a composition in one style without palpably intrenching on another: but after all his pains, though he trusts he can pass off his work on the present generation, he knows full well that any one to whom that style was natural would perceive a great uncouthness and probably detect some downright solecisms: just as a Browne medalist knows that his Greek ode may pass muster at Cambridge, but would have sounded barbarous, and perhaps have been unintelligible at Thebes. This is the utmost that even

ie best architectural scholars can now accomplish: as for the ass of builders, their's is a kind of lingua franca, or rather a acaronic style, a mere jumble of languages. Ninetenths of e churches which have been built in the present century are as eterogeneous as a masquerade dress made out of the costumes f ten different nations.

We are aware that modern architects sometimes combine dif- rent styles knowingly and intentionally; and that their excuse is ie fact of most of our larger churches being the accumulations of ccessive eras. Now this we hold to be a great charm in these ructures. They are thus as it were visible histories of the hurch; they carry the mind backwards through the vista of ges; they give it a momentum forwards into futurity; they are n emblem of perpetuity; they present to us the Church of all mes; they bring before us different generations as so many dependent witnesses to the truth. It is the same charm, the me gracious Providence, as that we appreciate so highly in the oly Scriptures, which are the work and the language of fifteen nturies, and which are thus in the very words and writing me- orials of all the fortunes of the Church, through Arabia, Egypt, abylon, Greece and Rome. For our part so highly do we rize these natural anomalies in our Churches, that except in treme cases, we would rather not interfere with even the absurd terations and the unsightly monuments of the last century. We e sorry they were ever introduced, but *factum valet*; they teach eir lesson: let the eighteenth century be suffered to continue in e cloud of witnesses as well as the rest. But this charm cannot copied; just as youth and age are good in themselves, but can- t be imitated by one another.

But there are still more serious sources of incongruity in Church ilding than mere difference of styles. Grecian temple, tholic cathedral, Corinthian portico, and Norman door-way, laster and pinnacle, cannot differ so much or so essentially from other as the two *notions* of a Church, a preaching house, and house of prayer. If then we could ensure the greatest technical curacy in details, still if the Geneva principle of a house of God adopted instead of the Catholic, the result must inevitably be architectural monster.

There are also other "disturbing forces" which in a bye way terfere with a reference to ancient and Catholic usage; such the use of the vulgar shop-front principle, *i. e.* dressing the urch so as to be handsome and catching in the eyes of man, stead of making it an offering to God; and other like modernisms, ich we may have to notice shortly.

All these elements of confusion are generally allowed free play.

There is hardly any age, realm, or religious system, but what contributes somewhat to a modern Church. You see included under one expansive roof of slate a vast and heavy pile, whose proportions are perhaps those of a heathen temple; from one end of the roof rises a tower, emulating in its lightness, but not in its height, the aërial tracery of Mechlin or Antwerp. From the other end of the building seems to bud, as it were, an incipient chancel. The windows are all ages and all shapes, from lancet to the most florid; round, pointed and square. The buttresses, battlements and pinnacles, &c., are selected at random from four different centuries. As the interior is seen by far fewer people, *i. e.* only by the congregation, appearances and proprieties, decencies and chronologies are there still less regarded. The result is, that if any detached parts of the building should happen to be good in themselves, they are thrown away, or only contribute to the general distasteful effect of the whole: as in that article of cookery called a medley pie, in which beef, bacon, rabbit, peas, apples and onions only spoil one another. The building becomes a type of the religion of the day, and the present state of the Church: at once sectarian, eclectic, and comprehensive.

The architect sometimes escapes inconsistency by adopting a style of his own, in which no one member of the building can convict the others, all being equally unwarranted. This of course is a hazardous experiment, and we are not aware of any having as yet succeeded. It is in fact as bold an undertaking as not merely to construct a language, as Psalmanazar did, but also to write an epic poem in it.

Yet it is not for lack of ordeals that the work generally turns out to be such as we have described. Before a church is consecrated many eyes have examined the plan, many heads have deliberated upon it. The clergyman, who is an educated man, and ought to have, if not a natural, yet some acquired taste; a building committee of gentlemen from the parish or neighbourhood; the eye of the public, which in our days assumes a considerable freedom of censure; the committees of the diocesan and parent Church building Society; these all, not to mention the architect himself, have had the plan before them, and duly weighed it before the stone was laid. Yet perhaps not one word has been said by them all against the chief architectural solecisms and ecclesiastical improprieties in the building. Clergy, laity, gentlemen and tradesmen, the educated and ignorant, the subscribers and the architect all are compromised in it.

We could wish that this were owing only to the want of critical and scholarlike knowledge of sacred architecture. We have alluded to something deeper in our mention of the prevailing difference of view as to what a Church is: and in truth profane

ness and vulgarity are at the bottom of all these absurdities, which promise therefore to enjoy no very brief ascendancy. Strange is it that a generation which prides itself in its refinement of manners, its courtesies, its advance in all the decencies and elegancies of private life, its thousand and one new sciences and new tastes, its houses, its gardens, its dress, and its equipages, should proudly and ostentatiously disdain any thing that savours of punctilio, fitness, or recondite elegance, in sacred things. Is it really true then, as many have suspected, that a full developement of these secular tastes, so far from leading to a corresponding improvement in the sense of sacred graces and proprieties, does absolutely stand in its way? Is it true then, that a man who can arrange and build an elegant mansion, adapted to modern usages, who is an adept at paper hangings, curtains, conservatories, verandahs, pleasure grounds and carriage drives, is *therefore* likely to be a man not fit to be trusted with building a church? If our experience teaches us right, it is so. Yet in point of argument, what can be more inconsistent than for any one to despise in sacred things the very refinement which in domestic matters he values, he delights in, he considers the best, the noblest, the most distinguishing part of himself? Here is a man, a clergyman perhaps, and one whose income is entirely derived from the Church, who can tell at a glance a fashionable equipage, who knows the latest improvements in carriage building, who has a quick sense of the difference of a light or a heavy, a modern or an antiquated, a town or a country build, who would not dream of having a vehicle defective in any of these points, who so far from thinking such refinements frivolous and superfluous because few can enter into them, does really cherish them and act upon them all the more in proportion to the smallness and selectness of the class by which they are appreciated—this man so sensitive, so keenly alive to a paltry personal luxury, to a trumpery thing of this world, laughs at your refinements and scruples in the house of God, and asks contemptuously what matters it if the architecture of a Church is not quite correct, so as the people think it pretty; what matters it, if ancient usages and canonical order are utterly neglected, so long as the church is convenient and comfortable? In the things of God, he appeals at once without scruple to the lowest standard of taste,—the vulgar; and to the lowest object of design,—bodily comfort. Nay, it is thought, *par excellence*, spiritual, to make a point of the most easy and indolent posture, the most exclusive gentility, and the most uninvaded privacy and most comfortable furnishing of one's pew, the most soothing warmth and stilness of atmosphere; though these considerations may clash ever so much with certain sacred proprieties: and on the other hand it is denounced, *par excellence*, as carnal, to avow

a preference in ecclesiastical arrangements for the glory of God and the honor of His Church over the world and the flesh, viz. our regard for the one, and the comfort of the other. Surely this is calling evil good, and good evil.

But it is said we are stickling for mere punctilios, which have no connection with vital religion, which may indeed be observed, but cannot be made a point of, consistently with vital religion. But what are these punctilios? That churches should be of certain dignified proportions and a certain sacred style,—that vulgar associations should be as much as possible excluded in their plan, materials, ornaments, &c.—that they should lie from east to west,—that there should be a middle aisle forming the main approach up to the altar,—that there should be a stone font sufficient for the practice of immersion at the chief entrance near the west end, and that the altar should be at the extreme east,—that it should not be thronged and pressed upon by the congregation,—that it and the parts about it should have a chief share of the ornament, and be the centre of attraction,—that the sittings should allow, and even encourage the congregation to kneel,—that the pulpit should not be *before*, or *over*, or by the side of the altar,—that nothing should be over the altar,—that churches should admit of all turning to the east, at least some part of the service, &c. &c. Now these usages refer to certain divine realities; and it is urged against us that a person may, to a great extent, believe the latter, and make a practical use of them, without observing the former, without having even heard of them. Let us take the parallel case of the usages of decent society. It requires its members to have houses, dress, and other equipments, of a certain style, to be "clothed in fine linen," to wear certain apparel at certain times, to make and receive certain visits at certain intervals, and at certain times of the day; to observe certain rules in introducing acquaintances to one another, to pass from one room to another in a certain order, to sit at dinner, not "to eat with unwashen hands," or without the aid of certain implements, and to observe on that occasion various forms troublesome enough to some people, to converse only on certain subjects, to leave the dining room in a certain order; to observe certain outward marks of respect to the person one is conversing with, such as turning one's face to him or her; not to spit about, or smoke, or lounge, or sit on the table, or take off one's coat if the room is warm; to use certain phrases of respect in all one's communications; and an infinite number of other requisites, more indeed than any one could imagine, as he may find by attempting to particularize and count them. Now it is not disputed that these scruples have no necessary connection with morality or goodness. A man may be a very useful, benevolent, and in all

respects an estimable member of society, yet be remiss in some of these matters; nay, there are undoubtedly persons in this country, of wealth, information, and virtue, of great consideration and influence, and good Christians, who are not in the habit of observing a single one of these usages, and whom nobody thinks a bit the worse for it. Yet Christians, with all the higher qualifications we have mentioned, if they do but fail in one or two of these rules of good breeding, which do not pretend to be more than "traditions of men," are utterly banished, most religiously excommunicated, from the pale "of good society." If any one should attempt to introduce such persons thereto, he would not only be unsuccessful, but would make himself a sharer in their exclusion. Nor would *we* have it otherwise. The "customs of society" are in general easy enough to learn without guilt or sacrifice of more important considerations, therefore the non-observance of them is in general symptomatic of perverseness, self-will and obstinacy, an unaccommodating and unsocial temper; while the observance of them, though they seem in themselves ever so indifferent, is a wholesome discipline, and a security that the practiser will conform to public opinion in more serious matters. But it appears to us most strangely inconsistent, that the very same persons who are most precise and rigorous in enforcing the canons and denouncing the anathemas of "society," should strenuously advocate a vulgar, lax, slovenly, higgledy-piggledy order of things, as soon as they leave their *own* houses and come into the House of God. We are almost forced to the conclusion that there *is* something wrong in the excessive cultivation and multiplication of the elegancies and proprieties of the world, when we see they positively interfere with those of the Church; when we see that *very fine* gentlemen and ladies somehow or other *are not* good church people; when we see the pale of good society set up above the communion of saints.

But at present we would content ourselves with appealing to the testimony of the world in defence of our old ecclesiastical system. The world, by its example, countenances politeness and elegance, order and punctiliousness. These things seem to all most natural, nay, men fall into them by necessity; they constitute a vast portion of the affairs of mankind, they occupy a vast space in our minds, they are the chief material of our moral training. Then are we to depart out of our nature, state, condition, and training, out of our very minds, as soon as we come into the presence of God—that God who constituted our minds, our nature, state, condition, and training, what they are?

Mr. Carus Wilson's "Helps" are an act of kindness to the Church, for which we cannot be too grateful. Most people who have had to build a church become so utterly sick and weary of

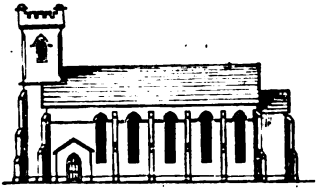
masons and carpenters, that so soon as the bills are paid, they bind them together with a piece of strong cord, and throw them to the bottom of the deepest drawer, or the strongest box they can find, in the fervent hope that they may never have to call them from that deep again. In the joyful contemplation of the finished structure, they are determined to think as little of the process of building as their many painful reminiscences will allow. They look forward to the consecration as the day when they may drink a long oblivion of the past. But if they could only make up their mind to prolong their troubles for one brief fortnight, if they could just for that space defer the final sepulture of plans and estimates, and just endure to handle all the corroding details of materials, colours, length, breadth, depths and curves, angles and mouldings, enough to give their brethren the benefits of their own experience, they would almost double the service they have already done. The noblest and most useful works are commonly those which we begin when others are worn out and leave off. The racer wins by doubling his efforts in sight of the goal. In like manner we suggest to all our friends to whom it has fallen to build a church, to follow Mr. Carus Wilson's example. Why should every clergyman have to go about building a church, as if no such thing had ever been heard of in the memory of man, without any light from those who precede him in the track? Why should he have to make out for himself the first elements of church building? The information which is become familiar and common place to one who has built a church may be invaluable to one whose church is still in the future tense. If on that principle of kindness,

"Haud ignara mali miseris succurrere disco,"

any one who has built a church would just collect his plans, specifications, his bills, &c., and send them to the nearest printer to publish in a simple form, with two or three lithographic ground plans and elevations, we cannot indeed hold out to him any hope of profit, but we can ensure, that at an expense small compared with the benefit, he will furnish many useful hints in the way of taste, management, and economy, to all persons who are modest enough to take advice, and count the cost before they plunge into brick and mortar. The chief difficulties of church builders, and what prevent them from being much assisted by the more elaborate and professional works on the subject, are those which arise from *local* peculiarities; the *site*, distance from quarries, brick-kilns, or timber yards, and such circumstances; and it is obvious these are the very difficulties which will be remedied by a contribution of the experience of *many* different localities. We are sure that a hundred works on this plan might now be published without encroaching much on one another's provinces.

We are, therefore, far from thinking that Mr. Carus Wilson's book *supersedes* the necessity of others on his subject; but the above are not our only reasons for thinking so. This gentleman's theological school pervades his structure from the foundation to the roof, from the elevation to almost every fitting up. His book therefore calls for an antidote, and glad should we be if our remarks upon it should provoke the jealousy of some more Catholic church builder.







It would appear from the engravings which we have copied, that Casterton Chapel, though certainly a neat structure, and creditably free from any ornamental extravagance, is yet strictly "modern Gothic." The want of elevation (for the side walls appear hardly more than half as high as the building is wide), the flat span of the slate roof, the light projecting eaves, the slender buttresses, considerably narrower than the lancet windows, the dwarf porch, the half developed chancel, the petty tower, whose starved dimensions the author himself laments, and which in fact scarcely emerges either in the elevation or the ground plan from the body of the Church, the unmeaning substitute for pinnacles, the angular canopy surmounting the nitch in the west end, the chimney over the east end, are all undoubted modernisms, undoubtedly Protestant, undoubtedly indicative of a sentiment whose ideal is the neat, the snug, the comfortable, squareness, cubeness, compactness, intelligibleness, and self sufficiency. It also appears from the other plates, and the description, that there is no main aisle, but two narrow ones, in the Presbyterian fashion. The pews are all of those narrow dimensions (about two feet six inches in the clear, from back to back,) which discourage kneeling, while the still more niggardly allowance of the second class sittings, (about two feet two inches in the clear,) must render it absolutely impossible. The situation of the font also is contrary to the order and *rationale* of the Church.

"The font, which is of black Dent marble, and was, in a great measure, the kind gift of Mr. Nixon, the marble manufacturer, stands in a

recess at the front of the middle pews, directly facing the door of the communion rails. As the christenings are performed during the afternoon service, after the second lesson, with a view to the edification of the congregation, and the benefit of their prayers for the infant, the situation is decidedly the most convenient."—p. 9.

To which passage Mr. Carus Wilson appends the following note, illustrative of what we have called above the higgledy-piggledy system.

"A very neat portable font has been given to the new church at Stonyhurst, which *answers every purpose*, not requiring even the expense of a stand; as it might be placed when wanted *on the communion table, from which* the ceremony might be performed. The price is fourteen shillings: and it is to be had at Sharpur's, Pall Mall East, London."

As a set off against the portable font, which answers every purpose, price 14*s.*, from Sharpur's, we have the following account of Mr. Carus Wilson's preparation for the other sacrament, (p. 11.)

"The Communion plate was got at Messrs. Rodgers, Sheffield, and the price was as follows:

	£	s.
Sheffield plate chalice	1	11
Do. salver	1	12
Best hard Britannia metal flagon	0	16
	£3	19"

The church thus built and described is in some respects an adjunct to a clergy daughters' school, to whose accommodation a gallery, containing 130 sittings, is devoted. It is not to our present purpose to question the policy of accumulating in *one* mass the children of *one* profession, all in *one* phase of existence, viz., disappointed poverty. If these poor girls can brighten up one another's spirits, and muster a little cheerfulness amongst them, there is then a greater fund of elasticity in the human mind than we have thought for. But if anything more than another is not likely to give hope, romance, and elevation of character to this monotonous assemblage, it is such a place of worship as Casterton Chapel, and the *religio loci*, which it is likely to beget.

In the name of the Church and of true policy we must protest against the following passage:

"It is much to be regretted, that the money expended on many of our modern churches, and the statements even in some influential quarters of the necessary expenses of the erection of a church, have been calculated to discourage persons from the undertaking.

"How different would have been the condition of many of our modern churches, if half the money devoted to their erection had been re-

served for their endowment! In many cases, a church would have lost nothing of its becoming and ecclesiastical character, and the melancholy spectacle would have been spared of a magnificent edifice, and a starving minister. A church, destitute of architectural propriety, is in no case recommended; but the maintenance of that propriety is quite compatible with the strictest economy; and in no way depends upon an expenditure, so injurious to the best interests of the Church itself, and so discouraging to many who would embark in church building."—p. 7.

Now we believe this is contrary to the experience of all men whose vocation has engaged them in drawing money from the pockets of mankind. Rigorous economy in the administration of funds is not usually found to invite fresh contributions. Nature, our best teacher, does not practise these parsimonious methods: she is prodigal in her measures, and superfluous in her ornaments, beyond the utmost limit of necessity or use. However we may think ourselves under the guidance of reason, how few important steps we should take in life, prudent, virtuous, and noble as they may really be, if they were not recommended to our imagination by some unessential and perhaps deceitful charms. We are not really utilitarians, try as we may to be so. In temporal matters we know that the prospect of a bare sufficiency is not enough to tempt men to lives of labour and self-denial. The merest chance of superfluous wealth, of rank and luxury, is a far more efficacious incentive than absolute certainty of food and clothing. Our interest as well as our duty must be sweetened and highly coloured, or we shall not pursue it. To cut short our reflections, and bring them to bear on our subject, a church built with a profuseness of love and liberality is both a fitter offering to Almighty God, and a more attractive example to man, than those half-shabby, half-tawdry structures intended to *seat* poor populations at 30*s.* a head. It must be considered that the greater part of mankind has certain decided tastes, a deep-rooted preference for beauty, for grandeur, for antiquity, and such qualities, however little they may confess or know it, and however sinful the possession of such tastes may be in the eyes of religious economists. It may abstractedly be considered desirable to eradicate these tastes entirely, and clear away all that lies between the two opposite poles of absolute holiness and absolute sin, so that the mind, according as it is positively or negatively charged, may rapidly jump from one to the other, without the peril of mid positions, or step by step alterations. But these tastes seemingly intermediate between earth and heaven are so large, so pervading a part of human nature, that if any one could extract them all, he would stand aghast to see how little was left; and as long as they do exist, people of ordinary goodness, if allowed their way, will prefer a religion in unison, rather than one in discordance with them.

In point of fact, churches were never so multiplied, were never so enlarged;—never did Christians so build with or without reason, never did they so embrace, discover, devise, opportunities, allowable or unallowable, for building churches, oratories, and chantries, and every order and shade of religious building, as when the style of architecture, more universally adopted than an imperial edict or parliamentary act of uniformity could ever have made it, was beyond all precedent elaborate, difficult and expensive. We have seen the traditional tomb of an architect, who is said to have built forty churches, in what may be called one neighbourhood, in the eastern counties. And what kind of buildings were they which started up in such numbers? Many of them, thrown away, as some would think, on small and secluded villages, would have been the chief architectural features of cities; of the most dignified proportions, with every ornament which the state of the arts and money could procure. The stone brought from a distance, the roofs of some of them carved and put together in Normandy. They were built by enthusiasts, not economists. Our author thinks "a magnificent edifice and a starving minister a melancholy spectacle." But is not the more frequent spectacle of a starved edifice and a full-fed minister and congregation still more melancholy? By the way, how differently are spacious and splendid churches viewed in our age from what they were five centuries ago. *Now* Mr. Carus Wilson regards them with jealousy, as having probably stood in the minister's light, by detracting from the endowment, and they are generally considered a drawback from the value of the living, whereas, in former times, they were themselves a mine of wealth. A large church would itself maintain so many priests by as certain a rule as a large field would feed so many head of cattle. Thus, in the Beauties of England and Wales, we read in the account of Howden Church, in Yorkshire:—

"Accordingly, on the 6th of March, A. D. 1267, Walter Gifford, Archbishop of York, after setting forth that the parish church of Howden *was very wide and large*, and the rents and profits so much abounding as to be sufficient for many spiritual men, ordained at the instance and petition of his chapter of York, that there might be prebends endowed out of the revenues of the church, and, by the consent of the prior and convent of Durham, appointed that there should be five prebends for ever; and each of them to maintain, at his own proper costs, a priest and clerk in holy orders, to administer in the same in canonical habit, according to the custom of the church of York, and to observe the same mode of singing as that of York, except in Matins, which they should say in the morning for the parish; and one of them, who should be the most fit, was to be rector of the choir, and ordain things belonging to Divine service; and each of them, as an hebdomedary, was orderly to keep his turn, and serve the cure of the parish, by his respective

priest, in the portion assigned to him. * * In the same year a sixth prebend was added to the five originally established."

We must, however, confess that it is only Mr. Carus Wilson's *principle* of sparing expense we protest against. We are quite content that *he* should, whether by choice or necessity, adhere to the practice. The first regret that rises in our heart at the sight of many of our modern churches is, that the purses and ambition of the founders had not even been more limited. These productions in that case would not have been *so* flagrantly ugly, and would not at least have gained such perpetuity of ugliness. The most offensive are generally the most unnecessary features in them. Nothing can be more respectable than contented poverty; —it is poverty which unsuccessfully apes the manners and tastes of wealth which is ridiculous.

Among the suggestions of minor importance, which we cannot commend, is the following, (p. 8). "The walls inside are done in stone finish, lined, and stone-coloured; which gives a much more comfortable appearance than common plaster, and is a very slight extra expense." There is an obtrusiveness of imitation in plaster lined and coloured, to look more like stone than stone itself, very contrary to the spirit of genuineness which ought to pervade a church. Besides, Gothic architecture *hides* the joining of the stones, and deals with its material as if it were all one. It either has the roughest masonry, viz., mere rubble, which answers the same purpose as the roughness of Burgess's pencils, and makes one see the building through a sort of misty medium, or it has the finest masonry. Indeed it keeps in the back-ground as much as possible the fact of the building being the "work of men's hands." It also keeps the material itself in the back-ground. It prefers small to large stones, and mere choppings to blocks. It builds cathedrals with the stones which the builders of a heathen temple would have refused. We are disposed to go *almost* as far as Mr. Carus Wilson in his suggestion of random walls, (p. 10,) though it will be difficult to save them from a common and slovenly appearance. With reference to the above plan of "stone finish, *lined*, &c." for the inside, we will add that nothing conflicts with Gothic curves and mouldings so much as those rectangular divisions, which are so frequent and so congenial in the styles of Greece and Rome. It would only provoke a smile to talk of facing our interiors with stone; we will therefore content ourselves with recommending in place of any imitation thereof, a common wash, of a somewhat colder, *i. e.* bluer tint than what is generally adopted. *Warm* tints have too modern, domestic, and comfortable an effect; they also overpower the natural play of lights and colours produced by the state of the

atmosphere, which is nowhere seen more beautiful than on the grayish, greenish, whitewash of an old village church.

Again we find

"the windows are glazed with diamond panes in lead, and square panes round the sides. The square panes are painted a light orange colour, which has a very good effect; and the diamond panes on the whole of the south side are done in imitation of ground glass, to keep out the sun. The expense of this is very trifling: indeed, *all the windows* in the church would have been done in imitation of ground glass for a sum scarcely exceeding five pounds."—p. 11.

The unfortunate cheapness of this last operation is no more argument in its favour than it is a reason for breaking all the windows to atoms, that it could be done at still less expense, or even gratis. The pale, sickly, monotonous and shadowless light of ground glass is the most unsuitable of all for a Gothic church. We grant that in many churches we find a sort of *necessity* for shading the windows in some way or other, but this does not prevent the remedy being an evil.

The historical account of this necessity is rather curious. As far as *quantity* of light is concerned, our forefathers considered that a few narrow lancet windows, glazed with coarse green glass, gave as much light as they considered proper for a church. But the use of painted glass led them to enlarge the lancet, or to unite several together so as to form the windows called perpendicular, florid, and so forth. The beauty of painted glass, as well as its obstruction of the light, eventually led, both from choice and necessity, to the use of windows so large that we may say nearly *all* our ancient churches, from the cathedral to the smallest oratory, are very considerably *overlighted*, on the supposition of plain glass being used. They are not now seen in their proper dress. They are like the face of nature in winter, without leaves or flowers. Thus the interior of Salisbury Cathedral is as light as the open air; nay, in a sense, it is lighter; for out of doors, in nature's dreariest scene, there is an infinite variety of light and shade, and still greater variety of hue; but in that building, as reformers and puritans have left it, there is no relief, no repose: with inconsiderable exception all is one equally monotonous shadowless, colourless, medium; nothing recedes, nothing stands out. The proportions suffer, for neither height nor length are felt in the glaring mass of daylight: the plan suffers still more; the transepts, which once threw in, athwart the solemn nave, a transverse flood of mysteriously coloured light, now produce no characterising effect; they are become merely side recesses. The cathedral is reduced to one great airy room. The aisles are no longer depths of shade, the lofty pillars and arches no longer stand out in bold relief, bathed in copious streams of light and

colour from the high clerestory windows, every stone from the vault above to the pavement under our feet seeming instinct with life.

It may be that we shall never see this scene again. Even if men should ever again be gifted from heaven with the taste and skill to restore what has been destroyed, it will perhaps only be to make fresh work for sacrilegious hands. May be it is for the Church's real good that she should only imagine, only conceive, only enjoy for a time, and that with sore alloy; only remember, and that with pain, such glorious scenes as one of our old cathedrals in its prime of youth and love. So shall we best fix our eyes on the spiritual contemplation of "that great city, the holy Jerusalem," which Saint John, in the spirit, saw "descending out of the heaven from God, having the glory of God: and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal; * * * * and the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb. * * * * * And the building of the wall of it was of jasper: and the city was pure gold, like unto clear glass. And the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation was jasper; the second, sapphire; the third, chalcedony; the fourth, an emerald; the fifth, sardonyx; the sixth, sardius; the seventh, chrysolite; the eighth, beryl; the ninth, a topaz; the tenth, a chrysoprasus; the eleventh, a jacinth; the twelfth, an amethyst. And the twelve gates were twelve pearls; every several gate was of one pearl: and the street of the city was pure gold, as it were transparent glass." Meanwhile the wicked are permitted to trouble, and to break down with axes and hammers the carved work of our sanctuaries; and perhaps even to burn up with fire the holy and beautiful houses where our fathers praised God, and to lay waste all our pleasant places.

But to return to the subject before us, our churches having been nearly all built or altered with a view to painted glass, nay, having often been built to receive particular painted windows, as soon as this essential part of their plan was destroyed, there was immediately found to be double or treble the quantity of aperture sufficient for light. In spite of bad glass, windows wholly or partially bricked up, curtains, galleries, and staircases, lofty screens, and all the other numberless accretions of the last three centuries, they are still greatly too light. The restorations of the present age, by opening windows, substituting larger panes of clear white glass, clearing away heavy screens and partitions, and lowering pew walls, have in fact accidentally increased the evil, and rendered the glare of our churches, especially those of the later styles, quite intolerable, not only to the mental feeling, but even

to the bodily eye. We know of several cases besides St. Mary's at Oxford, where such restorations have been subsequently amended with ground glass or holland blinds, which have made us regret the previous small green panes of half decomposed glass which did us good service without our knowing it.

But this leads us to notice the inconsistency of *building* new churches with windows suited only to painted glass, though the builders may not only have no intention, but even have a decided objection to that material. Our modern churches are as light as greenhouses, so that after all the north and south windows have been cut in two by galleries, and modified with ground glass or blinds; after the great west window has been entirely concealed by the organ, after the east window has been somewhat subdued with a green baize curtain rising up half its height, even then the church is offensively light. The devout worshipper cannot hide himself from day's garish eye; the anxious listener, trying to watch the lips of the preacher, can scarce with aching eyes detect anything but a dark outline projected on a dazzling field of light behind; which latter evil is of course not a little aggravated when the pulpit is placed in the middle aisle.* Much as some of our modern church builders will be shocked to hear it, they have entailed the necessity of painted glass on the commonest principles of comfort and convenience; and if a revival of taste and an increase in the number of clergymen should put an end to galleries, and bring into view the whole of the windows which they now partially obstruct, there will be found an absolute necessity for more painted glass, and for deeper shades, than a few light orange panes round the sides, such as Mr. Carus Wilson has introduced at Casterton.

We do not like "windows glazed with diamond panes in lead and *square panes round the sides.*" The panes should *all* be diamond, as in that case the diagonal lines of division not only do not interfere with the plan of the stone work, but set off its perpendicular lines to better advantage. Necessity requires some mechanical arrangement of the glass, and that should be as uniform and as *contrary* to the bearings of the mullions and tracery as possible. Square panes, *i. e.* horizontal and perpendicular divisions, make confusion; still worse do "square panes round the sides," *i. e.* lines in the lead work, purposely following the mullions at the distance of a few inches, especially when they further attempt to adapt themselves to the tracery. We have seen such lines actually

* We are informed that at a well known fashionable chapel in the metropolis, where this inconvenience was felt, it has been made the occasion of a most successful piece of dramatic display. While the preacher is ascending the pulpit, a red curtain slowly descends behind it. The effect, we are told by those who have witnessed it, is truly imposing.

increase to clumsiness the apparent effect of slender mullions. We must warn such of our readers as are likely to tempt the dangerous seas of church building, that no class of people require more sharply looking after than the painters, glaziers, and other subordinates in that complicated work. Even without Mr. Carus Wilson to advise them, their own heads are sufficiently fruitful in evil devices to make them unsafe to be left alone.

In a country church, where the parsonage is close at hand, there seems little need of a vestry. It is useful of course to the crack preachers of the metropolis, some of whom sit there and comfort themselves during the service, that they may come forth fresh as giants to the event of the day—the sermon. It is said also, that Doctor Parr used to illustrate his attachment to rural psalmody, by smoking in the vestry during the performances of the choir, which were purposely accommodated to the time usually occupied by a pipe. But few country clergymen will emulate either of these examples, and there is really nothing they would do in a vestry, which may not be done with perfect propriety in the church. We think it desirable to *avoid* the appearance of privacy in the movements of the clergyman. Yet it is the fashion now to consider it indispensable, and manifold therefore are the shifts which modern church contrivers are thrown upon, by the difficulties which a vestry seems to throw in the way of that other *sine quâ non*, external uniformity. The idol of taste and the idol of convenience cannot be brought to agree. Mr. Carus Wilson makes a vestry out of the lower story of the tower: and gives the drawing of a large square window with two mullions, lighting the ground floor of the tower at Hurst Green, a sister Church to Casterton, and recommends it as preferable to the smaller window occupying the same place at the latter. If there must be a vestry, why not add it to the side of the building, where something is often wanted to break the mass. But Mr. Carus Wilson's mode of finding room for a vestry is not so objectionable as some others, which this ingenious age has brought into vogue.

We quite agree with Mr. Carus Wilson in thinking fine ashlar work unnecessary, and even unsuitable for ordinary village churches—and we regret that much expense has been wasted on squaring and smoothing stones, which might have been applied in procuring good proportions, in dispensing with galleries, and in other such unquestionable advantages. Casterton church, we are told, "is built of limestone, and the stones are placed in course, but are very little hammered beyond what is necessary for securing the joints; and indeed the rough appearance is preferred, as giving more the appearance of antiquity."—(p. 8). He even recommends random walls, whose poverty, he says, may be con-

cealed by ivy, which will repay the kindness by protecting the walls and foundations from rain. It is sincerely to be hoped that this is true: and that if it be true, ivy will be very generally used as a veil of charity to cover the sins of most of our modern structures. With the following suggestions also we entirely concur:—

"Whatever style or plan is adopted, it is strongly recommended to avoid the use of valley gutters. They are troublesome enough, especially in snow, in private houses, where there is every advantage of care; but in the case of a Church it is well to guard as far as possible against the chance of injury arising from the uncertain attentions of those who have the charge of it. If the snow is left to melt in a valley-gutter, it must unavoidably find its way under the slate and damage the interior."—p. 12.

"The open roof, with ceiling laid on the spars, cannot be too strongly recommended. It is most in Church character, as far as appearance is concerned; and while no bad effect results to the voice of the clergyman, if common care be taken, it is most favorable for the effect of singing and the organ. At Hurst Green, where a church is building upon exactly the same plan, the situation being exposed, it was recommended to plank the roof entirely, like a boarded floor, before slating, in order to give additional security to the slates; this plan has certainly advantages. The spars are so contrived as to present inside square compartments, which are smooth and will be painted oak colour pannelled; superseding the necessity of plaster ceiling. The internal appearance, as well as the security of the roof will be greatly benefited; and as the additional expense is only about 30*l.* excepting painting, it is decidedly recommended in all cases."—p. 8, 9.

Shingles are better, more agreeable to the eye, and more durable than slating; and the compartments between the spars should not be square. Mr. Bardwell, we observe, objects strongly to *plastering* between the spars, but it must be remembered, that a planked roof, covered not with lead, but slate, will not be air tight, which in this climate is perhaps necessary, at least part of the year. But the plan of the roof which Mr. Carus Wilson has presented to us, is of that sort which least bears to be exposed. The tie-beams do not rest on the walls; there are therefore required braces passing obliquely from the foot of the rafters on one side, to the corresponding rafters on the other, at three-fourths of their height. The inclination of these braces makes, so to speak, a discord with the inclination of the rafters. The common kind of roof, with the tie-beam resting on the walls, is less objectionable. If the principal of the roof can be made to assume the form of an arch, without having really any lateral pressure, that will best suit a church; but the Westminster-Hall kind of roof is too complicated a *compages*, and has too artificial an air for a sacred building.

Mr. Carus Wilson is entitled to the gratitude of Churchmen for *not* putting his reading desk and pulpit right before the altar; but quite clear of it, at the north-east corner of the Church; and

for leaving a decent interval between the rails of the chancel and the seats of the congregation.

Mr. Shaw's book is evidently produced under the pressure of the times. A large population, anxious to have its religion manufactured at the smallest cost, drives the modern architect to do violence to his taste, to make the best of a bad job, and to put forth plans which he himself perhaps is the first to condemn. Scarce a church rises from the ground anywhere, except now and then in some unwonted hour of public munificence, or under the kindly influence of some wealthy patron, which does not bear evidence of the hard limitations which cramped the designer's fingers—

> "Chill poverty repressed his noble rage,
> And froze the genial current of his soul."

Mr. Shaw's propositions are in our opinion very valuable, and deserve a careful consideration; but while the *deserve* it, they also *require* it. They are suggested, he says, by the contemplation of the Lombard architecture, chiefly, it appears, as exhibited in Mr. Hope's interesting work, p. 30, "containing," as Mr. Shaw remarks, "in an eminent degree, the qualities now so important; these appear to be, first, economy; secondly, facility of execution; thirdly, strict simplicity, combined with high capability of ornament; fourthly, durability; fifthly, beauty.

We were quite prepared for the attempt to adapt that style to modern churches, having spent some time on it ourselves on the first appearance of Mr. Hope's book, though we cannot flatter ourselves on our success. A modified adoption of this style may be considered the main project in this publication, but as parts of it and as additions to it, Mr. Shaw proposes the use of two stories of pillars and arches in interiors, the lower one to support the galleries; the use of undisguised brick both inside and out; the exposure of the timbers of the roof; the use of red deal, merely varnished; and an increased number of doorways. After expressing with greater resignation than becomes the dignity of an artist, his acquiescence in the conditions imposed on him, "to provide in the interior arrangements the most ample accommodation, at the least possible expense," he thus proceeds:—

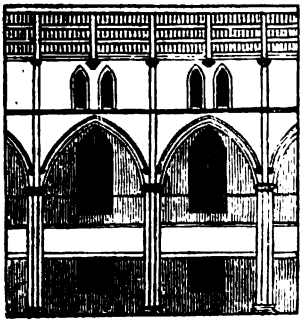
"To this necessity may be traced the introduction of galleries, obviously the readiest means afforded by the nature of the case for the fulfilment of that condition; but it is the object of the following pages to show, if possible, *first*, that this apparent necessity has unavoidably caused considerable deviation from the principles, and fatal injury to the character and effect of the various beautiful styles of architecture adopted; and, *secondly*, that this alleged necessity may be entirely divested of the objectionable circumstances which have been attendant upon it, by the employment of a principle simple and graceful in itself, supported by

ancient authority and success, and complying partly with the unavoidable demand made by existing causes for the strictest economy.

"That the perpendicular line, the prevailing principle and genius of the early English and Tudor architecture, is most obtrusively and oppressively violated by the introduction of the horizontal lines, of the modern gallery, is a fact, which has, I doubt not, in numberless instances, excited the regret of architects, on whom circumstances have forced its employment; a regret, heightened by the reflection, not only that their lofty aisles must be severed by these inevitable horizontal lines: but by the observation that the extent and flatness of the surfaces, bounded by those lines, presented another, and if possible a more powerful proof of the incongruity and incompatibility between the gallery and the rest of the erection.

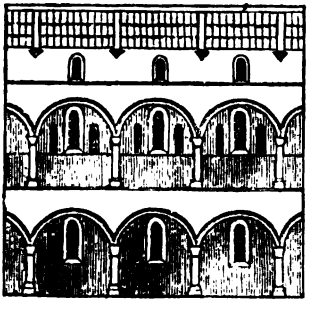
"My attention having for some time been directed to this subject, and having been recently engaged in the design of a Church proposed to be built under the direction of her Majesty's Commissioners, I have endeavoured to introduce, for its internal arrangement, a principle new in its application to modern Churches; and which, while it obviates the imperfection to which I have adverted, is sound in its construction, and would, as I am about to show, be attended with no additional expense."—pp. 5—7.

A



"Plate 1, letter A, exhibits the ordinary principle of modern church building; the gallery front crossing the arches of the side aisles and dividing the windows; they are constructed with timber framing, covered with boarding; the piers they rest upon are generally from fourteen feet to seventeen feet apart; their material being usually stone or iron.

B



"Plate 1, letter B, and Plate 2,* (which exhibit the principle I beg respectfully to suggest), represent the gallery supported on a series of semicircular arches of fourteen inch brickwork, resting on slender iron columns, ten feet apart, which is the distance prescribed by the regulations of her Majesty's Commissioners for the space between the 'tie beams of the roof and the main timbers of the gallery.' The front of the gallery is proposed to be constructed of nine inch brickwork; over the lower arches is a simi-

* We have not attempted a copy of this plate. It may be as well to notice here an error in our copy of Plate 1, letter A. In Mr. Shaw's engraving the gallery is made to divide in two *one* long window. In our cut the window is made to appear two distinct ones.

lar range of arches, upon the system of the ancient triforium, these support the clerestory, the walls of which are represented of fourteen inch brick-work."—pp. 8, 9.

We will not follow Mr. Shaw through his comparative estimates, which at least have the advantage of going into the minutest details; and we must also refer our readers to the work itself for a very pretty and elaborate perspective view of an interior designed on his principle, by which he adds, "I think it will be allowed that much effect is produced by the repetition of the double tier of arches, and the simplicity of its lines."

It is obvious that this is not to be considered a copying of the Lombard style, but a development of it, retaining only a certain slight resemblance to the original. That style is remarkable for *gravity*, for massiveness, and such severe graces; the plans before us aspire only to elegance. The interior before us is wholly composed of some exterior features of the old style, and those only the ornamental features. Parts only used sparingly and by way of relief in the one, are made the prevailing ingredient of the other. Small columns supporting small semi-circular arches may look well on the campanile, or on any other ornamental adjunct to the main building; but our impression is they have not dignity, or even appearance of strength sufficient for the nave of the church. Again, though they were undoubtedly used to relieve the surface of walls, which otherwise from their vastness and from the smallness of the windows would have looked bare, it does not follow that they can with propriety be made to stand alone as they do in Mr. Shaw's designs. It is, by the way, remarkable to observe how the playful variations on simple architectural themes which are common and allowable in mere ornamental work, sometimes give rise to changes in the very principles of architectural composition. On the painted parlour walls of Pompeii we may trace the germs of subsequent, but still distant corruptions of the classic style.

Mr. Shaw appeals to the triforia, which, especially abroad, were often used as galleries; but how would a nave look consisting wholly of triforia? We opine it would look somewhat like a theatre.

He also refers to the semi-circular arches from column to column in the Basilicas constructed in the fourth century. But what columns are those? How lofty and how massive! From Mr. Shaw's own measurements it appears that all the cast iron pillars of the Church he has designed, including both tiers, would not together form a bundle so thick as one of the Parian columns in the Basilica of St. Paul.

The builder would have work enough to make the lower tier support the one above, and a few feet of clerestory above that; he must not think of more lofty proportions, or of thickness of wall and depth of window recesses;—he must also content himself, at least in the aisles, with the lowest possible pitch of roof, which, however it may be kept down, will still almost prevent the clerestory windows from being externally visible.

Again, a composition of two stories, the one exactly equal and similar to the other, will be intolerable from its sameness; though Mr. Shaw seems to think that repetition in the present instance to be of itself a beauty. This evil can only be amended by increasing the height and thickness of the pillars and the inter-columniations in the *lower* tier; but here comes another difficulty: the lower tier is already too high for convenience: the pulpit must be raised enough to command the galleries, *i. e.* in the plan before us must be raised to nearly half the height of the church, a dizzy elevation, to which even the most ambitious popular preacher would hardly aspire. Mr. Shaw says, "The interior I have represented would be rendered more architecturally effective were the arches more lofty;" but let him not dream that his plan is the simple element of an expansive principle: the pulpit must still follow the galleries, and if the upper arches are made more lofty, the lower under the galleries must in all architectural propriety at *least* keep pace with them. This is Mr. Shaw's real reason or rather necessity for raising the galleries so high, though with an amusing want of candour, he says, "the height from the floor of the Church to the underside of the gallery, is increased beyond its ordinary elevation, to secure better ventilation, and at the same time to enable the congregation at the north and south sides of the Church under the gallery to command a view of the preacher without obstruction from the spandrils of the arch."—p. 18.

Moreover the spandrils of the arches supporting the galleries, which will be an obstruction to the view of the preacher *wherever* the pulpit is placed, will render it absolutely necessary that the pulpit be placed in the middle aisle; a most serious evil in our humble opinion; and accordingly Mr. Shaw has represented in his perspective view a most aerial pulpit, with winding staircase, completely hiding the altar, and spoiling the effect of a very handsome and ecclesiastical east end.

The following are Mr. Shaw's remarks on the use of brick:—

"I may remark, also, that by the adoption of the principle adverted to, all the perpendicular surface of the interior of buildings so constructed, might be faced with the light-coloured brick in lieu of plastering or boarding; and doubtless, an addition in durability would be thus gained; while I apprehend that from the actual construction of the

building being apparent, a pleasing effect would be produced on the eye; at the same time it is but fair to say, that there might possibly exist a prejudice in the public mind against it, from the use of so common a material; and also that the surface might not be so desirable for the transmission of sound."—p. 19.

And further on he observes:—

"The absence of mullions or tracery in the windows, and the means of executing (from the smallness of their parts) all the beautiful characteristics of the style in brickwork, confirm as I apprehend this opinion, (of the suitableness of the early Norman or Lombard to the purposes and conditions of modern Church building) I lay great stress on this circumstance, as regards economy: for I am persuaded, that very admirable architectural effect may be produced externally, as well as internally, by the employment of this common material alone, without even bestowing extra work upon it; nor does it unfrequently happen that this very necessity is the source of excellence; for much ingenuity, both in design and construction, has been displayed by architects where they have been limited in their resources.

"This opinion appears to derive considerable weight from the effect which the employment of extremely small masses, (as observed in the buildings of the early Norman architects,) had upon the style and peculiarity of their works. The origin of this peculiarity (whether accounted for by the difficulty of obtaining the material for their structures in large masses, or of raising it, when obtained, to great perpendicular height), it is not my business at present to inquire: from whatever cause it arose, the results of this practice bear with the same favourable force in support of my argument. As to the effectiveness of brick architecture, I can, on the high authority of Mr. Hope, allude to many eminent examples. In the 29th chapter of his Essay, p. 295, he states, that 'even at Constantinople brick was used in the most considerable buildings: it formed the interior of Santa Sophia's vast copula; and of that ancient edifice in the Blackernæ, called the Palace of Belisarius, the whole surface presents a chequer-work of brick of various hues.' In the same page, he says, 'At Rome, all those Lombard square bell towers, of six or eight stories, added to the ancient Churches, are entirely of brick, save the small columns that support their small arches.' And thus again the later pointed churches at Milan, at Pavia, at Monza, and elsewhere, are entirely of brick, even to their most delicate tabernacle work and tracery."—p. 23.

We quite agree with Mr. Shaw in respecting the prejudice against brick. It is a reproach to a Christian city, if its churches are not built of stone, and that of the best work, that they may not be in any respect inferior to the domestic buildings around them. But with the funds usually at the disposal of the architect, or rather of his committee, stone cannot be used without the sacrifice of more important objects. Roman cement is commonly thought the second best material; but we have strong prejudices in favor of the genuine over the superficial, and would

place it much lower. It is true that it is so good a coating, that a brick wall faced with cement is much stronger and dryer than one of equal thickness faced with stone; yet it is a *vulgar* material and does not present the *idea* of durability, however durable it may really be. It seems also unfit for churches, because the cement itself is of a dead displeasing colour, and requires a wash, which needs constant renewal. A building of this material, therefore, can never be allowed to proceed to the "green old age" of weather stain and lichen, which is the great beauty of our old churches. Above all is this material unfit for village churches, which must be adapted to stand not only time, but *neglect*, being commonly not so much kept in complete repair, as just prevented from falling below a certain stage of decay. A church which year by year must be washed young again, is like an old lady with rouge. In spite, therefore, of the infrequency of brick in old English churches we are disposed to put it before a mere imitation of stone, as being a genuine material not requiring constant renewal. It is very difficult, to be sure, to reconcile oneself to the use of brick in any shape, though now so common. The Tower of Babel and Pharoah's treasure cities Pithom and Raamses were built of brick, and one would gladly leave them entirely to secular purposes. Every church we build is an emblem of that heavenly Church whereof we are lively stones, and whereof Christ himself is the head stone of the corner; and therefore one does not like to see it built of the same materials as the neighbouring row of houses or manufactory. Nor do we think that the white or yellowish brick now used for churches about London, and which Mr. Shaw recommends for his Lombard interior is any improvement, though we can assign little reason for our antipathy to it except its associations. As long as it is new it is very raw and staring, and after a few years smoke it produces a colder and more cheerless compound of colour than red brick under the same circumstances.

However, as we have limited means at our disposal, and as we have in the course of our observations drawn considerably from these means, we will, for the present, condescend to the economical. There is a certain kind of beauty from the combination of brick and stone—nay, if we have the alternative of stone, or no galleries, we confess we should be content with *all* brick, to clear our churches of those modern incumbrances. In buildings of brick, with corners and mouldings of stone, we think in rural situations, where lichen and weather stains may be expected to harmonize the two materials, it is as well, or even better, to make the joinings of the stone with the brick irregular; but this will not do in towns, where the smoke will

prevent the growth of lichen, and where also the eye is more accustomed to neatness and regularity than to the picturesque.

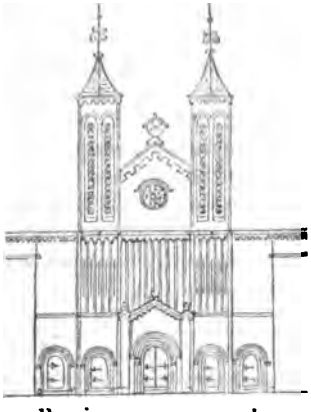
We venture one suggestion on the use of bricks, with all due deference to builders and brickmakers, viz. the production of an antique effect by old shaped bricks longer and flatter than those now in use; such, for example, as the bricks in the ruins of St. Botolph's, at Colchester. Their uncommon and ancient appearance, coupled with the incidental advantage of being necessarily better burnt, might compensate for all the additional expense. Mr. Shaw alludes to "the pleasing effect of the actual construction of the building being seen," and though this principle cannot be acted upon without great caution, no one can fail to admire the effect of the Roman bricks in arches. Bricks burnt blue are more suitable to churches than those of the common colour. The finest Gothic mouldings and the smallest pillars and arches may be executed in bricks made for the purpose. The double duty on shaped bricks has unfortunately extinguished this source of the picturesque in domestic architecture, but the duty is remitted on materials used for churches. In some of our old churches a very rich and elaborate effect is produced by the use of a few simple mouldings perfectly within the reach of an ordinary brickmaker. Elizabethan chimneys and mouldings in bricks shaped at the kiln, are being now very generally introduced again into domestic architecture, with great success, and at less expense than was expected.

We have already expressed ourselves favourable to exposing the timbers of the roof; and Mr. Shaw's perspective view makes one anxious to see it tried. In order however to a good effect, it will be necessary that the chief timbers should be stouter than those represented, or than the lightness of his structure would bear. We must observe that in one at least of the Basilicas mentioned in the following extract, viz. St. Paul's, the timbers were gilt, or rather covered with plates of gold. Bronze beams were also generally used; so little notion had the Romans of hiding that part of the building. The magnificent canopy over the high altar at St. Peter's was made out of the bronze beams which once adorned the portico of the Pantheon. When the completion of our railroads has reduced iron to its former price, perhaps we shall see the use of hollow beams of that metal, bronzed, gilt or plated, after the ancient fashion.

"While on the subject of internal arrangement," says Mr. Shaw, "I would recommend the exposure of the timbers of the roof. With regard to its appearance, the same observations I have just made as to the pleasing result arising from actual construction being apparent will apply also here; and my recommendation on this head is strengthened

by the description which Mr. Hope gives of the magnificent effect produced in the first Christian Basilicas, partly arising from the exposure of their roofs. In his Essay, chap. ix. p. 93, he says, that 'the body of these Christian Basilicas, which from their floor to their ceiling possessed not, except in their antique columns, a single moulding or member projecting from their flat perpendicular surface, and over their naked walls only presented the bare transverse timbers of their ceiling and roof, resembled huge barns of the most splendid materials, but huge barns which from the simplicity, the distinctness, the magnificence, the harmony of their component parts, had a grandeur which we in vain seek in the complicated architecture of modern churches.' The inclined sides of the roof being boarded, it is capable of demonstration that a better surface for the conduction of sound would be obtained than with the flat plaster ceiling hitherto so frequently adopted. While on this subject I may also remark on another very important element in the effect of all works of architectural art—I allude to colour. By using the red pine, well varnished, for the roofs and pewing, the beautiful appearance of cedar is given; by this means some little expense in painting would be saved, and the work would be equally well preserved; this plan has been adopted with success in private buildings which have come under my observation."

The recent appearance of personal discomfort has made Mr. Shaw speak with considerable feeling and strength of "the want of a sufficient number and capacity of outlets" in the churches of populous neighbourhoods. When the retiring tide of an abundant congregation has to *debouche* through a narrow mouth, it is sometimes driven back by stress of weather, and stagnates in its bed, i.e. in the aisles and passages; a situation of great suspense and annoyance to those who happen to be far back in the tail of the ebbing stream, especially at the critical hour of dinner. Now we cannot answer for our own feelings, if, after sitting out a long sermon, we had found ourselves in for another three-quarters of quiet suffering, but are certainly disposed to meet the difficulty in a different way from Mr. Shaw. It will be seen, in the accompanying drawing, he gives his church as much door-way as the width of the front will allow. This impairs the simplicity and the unity of an otherwise graceful elevation, and reminds us of the boxes, pit and gallery entrances of a theatre.



But this complaint, for which there really is some ground, reminds us of one or two more serious inconveniences in the construction of modern churches than an occasional stoppage at the doors. It is desirable that a church

in a city should not be entered too abruptly; that there should be not a mere lobby, not merely an interval with two or three doors to keep out the wind, not merely a sort of dry-dock to divest ourselves of one's foul weather equipment, but a deep portico, or still better a vestibule or *pronaos*. There should be something to create the idea of retirement and distance from the public thoroughfare, like the ante-chapels at our colleges. A few yards length of cloister would answer this purpose, be easily obtained, and be very convenient. The naves of our cathedrals and collegiate churches were designed, amongst other uses, for a moral interval, and also for an intervening state of mental employment between divine worship and more secular affairs. Gradations are the outworks of sanctity. Religious meditation and even a certain tone and certain topics of conversation are sacred employments, and it would be well if the plan and arrangement of our churches allowed and encouraged them without directly interfering with their most sacred uses. The circular part of the Temple Church is an example of what we mean, though many other kinds of edifice, even a mere open arcade, would answer the same purpose at less cost and with more convenience. It might be always open during the day, as Guildhall is, without inconvenience; it might be the place for sepulchral monuments and for other memorials and inscriptions of a not entirely secular character. Such a plan would both facilitate the egress of a crowd anxious to make the best of its way out of church; and, if by unfortunate accident any persons should still be compelled to stay a few minutes longer on sacred ground than they had previously resigned their minds to, they might, without impropriety, beguile the time by pacing up and down, and even conversing, in a place of qualified sanctity, and they might perhaps find topics of serious reflection in its storied windows and historic walls.

Such an appendage to our churches would also be a proper place for public business of a mixed character, and for those legal notices which ought not to be obtruded on the eyes of the Christian on the point of falling down before the presence of his Maker, and yet have so much ecclesiastical bearing that they ought not to be entirely excluded from the sacred precincts and utterly profaned. As our duty to God does not constitute the whole of religion, so we do not object to seeing our duty to our neighbour, even in the forbidding dress of a tax-gatherer's notice, being allowed a certain place about our churches. Surely the way in which these things are spoken of in Scripture, and some of the incidents in the Gospels, are of themselves enough to give a degree of sanctity to these matters, *according to which degree* we would have them recognized in sacred ground.

If, as some appear to doubt, the spirit of this age allowed it, all our churches were so arranged and so left open that Christians might be there at other times and for other purposes than public worship, what a delightful retirement, what a needful rest of body and mind it would be to many a wearied and distracted soul. How beneficial to many the merely passing along the sacred aisle might prove! Nor probably are they few whom this world's shame and their own irresolution of purpose keep from entering the sacred threshold, when the act would stamp them at once for devotees; but who yet would gladly seek and linger in a place which, while it encouraged prayer and holy meditation, still left it inward and unseen; and who perhaps from such beginnings, humble though they be, might afterwards be won to bolder and more methodic piety.

How few places have we for religious converse and meditation like the walks and porticos which the school of Greek philosophy so frequented, as even thence to derive their names. They still show at the beautiful church of Brant Broughton in Lincolnshire the aisle along which Warburton used to pace in rainy weather while composing his Divine Legation; but few of our largest churches, as now fitted up, will permit or at least encourage such a practice. In point of fact they are hermetically sealed, till wanted, that is, from one act of public worship to another, as if the Deity whom therein we worshipped were all that time asleep. They usually seem but the graves of the Church. They are made only for one act and hour of service. The churchman passes from the outer door to his seat just as he does on entering a stage-coach, without interval, without preamble, without alternative. The two hours journey over, he leaves his pew and the church at once. His movements are in a grove. He cannot even look about him; not during service, for then his duty otherwise engages him—not after, for then he is hurried out down the narrow aisle in the dense retreating column; and if he should voluntarily stay ten minutes after, he would provoke the curiosity, perhaps the interference of the beadle. Many have frequented churches for years, and never seen more of them than came within the prospect from their own pews.

But we have wandered far from Mr. Shaw, to whom we will return just to repeat, that his suggestions are, as a whole, very valuable, and are given in an interesting form; but, that we hope, either he or some one else will give them a little further consideration, before he adds to the many nondescript structures starting around us, a church pretending to be in the Lombard style. Our jealousy for the indigenous English orders tempts us to predict that no style of foreign growth will ever answer here.

Mr. Alfred Smith's work is a very interesting collection of views of churches in the new parliamentary borough of Stroud, so ingeniously manipulated a few years ago out of some score villages, townships, hamlets, &c. &c. But it is our business to consider this miserably over-populous district of clothiers, in its relation to another kind of Reform; which it certainly did need, and we fear needs still. Mr. Smith observes in his preface, "that nearly two-thirds of the present churches in this district were erected, when the population of the whole county did not exceed the numbers now contained in the borough of Stroud." The amounts of population and church accommodation, appended by Mr. Smith to his account of each parish, sufficiently proves, as he says, "the great want of church room, notwithstanding the great efforts lately made and still making throughout this district by the friends of the Church to obviate this deficiency." It appears from the views before us, that at least six new churches have been built within a few years, and the profits of this publication are to be applied to the funds of another proposed at Stroud. This is very creditable, when we consider the other immense, and even more peremptory, demands on charity which this district has witnessed for some time past, owing to the failure of its branch of manufacture, whole parishes of the poor having been supported for months together, as we are informed, by the voluntary assistance of clergymen and their friends. Mr. Smith is an artist, and has for his subject a country of which he says, with an artist's enthusiasm, "he believes no part of England has more picturesque variety of landscape within a given number of square miles." His very interesting drawings certainly go some way to bear him out in this assertion: but as it does not come within our scope to notice his woods and hills, we have therefore taken the liberty of detaching the churches from the circumjacent scenery. We are perhaps committing a double injustice, viz. both to the artist and the architect, when we criticize architecture in a disguise of picturesque; but having thus explained the source whence we have gained the following six views of churches, we leave our readers to receive them and our remarks, for as much as, under these circumstances, they are worth.



"The new church on Amberley Common, in the parish of Minchinhampton, was erected at the sole cost of David Ricardo, Esq., lord of the manor and patron of the advowson; and consecrated Sept. 1836. 'It is built, continues Mr. Smith, with some *naïveté*, 'in *the modern Gothic style*, with school-rooms under its entire basement,

wherein a large number of children are taught on week days, and a still larger on Sundays; the interior of the church, to which an entrance is gained by an ascent of steps, is divided into three aisles by two rows of cast iron pillars; and in a recess is placed a marble altar, and stone altar-piece. The church measures 84 feet by 42, is without galleries, and will contain 800 persons. The adjoining parsonage was also built by the same munificent patron.' "

As we are not concerned with the builder, but the building, we hope to be excused our seeming ungraciousness, in objecting to the general flatness of the structure, to the vast continuous surface of roof, to the difference of pitch in the roofs of the nave and the aisles, the church itself being made a second floor over a room of a *less sacred* character,* and so not having entire possession of the site, to the triple lancet window, *proper* to an east end, being put over the west door, to the windows generally being those of the lancet kind exaggerated till they have lost all their peculiar grace.



" *Oakridge* or *Oaklynch*. This chapel of ease to Bisley was erected chiefly by the liberality and exertions of the present incumbent, the Rev. Thomas Keble, assisted by voluntary gifts; it was consecrated on the festival of St. Bartholomew, in 1837, and is dedicated to that saint. It is built on the skirts of Bisley Common, surrounded by a large and impoverished population, at a distance of several miles from their parish church. This chapel is built after the architecture of the 13th century, with lancet windows, and intervening buttresses; it has a small chancel, tower and porch. Adjacent, is a parsonage and commodious school."

This is on the whole a very successful attempt to retain the ancient outlines and features of a rural church, tower, chancel and porch, all developed to their full proportions, without sacrifice of convenience and accommodation. Its simplicity, so well suited to the locality, is an agreeable contrast to the town-like affectation of many new country churches. Yet at the risk of seeming fastidious, we must confess that nothing can reconcile us to the squareness and lowness of the nave, as distinct from the chancel, and the modern Gothic windows, *i. e.* exaggerated lancet. The mullioned window in the west front of the tower, while it is an ornament to that part of the building, exposes still more

* Somewhat better, however, than the wine and spirit vaults under the proprietary chapels in London.

the defect we have noticed in the windows of the nave. It is fair to explain that our cut of the tower of this church happens to be the most incorrect thing in our whole series. In Mr. Smith's drawing, the south wall of the tower stands quite clear of the body; our artist has also inadvertently deprived one of the corner buttresses of a third of its height, and diminished the size and elevation of the lower window in the tower.



"Pitchcombe Church is of modern structure, erected by the exertions of a former rector, on the site of a more ancient building: it has a tower, with an octangular chancel, and though ill proportioned, forms a pleasant object from the woodland scenery surrounding it."

We need scarcely stop to consider this heavy building, with its tower surrounded on three sides by the body of the church, its bastion-like buttresses, and as solid pinnacles; its accumulation of what was intended for ornament in the front, and nakedness and meagreness of the sides and east end.



"St. Matthews.—This church was erected by private subscription, on a site given for the purpose. It was consecrated on the festival of St. Matthew, 1835: is a district church, comprising, under the care of its resident minister, a population of about 1400 souls, heretofore very distant from their parish churches. The architecture is modern Gothic, and the fabric forms a central and pleasing object at the junction of the vales of Stonehouse and Redborough, being a well-proportioned tower, with pinnacles. The interior is divided into three aisles by light columns."

A large school-room and eligible parsonage and endowment has all been added by the munificence of Colonel Daubeney and others.

Here is, as usual, a Grecian temple, with a mere coating or rather veil of Gothic work thrown over it. The base of the

tower is almost hidden in the body, and the chancel is internally only a shallow recess. In the case of the latter, the architect, finding he had to give a Gothic effect to a broad and low gable end, and knowing no window that would answer his purpose, has endeavoured to effect it by introducing *three* of unequal size under a gable. Now, we hold that windows of one *daie* may be multiplied under one gable to any number, as in the "Five Sisters" at York; and in the east end of the Lady Chapel at Hereford, as in fact they constitute one window; but a window of two or more "*daies*" is in fact a system or combination of lancet windows, and must be regarded as so complete as not to allow of more than one being introduced when unity seems required, as in a portion of wall included under the space of one gable.

The architect, in the present instance, has given *plurality* where *unity* is above all required, viz. the east end of the church, and on the other hand, where we look for the idea of succession and *plurality*, viz. in the side view of the church, he has with equal impropriety recurred to the idea of unity, by making the two extreme compartments differ from the rest, and slightly project, so as to form two uniform wings. The side thus becomes a *front*, and the attention is drawn to its centre (which is only a centre architecturally), instead of being just slightly arrested by a porch at the south-west, or north-west, and then carried upwards without further interruption to the east end.

So far from it being a desirable object to *balance* a projection or door at the west end of the north or south elevations; we should say, that even if a door is found to be necessary at the eastern extremity of the sides, it ought to be made comparatively insignificant. Few things interfere with the Catholic plan of Churches, with the Catholic style of architecture, and with the picturesque effect of any style whatever, more than the notion of making every side of a building a uniform front. We are aware that strength is gained by breaking the line of the wall, every corner being virtually a buttress; but if that must be done, let the ins and outs be so arranged as to avoid uniformity rather than seek it. The building before us is not so flagrant an instance of this fault as many others, especially the new churches about the metropolis, some of which are quite quadrifrontal, *i. e.* presenting to every aspect a complete uniform façade. We consider that the balanced uniformity of the side view of St. George's at Windsor, is a symptom of degeneracy in the architecture of that gorgeous structure.

The new chapels of Sheepscombe and Slad, with schools and parsonages, in the parish of Painswick, were also built by private

munificence, in the midst of poor populations. "The former contains 350. The latter was consecrated in October, 1834. It contains a very handsome Gothic stone font, presented by a benevolent lady; has a gallery extending along the north side, and will contain about 300 persons." Sheepscome exhibits, considering its small dimensions, a very fair allowance of improprieties. The ornamental features are all brought to the front: the south side, which comes into our drawing, with its sheds, chimnies, and long flight of steps, is evidently meant to be overlooked by the indulgent spectator. The pretty minaret which oddly surmounts the west entrance, is neither a tower nor a turret, having the shape of one and the dimensions of the other. In the interior, the west end must present the usual meeting house arrangement of a door and a window on each side, all included under the span of one roof. Slad Church, with its battlements, its gable divided into steps, the projections instead of buttresses at the corners, the three windows in the west front ranged according to the angle of the roof, and the centre one rising from the door-way, appears to be a still less graceful and regular structure.





As the nature of our subject has required us to exhibit the least interesting part of Mr. Smith's work, we feel bound, in taking leave of him, to express our admiration of his drawings of the old churches, and of his representations of the scenery of all.

Nothing can be fairer than the design of Mr. Hamilton's publication, and his statement of the reasons which have suggested it. He complains that many of the churches built throughout the country within the last few years "are almost entirely destitute of the ecclesiastical character and quiet soberness beautifully exemplified in the features even of the most simple of the old religious edifices." Foremost in the causes to which he ascribes "this unfortunate result," he notices—

"The almost uncontrolled management of the edifice being committed to men annually changed, and commonly chosen without refe-

rence to their qualifications for this part of their office. We may, without imputation," continues Mr. Hamilton, "presume the churchwarden to be desirous of avoiding, or at least of transferring to a successor, an outlay pressing, perhaps heavily, both on himself and on those whom he represents; and it is therefore not to be wondered at, that frequently mean structures have been reared, and persons have been elevated by the churchwardens to the architect's office, who would done themselves and their employers credit in the operative department, but whose misfortune it has been, from a principle of (mistaken) economy, to be injudiciously raised to a higher responsibility."—p. 3.

We quite agree with Mr. Hamilton, that many of those who have had to do with the building of churches, whether as architects, or as their employers and thus their judges and controllers, have proved themselves sadly unfit for that responsibility; but we suspect that, as a question of fact, clergymen and committees of gentlemen have had more to do with the matter than the poor churchwardens, at least in rural districts. These officers, so respectable and useful in their way, are seldom the originators of new churches, and are much too sensible of their want of architectural judgment to think of choosing plans, and overseeing an architect. Their betters unfortunately are not always so modest. It is a prevailing opinion, that though in most subjects a little information and practice is essential to a correct taste,—that no one is a good judge of a horse or a dog, a musical composition, or any piece of manufacture, without some study and experience, yet that any one of liberal education and with just eye enough to lay out a garden or furnish a parlour, must needs be also competent to superintend the building of a church. Other tastes must be sought with labour, and even then be acquired by few; but this is supposed to come of itself without asking.

Mr. Hamilton is perhaps nearer the truth, when he observes that "one reason for his complaint is the fact that many churches have been designed without sufficient reference to the locality and circumstances." Unecclesiastical plans and proportions, he says, whose uncouthness has been but ill disguised by tawdry decoration in the architect's original designs, have been stripped for cheapness sake of that shallow disguise by rural committees, and set up in naked deformity. Yet who will deny that even when the professional man has had his full swing, the building is often painfully at variance with our notion of a village church,—utterly devoid of simplicity and genuineness?

The object of the work before us is "to take a middle position, and to offer something which might occupy a place in Parochial Church Architecture, equally removed from expensive ornament rising into exuberance, and excessive plainness, degenerating into

deformity." It is a collection of mere hints: the author makes no pretence to accuracy either in designs or estimates; and "has chosen an easy perspective style in preference to elaborate and less graceful geometrical elevations." The drawings, therefore, as he confesses, would be perfectly useless in the hands of a builder, if any should wish to build a church after any of them, which we cannot recommend. It is evident the author is under one fundamental error as to Gothic architecture, which has rendered his labour vain; he is not aware that it is an *exact science.* "Grecian sketches," he says with most amusing simplicity, "have been excluded, partly because they require a submission to the rules of art, which has been already disclaimed." There cannot be a greater mistake. Gothic architecture *appears* less formal and less regular than its ancient rival, only because it embraces *more* elements of calculation,—because it has *more* forms and rules of art. Gothic sketches without "submission to the rules of art," are like an attempt to persuade men of the truth of mathematical theorems by probable reasons, to oppose a skilful general without knowing anything of the art of war, or to preach without a pretence of theological learning. He who pretends to design a Gothic church, cannot escape submission to the rules of art; except, as the legend says, the architect of Cologne Cathedral did, by the use of preternatural agency. As might be expected from this extraordinary confession, the drawings before us are full of absurdities.

Yet the leading idea of Mr. H.'s suggestions is very sound and good. His main object is to substitute picturesqueness of form and grouping, for expensive and unsuitable decoration, the bane of modern churches. Thus he describes the modern country church as "externally only an insipid and alternate repetition of window and buttress, unrelieved by any of the bold projections essential to the beauty of an edifice, and presenting internally a chilly-looking enclosure glaring with light and whitewash." But the idea of his book, so good in itself, is most strangely followed up. He studies not variety but eccentricity of arrangement. Some of the least unaccountable of his combinations, are apparently borrowed from the irregular groups presented by old churches that have been increased and altered from age to age without regard to the original plan. Now, as we have above observed, nothing can be so picturesque, nothing has so strong an impress of antiquity, as a venerable pile, overgrown with aisles, porches, chantries, and chancels, almost hiding the original nave, and far surpassing it in proportions and decoration. Yet this cannot be imitated. We cannot make, at the word of command, by rule

and measure, a family or a village. Time only make them, and time only can make an ancient village church.



Mr. Hamilton's Anglo-Norman design is by far his best, and tempts us to wish that something of the sort may be attempted before long. In many cases it would perhaps appear affectation to *adopt* this style, but there seems the greatest propriety in *retaining* it, where the style of the old church on the site of which the new one is built, or of a single door-way in it, or of some neighbouring building, affords an obvious precedent. A relic of this sort is a local tradition which it seems wise and pious to keep up. After Mr. Hamilton's disclaimer of scientific accuracy, it is perhaps almost superfluous to observe, that his windows and doors are far too large; that the ornamental work, with which he has surrounded them, are those usually confined to the interior; that the arches of his door-ways spring too high; that the slender buttresses and octangular corner turret of the tower belong to a much later style than Anglo-Norman, and that the pointed window in the chancel, which just makes its appearance, is equally unsuitable. For various other imperfections which an eye of taste will detect, our copy must be held responsible; an apology we here make once for all to our reader, and to the authors whom we have undertaken to introduce to him.



As a specimen of a modern church in this style, we give a rough copy from a very beautiful engraving of the new church at Colchester. It is built close to the well-known ruins of St. Botolph's Priory Church; a most picturesque pile of Roman brick, which seemed to dictate the style of any sacred building in its proximity. This church was demolished at the Reformation, and the site and possessions, together with other church property, given by Henry VIII. to Lord Chancellor Audley. For three centuries there has been no church in this populous parish. The church before us, which is designed to be in some sort "a second temple," though it could hardly aim at

" the glory of the first," must yet be a very magnificent structure, if the drawing sent to us is to be trusted. There appear however to be some decided modernisms in the plan and proportions.



To return to Mr. Hamilton. We have seldom seen a more grotesque disposition of parts than the design, in which a sort of chancel is placed across a stunted nave, and the door is in the side of the tower. Surely it is possible to be original without departing so far from ancient usage and common sense.



We cannot say more of the design in which a side aisle, in the shape of a chapel, is made the chief feature; and the door, as in the last instance, is put exactly where one would least expect to find it, and is also much too large. We see neither the use nor the beauty of the large square windows in the steeple. Such a spire would demand buttresses, if not for strength at least for elegance.



Mere novelty is not originality. Many things have never been done, some things have not even been thought of, simply because they are unnatural and out of the way. True originality is a power of invention or discovery; but whether it be employed in the regions of science or of poetry, it only discovers or invents what is, in some sense, natural and true. It does not so much *make* new ideas, as *find* what have escaped the mind of others. It conceives ideas which strike us at once as having a sort of self-evident propriety and beauty. Its creations are at the same time like and unlike what we know already—like, in that they accord with our existent tastes and notions;—unlike, in that they seem each to have

an individual essence. Thus the structure before us cannot be called original though preposterous. Can Mr. Hamilton really imagine that there is a special suitableness to rural scenery in loading a small nave with two spires? The idea possibly is taken from the towers of Exeter Cathedral, which are its great defect. The windows of this design, considered in their connection with spires, are as new as the plan, and as unpicturesque.

But this is the general character of Mr. Hamilton's drawings. When they are novel they are not graceful; whatever grace or propriety they may have, it is only when they are not new. One is a chapel with its west front flanked by two porches, whose pent-house roofs, contrary to custom and every rule of taste, lean on the side walls of the chapel. Another is a cruciform church full of large windows, with a lofty spire at the intersection, rising out of the very roof. Another of similar form has a Tudor door, lancet windows, and a complicated structure in the midst, which cannot be described, except by saying that it is neither a tower nor a spire. It is only by such artifices as these that he escapes the common forms of dulness and inelegance, which otherwise abound in his drawings: broad roofs and light pinnacles, stunted chancels quite contradicting his own theory of bold projections, large windows without mullions, and with curves which no compass or any discoverable formula could ever describe. His ground plans are as objectionable; two passages being substituted for one main aisle whenever possible, and the altar almost surrounded with sittings. We only hope that the irregularities and eccentricities of these designs will not throw any discredit on the leading ideas of the work, viz. that there is a certain style of churches proper to rural districts, that this style is not, as some suppose, mere cheapness and baldness; and that it is generally best attained by a bold division into distinct and characteristic parts.

Yet within certain bounds, for a congregation of less than three hundred, we think it desirable, and very consistent with our ancient models, to retain the simplest form of a church. The simplest form and most primitive type of the classic or pagan style is a barn, which was the original of the temple. Whether this derivation be historically true, or merely an architectural theory, does not matter. The purer cultivation of that style in our days is entirely owing to the more frequent recurrence to its primitive type; which, till a few years back, had been almost lost sight of. The details of the style, that is its pillars and cornices, had been in universal use, without any reference to the original scheme or *rationale* of building in which they had first been used, and which alone gave them their propriety—we mean their poetical or ideal

propriety, for we are putting bare utility out of the question. But these details thus employed, i. e. used merely as ornaments, and in edifices constructed on a different scheme, were altered and corrupted. Nothing has conduced so much to the greater accuracy with which they are now used, as our greater familiarity with Grecian temples, even though we still use them in edifices of a very complicated and un-Grecian character.

Now we are inclined to hope that the same improvement will accrue to the Gothic or Catholic style, from a more frequent recurrence to its primitive or elementary type, which, like the type of the Grecian temple, is a barn, though with some important differences. The Grecian temple was constructed of large stones; its principle of strength was the perpendicular pressure; its roof and its general effect were flat and low. On the other hand, the Gothic oratory was composed of mere handfuls of stone; it stood by a balance of counteracting pressures; its roof and its general effect was high and pointed. They were both children of nature, but in different climates.

It is very probable that a simple oblong building was the nucleous of most of our churches, at least in rural districts. To this was afterwards added a tower and a chancel; but frequently the old church remains as the chancel, the nave being of later date. The side aisles were generally chantries, each with its own altar, added long after the nave. This addition of course required that the walls of the nave should give way to pillars and arches. The clerestory is generally of a still later date, and rendered necessary by the side aisles, being in fact the substitution of a row of windows with a flat roof, in place of the dark high-pitched roof of the old nave, whose traces are visible on the east wall of the tower in many churches. The porches are generally the latest part of the building, many having been added even after the Reformation, with a view of course to comfort.

It is true that our churches have generally been enlarged on a certain plan, it is true also that the main features of the plan existed before the foundation of a single extant English church; viz. in the nave, aisles, pillars, arches, and clerestory windows of the Basilicas, yet this does not alter the fact of the growth of our churches having been gradual and accidental, and does not render it improbable that if the first builders had had the means at their command, they would generally have made their barn-shaped structures large enough to supersede any addition for many ages. We do not therefore think it a real innovation on antiquity, to design a church by merely copying on a somewhat larger scale, the small churches and chancels of the early styles. In other

words, we do not think their straitened dimensions absolutely essential to their plan. Perhaps a slight alteration in the proportions will enable us to increase the size of a small Anglo-Norman or early English chancel enough to accommodate several hundreds. At least we think this better than attempting tower, aisles, clerestory, or chancel, and only doing it by halves, on a kind of shadowy make-believe scale.



By way of a rough model for imitation, we have taken from the British Magazine, vol. vii. p. 14, the drawing of a very simple and picturesque chapel, of which the following interesting and characteristic account is there given.

"Blackfordby has immemorially been a hamlet of Ashby; and its ecclesiastical endowments, with those of the latter, were given in A.D. 1145, to the abbey of Lilleshul, which retained them until the dissolution of religious establishments. Under the year 1220, it is recorded that the abbot of Lilleshul, who held the patronage of Ashby to his own use '*ab antiquo*,' had also the chapel of Blackfordby, where divine service was performed three times in the week, from the mother church.

"The Marquis of Hastings is lord of the manor of Blackfordby, and patron of the living. On alternate Sundays, the vicar of Ashby does duty in the chapel, which is a very ancient structure, consisting of a nave and a chancel. The lancet windows, the old round font of stone, and the stand for an hour glass near the pulpit, are objects of interest. Originally its site must have been chosen on account of its secluded beauties and salubrity. It overlooks an extensive and luxuriant landscape, and rests upon a rock which pours forth a copious spring, whose waters were never known to freeze."



As another rough model to work upon, we offer a hasty sketch of the chapel of Adston, in Northamptonshire. It is of much later date than the last. Its interior dimensions are 33 by 17, with a very small aisle 6 feet 6 inches wide, opening to the nave with low but graceful arches. On the other side are two pointed windows with handsome tracery. The structure, simple and small as it is, possesses considerable dignity, from the height of the walls compared with the other proportions, from the high pitch of the roof, from several bold buttresses, and a few elegant curves and mouldings, and lastly, from the picturesqueness of its situation.



The new chapel at Duddon, parish Tarvin, Cheshire, which appears as the frontispiece of the British Magazine, July, 1835, is on the whole an elegant structure, on the simple model we have been recommending. We will here notice one great advantage of having walls of dignified elevation —the windows may, without being themselves curtailed, be placed so high as to prevent any roofs, chimneys, trees, or other such familiar objects, which may chance to be near the church, from obtruding themselves on the attention of the congregation. In the drawing before us we do not like the double buttress at the corner, and nowhere else; and we prefer to see the triple laucet reserved as the peculiar right of the east end.



Pursuing the same direction, we give a sketch of a church, consecrated in 1836, at Littlemore, a hamlet to the parish of St. Mary the Virgin, at Oxford. The church is near the third milestone from that city, on the lower London road; and is the building to which probably Mr. Peter Maurice, Mr. Prebendary Townsend, and Miss Caroline Fry refer, when they allege that superstitious ceremonies are being revived. The architect has, we believe, taken the door, windows, &c. from St. Giles's Church, in that city, perhaps one of the best and most fertile studies for church builders in the kingdom. Its internal dimensions are 60 by 25, and near 40 in height. Its expense, including church yard fence, a very elaborate ornamental roof without tie beams, stone shingles instead of slate, a good deal of handsome stone-work, with many other things commonly considered superfluous, and all et ceteras, came within a thousand pounds. We will add, that though all the windows are of the true lancet proportions, yet owing partly to the height from the ground at which they are placed, and their recesses being properly bevelled, partly also to the happy circumstance of there being no gallery in their way, they give more than sufficient light to the very spacious interior.



Somewhat similar to the above is the new chapel at Buckhold, in the parish of Bradfield, Berks, built after the designs of Mr. Sampson Kempthorne. From an original drawing before us, it appears to be a very graceful structure, though without the elevation of the last. We should say the windows recede too much from the external surface of the wall,* which must also subtract from the depth of their internal recesses. The bell turret seems more successful than in the last instance.

In many instances the church consists of a nave and chancel, so nearly equal in breadth, height or even in length, that the one appears a mere continuation of the other. Sometimes the two are also so similar in style, that one would almost suppose them of the same date; but generally this form is to be considered the result of accident, not of one harmonious design; yet the effect of this form is more agreeable than if the building had been kept at an exactly equal breadth and height from one end to the other. Such appears to be the plan of the very curious old church of Barfreston, Kent, of which a very beautiful engraving has been lately published, the profits to be applied to the expenses of its repair and restoration.



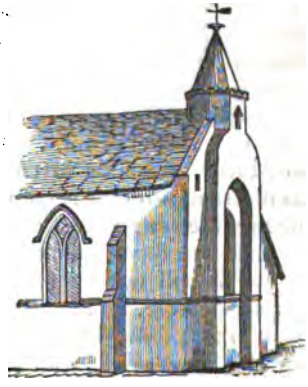
Of a somewhat similar plan is the interesting church of Fugglestone or Fulstone, adjoining the town of Wilton, and close to the road, about three miles from Salisbury. It is remarkable for for having been George Herbert's church, and is far superior to the Chapel of Ease at Bemerton, two miles nearer Salisbury, where Herbert built the parsonage, and where it exists to this day, with divers unsightly additions by the hand of Archdeacon Coxe. In this case the elegant chancel was probably the original church. The nave appears to be of a much later date. Our wood-cut is copied from an en-



* This peculiarity is not sufficiently expressed in our woodcut.

graving in the Rev. Peter Hall's Picturesque Memorials of Salisbury, a work which reflects the greatest credit on that gentleman's taste. The building is now being repaired and beautified;—we hope not injudiciously altered;—but our informant certainly saw *pointed* windows in the side of the nave, with oak mullions, which were being encrusted with sand "to look like" stone. When will people learn to prefer realities to appearances!

As the bell turret of this church is remarkable both for its form, and for the mode in which it is supported, and as these are both points of great perplexity in building churches of this class, we have, through the kindness of a friend, procured an outside and an inside view of the west end. From these, which do not pretend to more than hasty sketches, it appears that the west gable is increased at its apex to near treble its thickness, in order to support the turret in question. On the outside two piers project from the wall on each side the west window, and support an arch, on which rests one side of the octagonal turret. In the inside the turret appears to let down two roots of masonry standing out in relief on the wall, and terminating on both sides of the window at the spring of its arch. Both these contrivances are more ingenious than graceful; but though they are not to be imitated, they still may furnish some useful hints. They seem, by the way, to be a sort of mimicry, on a small scale, of the bold but complicated apparatus which poises in mid air the gigantic spire of the neighbouring cathedral.





We see that one convenience of the simplest form of church is, that it can be added to; it can be made either the chancel or the nave of a larger building. It must also be remembered, that with this view, viz. the prospect of enlargement, meanness and pettiness are very inexpedient. A little church, with a little tower and a little chancel, is like a man that is wise in his own

conceit; there is more hope of the simplest and rudest structure being improved, than of it.

Our next specimen is copied from the frontispiece of the British Magazine of December 1835. It is " a building suitable to the double purpose of a chapel and schoolhouse," at Leavenheath, Suffolk, and at the date of the account we refer to, had apparently just been finished, but was only used for the latter purpose, the endowment being as yet wanting. It looks pretty in the drawing, but must be sadly deficient in dignity. We do not like these buildings for both purposes, not even the late Bishop of Sodor and Man's ingenious arrangement. They seem a pretence for making school-rooms serve for churches. The address, accompanying the engraving of this structure, says that owing to a late inclosure the population round it was rapidly increasing; but we fear it will not be easy to enlarge their Church according to that increase. The writer is somewhat over anxious to inform the public how cheaply churches may be founded; and with this view gives, with apparent cheerfulness, the following picture of hopeless pinching poverty.



" The estimate for the building was 268*l.*, but in this sum was included an outer furnace, and flue through the building covered with flagstones. Without a gallery the building will hold 180 persons. It is internally 36 feet by 18 feet, 12 feet high to the wall plate; the chancel end is 10 feet by 12 feet. The foundation and walls are of brick, and the roof of tiles."

From an engraving, which we are informed gives a very incorrect and inadequate idea of the structure, we have taken St. Mary's Church, Redlynch, Downton, Wilts, a new Capel of Ease in a populous district. The nave is 54 ft. by 29 in the clear. The chancel 18½ ft. by 17 ditto. Total number of stttings 420; of which 60 only are appropriated. A gallery at the west-end contains about 100. Brick, Bath and Portland stone: — cost about 1,600*l.*, raised chiefly by voluntary contributions. We need scarcely say that the proportions of this church are not to our taste. The bell turret is not more successful than most other attempts to get over this difficulty. Would not the appearance of the building be much improved by a tower?



A very beautiful chapel has just been completed at Otterbourne, in the parish of Hursley, near Winchester, on a scale and in a style considerably above the usual run of modern village churches. We understand the Church is chiefly indebted for it to the zeal and taste of a gentleman of the place, whose example we trust will be followed by a few other squires. The interior is enriched with the finest works in wood and stone, partly collected, partly executed for this purpose. The exterior is of brick burnt blue, and stone windows, &c. the whiteness of which at present creates too strong a contrast with the other material. For the singular bell turret, we doubt not there is good precedent, as everything has been done with the utmost care; but to our eyes, as we see it in the exquisite lithograph before us, it seems too large and cumbrous. The porch also, if porch it be, at the west-end looks rather diminutive, especially when compared with its neighbour above. The shape is a cross with short arms.



NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Mr. Gresley, in his Sermons on "Zeal and Moderation, preached before the University of Oxford" (Rivingtons), writes like a man who had something to say, which is one of the highest praises we can give a sermon. He understands that at the present moment a great problem lies before our Church, how to be what it *once was* without ceasing to be what *it is*, how to adapt primitive principles to existing circumstances without sacrificing the former or overshooting the latter. They are the sermons of an able and reflecting mind, which has attained to great truths and is consolidating its acquirements.

"Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, by the Rev. S. Wilberforce" (Burns), are eloquent and pleasing discourses on practical subjects, which must have been very effective in delivery; they abound in references to the Fathers, a style of preaching suited to, and which we are glad hereby to find sanctioned by, the learned body whom Mr. Wilberforce in these sermons represents.

A very beautiful and useful selection of Prayers and Meditations on the subject of the Holy Eucharist has been published by the Rev. S. Wilberforce, under the title of Eucharistica.

We are glad to find that a new edition of Dr. Field's Book of the Church is in the course of publication, in three volumes, 8vo., (Bohn), under the able editorship of Mr. Brewer.

The first number has appeared of one of the most important works of the day, The New General Biographical Dictionary, projected and partly arranged by the late Mr. Hugh James Rose, and edited by his brother, assisted by the contributions of many distinguished persons. It is no bad compliment to them to say the number before us was an agreeable surprise. We did not realize beforehand that it could be, at the same time, so comprehensive, and yet so interesting. We will particularize the lives of Abelard, Archbishop Abbott, and his brother, Lord Colchester, Abdel-Munen, and various other Mahometan Califs, Abernethy, Addison, Ælfric, and Adams, the Patriarch of Pitcairn's Island. The present work proposes to itself a middle plan between manuals and those voluminous biographies which are libraries in themselves; it must be observed, that from the nature of the case, every year takes away from the value of existing works of this class, and increases the call for new ones.

Mr. Benson has published "Discourses upon Tradition and Episcopacy" directed against persons whom he calls "Tractarians." He says the English Church "is *not only* constituted according to the Apostolic model, but it has enjoyed that blessing by *an unbroken succession* from the earliest times;" and that ministers in "Episcopal Churches" are by external call "clearly to be reckoned among the legitimate successors of the Apostles in their ministerial office." Had Mr. Benson but said this six years ago, when there was more call for it than at present, probably he would not be writing

against "Tractarians" now. He proceeds to enforce the evils of disunion, and, still, after the manner of the Tracts of the Times, he pleads necessity for the foreign Protestants (*vide* Dr. Pusey's Letter, p. 152, &c.), and for our dissenters at home the neglect of the Church (*vide* Tract 86). So far then Mr. Benson walks with the "Tractarians." He parts with them on the subject of Church authority. His theory of Church authority is this, that "every branch of the Christian Church upon earth *has* a *right* to form and enjoin on" its "members whatever it conceives" asserted or implied in Scripture, (p. 3,) and that those individual members on the other hand *have the right* of disobeying (pp. 4, 5), or partially obeying, according to their private judgment. Here is certainly implied the existence of a difference, not of view only, but of moral principle, between him and his opponents, which, as time goes on, will be more and more developed. It is the point at issue all over the world, that of submission to authority or independence. The question is, "are there any points on which persons are to submit to the authority of the Church before and apart from their own conviction?" The writers in the Tracts answer, Yes, on the points contained in the Creeds; but the ultra-protestants contend that every one must satisfy himself that every truth which he receives is contained in the Bible. Mr. Benson, speaking of the busy layman and unsettled labourer, says, "there must be no absolute surrender of the *reason* and conscience, which God has vouchsafed to be his guide." "*Every individual Christian* is *bound*, under a sense of the same awful responsibility, to resolve to teach nothing as a minister, and *accept nothing as a member of the Church*, but that which *he* is persuaded may be concluded and proved by Holy Writ." "It is a matter of consideration with *every man* to determine to what *particular community of professing believers* he will consent to attach himself or continue to belong." How melancholy are such statements! It is but the least fault of the principles contained in them that are so very unreal. If it be meant to extend to the doctrine of the Creeds, to which it properly relates, we are bound plainly to avow our conviction, grounded on experience, that it is tempting men to unbelief, to seek for wrong grounds of belief in a wrong spirit, to pull down their own house with their hands, with the foolish women in the Proverbs, in order to build it up with the fragments as best they may.

Mr. Mountain's "Summary of the Writings of Lactantius" (Rivingtons), is a useful analysis; but, we are obliged to add, the tone of divinity is far from Catholic; nay, far from Protestant, that is to say, if our Homilies may be considered such. For instance, the Homily says, "that merciful alms dealing is *profitable to purge the soul* from the infection or filthy spots of sin;" but our author speaks of it as the elements of the *fatal error* of Popery, "to speak of carnal sin as *purged away* by a course of good works," p. 80.

Reprints of several of Dr. Hook's works have been made in America, chiefly under the sanction of the well known Dr. Doane, Bishop of New Jersey.

We are glad to see that proposals have been put forward by Mr. Sherman of New York, for publishing, by subscription, "a Selection of the most inte-

resting and valuable among the Writings that have appeared within a few years in England, and which are commonly known under the name of the Oxford Theology." The plan embraces as many as six to eight volumes 8vo., of 554 pages each, which are to be completed in weekly issues.

Dr. Pusey's second edition of the first of his three Tracts on Baptism has at length made its appearance, and the size sufficiently accounts for the delay. It is the most complete book on the subject we have in the language; and is already almost out of print again. His object seems to have been to bring together all that Scripture directly teaches concerning Baptism, and to show how this was understood by the early church, and in consequence how much higher a doctrine Scripture contains than is commonly supposed.

The Oxford Translations of St. Augustine's Confessions, and St. Cyril's Catechetical Lectures, have reached a second edition. The first edition consisted of 1500 copies. A volume of St. Chrysostom's Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles is on the point of publication.

"The Listener in Oxford" (Seeley and Burnsides) observes, that "Evangelical religion has been the fashion; the tide is turned;" that "life is not long enough to examine all that we must receive or reject;" that "the religion of Christ is unchanged from the beginning;" that "it has never had so much as a new dress;" that "the Lamp that illuminates" the Door, "is not removable." This is good Catholic language; but alas! the illusion is soon broken; the Listener confesses she is speaking against such a "Goliath" as "Southcote, Irving, or Pusey." Though a "*Listener* in Oxford," she says she "cannot speak personally of the present men," but she does know "how far from holiness such leaders usually are, how arrogant, how restless, how insubmissive and disorderly, how confident and boastful of themselves, how irascible and impatient of contradiction;" and she asks, "do these Oxford theologians believe in the Holy Spirit's agency at all in carrying on the work of salvation?" We would put it to a religious woman, is not all this random imputation against individuals whom she does not know, a sort of "bearing false witness against her neighbour?" People in their zeal forget this.

Dr. Hawley's work on "Genuine Christianity" (Lindsay, Edinburgh), begins with what we are obliged to call a dangerous principle, that Christian evidence and Christian doctrine are subjects "altogether distinct from each other," and that "the great principle, the division of labour" must "be applied" to theology; and defends it by the instance of Sir I. Newton, who, though a thorough believer in revelation, has been at length ascertained to have given "credit to the Arian heresy." We are sorry to find a speculation put forward, p. 60, which can only be *consistently* maintained by Sabellians or Nestorians, viz. that as the Word is incarnate in this world, so probably the "Supreme God rules every world He has made by an *emanation from Himself*, united with the highest intellectual being who inhabits that world." Hence he talks of "the Christ of each world." We are the more concerned at this, for the work is written in a tone of seriousness and earnestness, and contains express and satisfactory statements of the doctrine of the Trinity.

"Charlotte Elizabeth" has written some sentimental and dreamy pieces called "Glimpses of the Past," (Seeley and Burnside), and has been ambitious enough to introduce "the Reformation Society," "Protestantism," and the glorious '88, with a view of making *them* sentimental, dreamy, and poetical also. Protestantism takes the shape of King William on horseback in College Green, and the "innocent statue" is spoken of in a way to make us fear that sentiment was compromising Protestantism. Old Foxe is drawn writing his history "in a soft sheltered valley, where gurgles a pure spring, overhung with fair trees, from whose branches depend many a cluster of ripened fruit." "There he rests and ponders." The authoress has a little dog called Fidelle, which sneezes "most piteously" at a snuff-box; and she has sweet flowers which "a young minister calls her painted idols." She recounts her own experience; and makes mention of a house where "it was one of the special privileges allowed her to take every day a glass of wine actually made from the grapes that grew on the mountain of Lebanon."

The second edition of "A Text-book of Popery," by John Mockett Cramp, (Wightman), has in view especially "many influential members of the Protestant University of Oxford." It professes, according to the title-page, to give "a brief history of the Council of Trent," and "a complete view of Roman Catholic Theology." The "history" may be serviceable and the "view" is innocuous.

We have received what calls itself "The *Church* Edition of the authenticated Report of the Discussion between the Rev. T. D. Gregg and the Rev. T. Maguire." Mr. Gregg came forward under the benediction and "God-speed" of "a *very large body* of the Clergy of the Established Church from *all parts* of Ireland," headed by the Archdeacon of Derry; who, without "identifying themselves with him in the controversy," still "felt bound to present him an assurance of their regard and prayers, commending him to God as a brother minister of their Church." This, it will be observed, was before the controversy. We do really think, now that they know what it has turned out, our brethren ought to clear themselves from all participation in so unchristian a contest. Never did we look into so unholy a book, not written by a professed libertine or scoffer. To take one of the merely vulgar specimens: "Away with your wretched sophistry;" the Protestant champion says to his opponent; "Pray, how much salt would it take to make a hogshead of holy water? . . . Now come, pray do, like a worthy priest of Belial as you are, do tell us how many holy candles it would take to drive away the devils that tempt a poor Irishman to get drunk? . . . Now salt-blesser! . . . I shall condescend to instruct you. Come, then, to my knee, thou mass-priest, and learn wisdom." Is this the style of St. Paul or Luther?

"Seals of the Covenant of Grace, by J. J. Cummins" (Seeley and Burnside), is a little work in recommendation of one of the coldest doctrines we know; that the office of the Sacraments is but to represent and pledge to us the blessings of redemption. We can understand persons being warmed and carried away by the doctrine of justification by mere faith; but to those who, having faith, have the *substance* of salvation, how impotent is the sacramental *figure!*

what need we to be assured externally of what we already feel inwardly? and what assurance is there in a *sign* without, which is supposed to have no sense till interpreted by an assurance within? Either the Sacraments convey grace or they convey a cold comfort.

How melancholy to find an intelligent traveller like Mr. Fellowes deliberately publishing, in his "Journal of an Excursion in Asia Minor" (Murray), such a fanatical sentence as the following, "in architecture and in sculpture the cross is a brand always attended by deformity in proportion and total want of simplicity in ornament."—p. 169. Elsewhere he talks of temples "dedicated to *nominal* Christianity."—p. 288. He is enthusiastic in praise of the Turks; becomes "sincerely attached to their manners, habits, and character;" "to their truth, honesty, kindness," and "devotion to their religion." "Prayer is with them universal." "Every one pursues his own devotions, independently of a priesthood, which here does not exist, with perfect simplicity and without ostentation."—p. 294. On the other hand, he speaks of "the early Christians" as he might of "the early Egyptians," or "the Aborigines" of America, or fossil elephants or elks, beings with whom he can have no possible connexion; yet he shows no signs of being what would commonly be called an irreligious man,—the contrary.

Mr. Bickersteth's "Book of Private Devotions," or "Collection of Devotions of the Reformers and their Successors" (Seeley and Burnside), embraces under this title the prayers of Bishop Andrews, Archbishop Laud, Bishop Cosin, Bishop Kenn, Bishop Taylor, and Bishop Hicks. We were particularly pleased to find the compiler saying in his preface, that "he has from no book of devotions derived more personal advantage than from Bishop Andrews' Devotions." May he induce many to seek a like benefit from them!

"Light shining out of Darkness, by Rev. A. Roberts" (Nisbet), is the production of a thoughtful and reverential mind. It takes the form of a work of evidence drawn from the internal characteristics of the four Gospels; but this is only its form. It is really a thankful and edifying contemplation of the tokens they contain that a Divine Presence was with the writers, and an attempt to realize the scenes and to hold communion with the deeds and feelings, of which they are the record.

There is great deal apposite and pleasing in Mr. Woodward's "Shunammite, a Series of Lectures on 2 Kings, iv. 11—17" (Duncan and Malcolm), (e. g. vid. his remarks on the sanctity of St. Mary,) but we suppose his religious sentiments differ a good deal from those which we should feel it right to maintain.

A new edition has been published of Sir J. Stonehouse's "Sick Man's Friend" (Washbourne), a little book which, with a great deal which is good and useful, discovers a very low tone of theology and deplorably deficient views upon the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

We particularly recommend to our readers "Hymns, translated from the Parisian Breviary by the author of the Cathedral," (Rivingtons). They are very

beautiful, though as being detached from the services to which they belong, they are like Gothic cornices or finials torn from a church.

"Preparations for a Holy Life" (Hodson) is a convenient pocket selection of prayers and meditations answering to its title.

Archdeacon Todd has published a brief but pleasing "Selection from Sandys' Metrical Paraphrases of the Psalms, Job, &c." (Rivingtons.)

Mr. Burgh's Sermon on Antichrist, with an Appendix," (Holdsworth), is intended to show that Rev. xiii. does not apply to Rome Papal, and exposes some grievous mistakes of facts in Mr. M'Neile's historical proof that the Pope is Antichrist.

Dr. Duff, in his "Missions the chief end of the Christian Church" (Johnston, Edinburgh,) confesses and laments, what Mr. O'Connell has lately urged, that Protestantism, since its first burst, has lost its *expansiveness.*

We observe with much satisfaction that a theological controversy is opening between Mr. O'Connell and the Wesleyans. This is as it should be. They owe us a stand-up fight with the Romanists; and they could not possibly sit down under his rude attack on their founder.

We suppose the Correspondence between some Clergymen of Ripon and Lord Londonderry falls under the head of theological literature, and may be mentioned here. Not that a few words can do justice to it; but we do not like to omit expressing our thanks to the clergymen who took part in it. The church knows no difference between men of peace and men of war, noble and peasant. "The kings of the earth and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men," must all bow down before her, and dutifully obey. It is no favour in Lord Londonderry to defend her with the sword, but a high privilege. The only drawback on our satisfaction in this proceeding is, that it was not a bishop who addressed him.

The "British Association" has celebrated its annual meeting at Birmingham, and under circumstances which show that the anticipation of its imminent declension, expressed by us in a recent number, are rapidly fulfilling. But we allude to the meeting, not for the purpose of mentioning this fact, but to show how far the dangerous tendencies of the body in question have now developed themselves. We would speak in blame of no individual—we censure systems—and strange must be the working of an institution which can lead a reverend president of the association, even in the act of formally defending its religious character, to assert that even the facts "that all men are the children of one human father and the handiwork of one Almighty God," would not be supported by evidence sufficient to claim the belief of this enlightened age without the testimony brought forward to sustain them by recent physical researches. We quote from the Athenæum, which may, and we would fain hope does, in some degree misrepresent the reverend speaker. We would fain hope that we ourselves misunderstood the report, but the following extracts will enable our readers, on this latter point, to judge for themselves.

"Scripture does provide for us, and has evidently aimed at providing for us, from the earliest times to the present hour, the knowledge of two facts;

that all men are the children of one human father, and the handiwork of one Almighty God. And what, gentlemen, is the common quality of these two facts? Are they not the very facts on which the system of human duty subsists, on which humanity and piety depend?

"These truths, gentlemen, nursed for a thousand years in the ancient Scriptures of the Jews, led forth into new day and with new accessions of the same kind of knowledge by our holy religion, have walked through the world, and been believed alike by the ignorant and the wise, before our sciences were born; and here observe the method and the course of Providence; how, as in process of years the current of traditionary belief runs weaker,—how, as the advance of human intellect looks for other kinds of proof, the arts and sciences come in to support these essential truths; printing gives them stability and extension, optics and astronomy pour in an infinity of evidence, comparative anatomy brings up its convictions, and geology subdues the sceptical mind with hitherto unimagined demonstrations.

"And now, gentlemen, we are in a condition to draw an inductive conclusion, and even to hazard a prediction. We may safely predict that truths thus firmly established by evidence, will never be shaken by the researches of that reason which has hitherto lent them all its support; &c."—Athenæum, No. 618, p. 654.

The association, it would seem, if the above be indeed an official declaration of its sentiments—feels that it has at last arrived at the happy period in which —whatever else may be doubted—these two simple tenets may be considered as irrefragably and definitely established. Such are the arduous points which it has at length attained, in the midst of a land long blessed with the full light of Christianity;—such the discoveries for which its labourers, in the conclusion of the speech under comment, are told to look for "the approbation and the blessing of the great Father of Truth."

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OF THE

REMARKABLE PASSAGES

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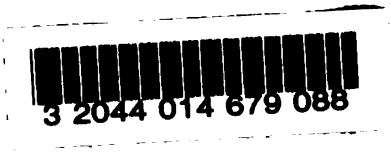
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